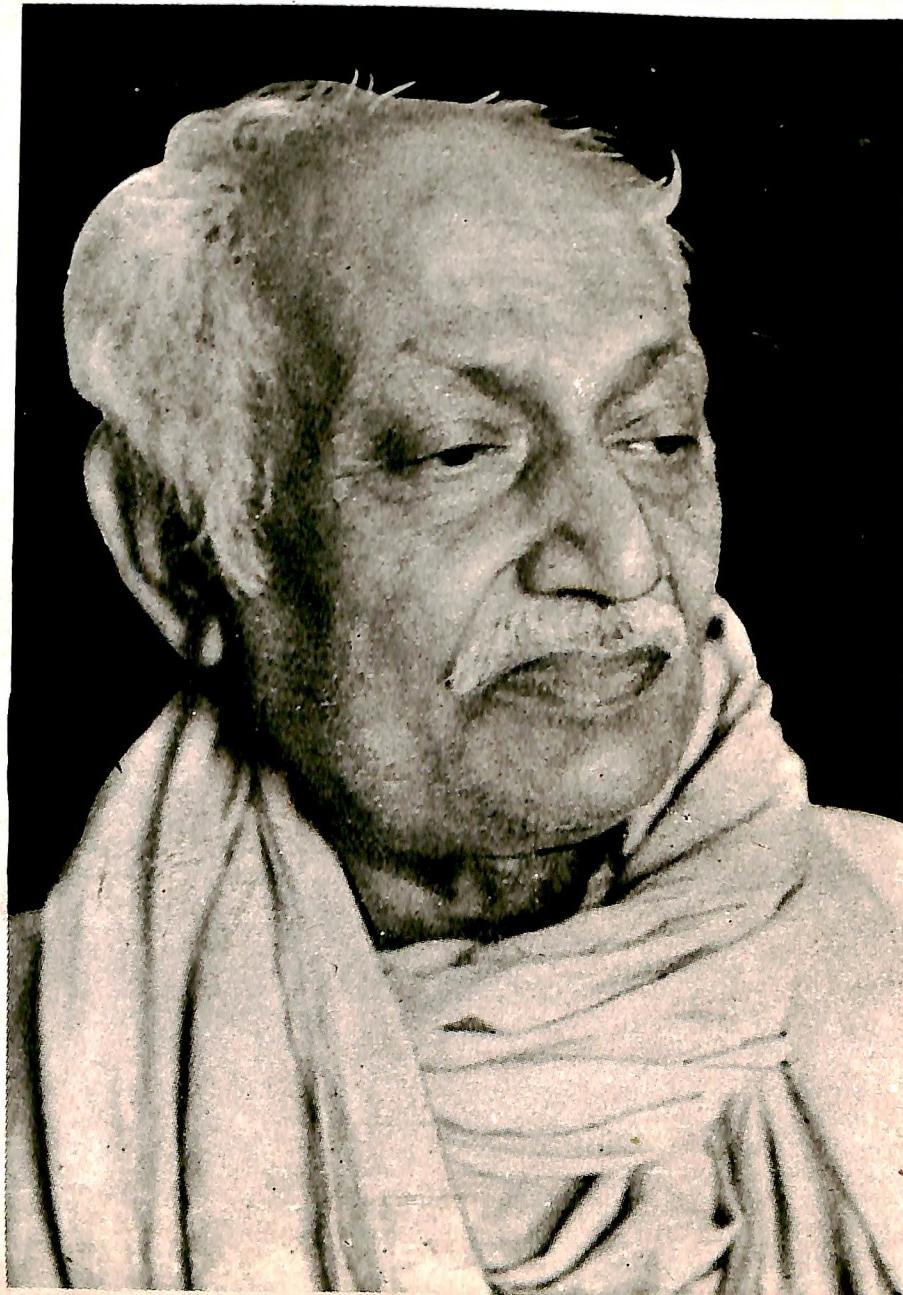


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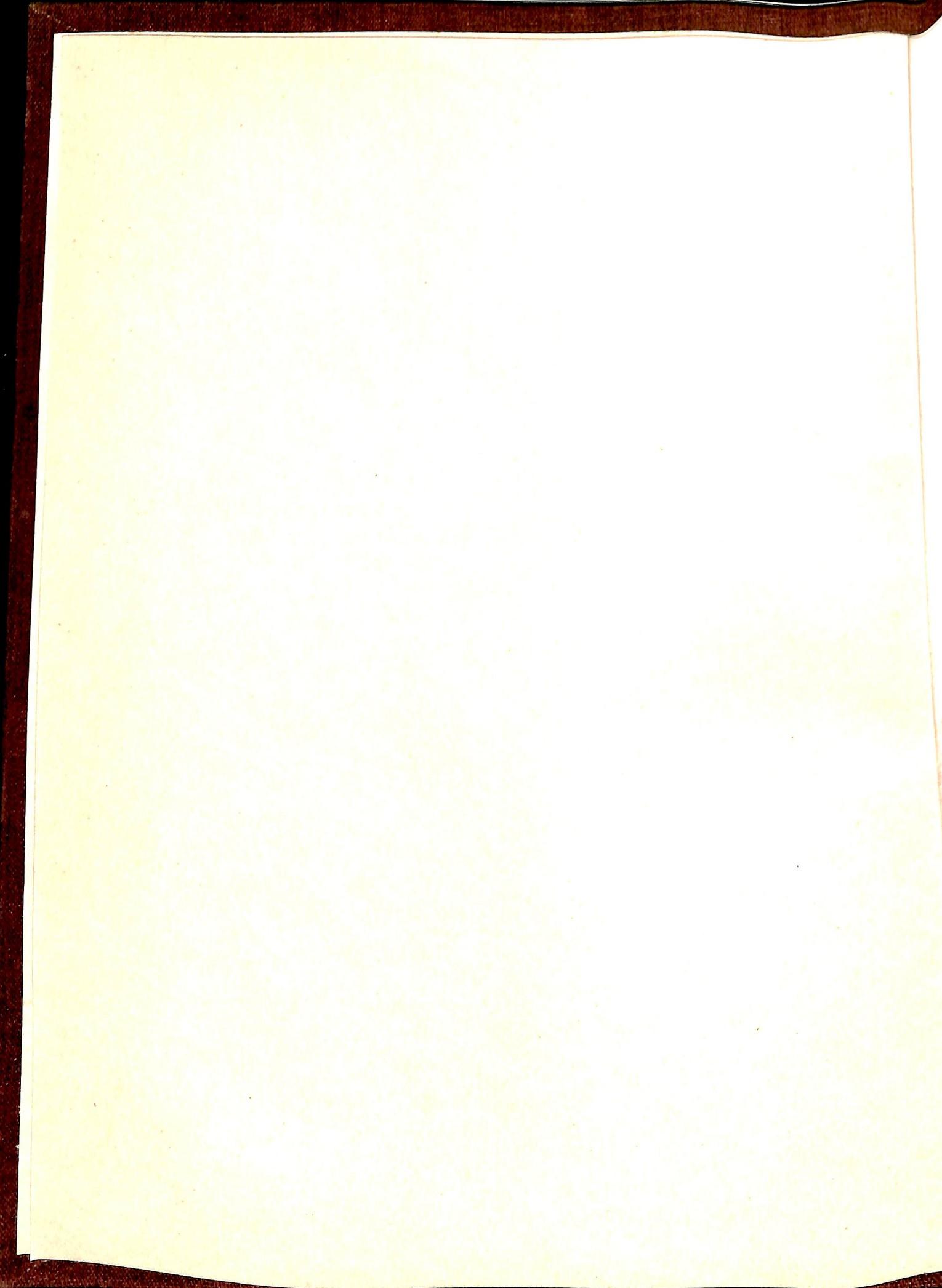
Navonmesa

म. म. गोपीनाथ कविराज स्मृति ग्रन्थ
M. M. GOPINATH KAVIRAJ SMRITI GRANTH



नवोन्मेष *Navonmeṣa*

म.म. गोपीनाथ कविराज
सनुति ग्रन्थ



नवोन्मेषः **NAVONMESA**

म० म० गोपीनाथ कविराज स्मृतिप्रन्थ
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PREFACE

India is celebrating the centenary of one of her greatest sons. He was a great teacher, as the title *Mahāmahopādhyāya* conferred on him by the then British Government testifies. But his real greatness lay in making his teaching flow from the very depth of his soul. His interests were varied. Ancient history, iconography, literature, philosophy and even photography drew his absorbing interest, but in each and every one of the subjects he studied, he never rested content until he could discover the inmost significance, the *rahasyam* or the supreme secret.

Ācārya Gopinath was always in search of something new while going through the old and ancient texts. Whoever had the privilege of sitting at his feet was struck with amazement by the originality of his interpretations of different systems of thought, which are generally taken to be worn out, through exhaustive analysis and commentaries heaped upon them through many centuries. But he used to feel that the whole truth has still not been brought out or revealed and so he encouraged every seeker and scholar to read everything with an open mind all on his own, without being biased or prejudiced by any previous way of thinking.

It is in the fitness of things that this Commemoration Volume, being published to celebrate his centenary, should bear the significant title *Navonmeṣa*, or the New Enlightenment, and that renowned scholars from all over the world have readily come forward to shed new light on a wide range of subjects, all of which were very dear to his heart.

Ācārya Gopinath would not have lived in vain if even after a century of his birth his name could inspire scholars in all corners of the world to take up studies of the varied streams of Indian thought, which he loved and adored so much, in the true spirit of making it luminous and life-giving.

May this humble offering be laid at his feet in reverential homage and may it be acceptable to that noble savant, if only for the sincerity with which it is being offered. May his noble spirit ever grow new amongst us like the luminous dawn heralding the advent of the day and may he live through eternity.

In the words of the Rgveda :

नवोनवो भवति जायमानोऽह्नां केतुरुषसामेत्यग्रम् ।
भागं देवेभ्यो वि दधात्यायन् प्र चन्द्रमास्तिरते दीर्घमायुः ॥

—EDITORS

CONTENTS

✓1.	The Significance of Spanda in Spiritual life	<i>Jaideva Singh</i>	1
✓2.	The Tantric structure of Akhanda Mahayoga	<i>Arlene Mazak Breuinin</i>	7
✓3.	Gopinath Kaviraj on Kashmir Śaivism	<i>Navjivan Rastogi</i>	30
✓4.	Gopinath Kaviraj on the doctrine of Pratibhā with special reference to Nyāya Vaiśeṣika	<i>Raghunath Ghosh</i>	58
5.	Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj's views on Vedanta, Tantra and Marxism	<i>Bireshwar Ganguly</i>	66
✓6.	The Concept of pure consciousness in Kashmir Saivism	<i>Devavrata Sen Sharma</i>	73
✓7.	Māṭkā in Kashmir Śaivism	<i>Girija Sharma</i>	78
✓8.	The Pratyavignā Concept of Man —A contemporary reassessment	<i>Rewati Raman Pandey</i>	85
✓9.	A Comparative study of Lalla-Vakh with the sutras of Vasugupta in the light of Kashmir Śaivism	<i>Koshelya Walli</i>	94
✓10.	Abhāvavāda—A forgotten Śaiva doctrine	<i>M. S. G. Dyczkowski</i>	107
11.	On some aspects of Tripurā-sundari's worship according to Yogini-hṛdaya : The role of Bhāvanā	<i>André Padoux</i>	120
12.	Philosophy of Śaktism	<i>B. N. Pandit</i>	129
13.	Shaktism and Modern physics —Prescience or Coincidence ?	<i>L. M. Finn</i>	151
✓14.	The Goddess Mahākāli and her different forms	<i>A. N. Jani</i>	159

15. Religion and society with a focus on Tantra	<i>Upendra Kumar Das</i>	171
16. Notes on Āyuh	<i>J. Gonda</i>	182
17. The Jaka Dolog Inscription of Kṛtanagara	<i>Lokesh Chandra</i>	198
18. The Anātman concept in Buddhism	<i>Kamaleswar Bhattacharya</i>	213
19. The Jaina concept of Self	<i>Govindagopal Mukhopadhyaya</i>	225
20. God in Tibeto-Buddhist Sanskr̥ta sources	<i>Kameshwarnath Mishra</i>	231
21. The Concept of self-natures, mainly based on Madhyāntavibhāga Sāstra of Ārya-Maitreya	<i>Prabhakar Mishra</i>	241
22. Ṣat Cakra Nirupaṇam—Location and determination of six Cakras or Lotuses	<i>Manindra Chandra Panchatirtha</i>	246
23. Tantricism and the Sun-cult in India : A historical perspective	<i>V. C. Srivastava</i>	261
24. The Svarasaptaka of Sāmagāna	<i>G. H. Tarlekar</i>	276
25. Cordophones in the works of Kalidasa	<i>Sushma Kulshreshtha</i>	282
26. Vena—A Mystical Hymn of the Atharva Veda	<i>Bettina Bäumer</i>	289
27. Gacchatvam Bhārate Varse : An oft quoted sloka and its implications	<i>T. Goudriaan</i>	292
28. An Old Text of Rāma Devotion : The Agastya-Saṃhitā	<i>Hans Bakker</i>	300
29. The Black spot in the Moon, Salt, Seed and the Devayajana	<i>H. W. Bodewitz</i>	307
30. Śiva Myths—Ardhanārīśvara and Tripurāntaka	<i>S. S. Janaki</i>	314
31. Kṛṣṇa Saga in South-East Asia	<i>Upendra Thakur</i>	321
32. The Message of the Upanishads	<i>Karan Singh</i>	333

33.	Some thoughts on Culture and Entropy	<i>Pupul Jayakar</i>	341
34.	On being a person	<i>Sisir Kumar Ghose</i>	344
35.	Detachment	<i>Arabinda Basu</i>	348
36.	Spiritual strength of Indian civilization	<i>H. K. Mahtab</i>	360
37.	Concept of Dharma and Adharma in Mahābhārata	<i>A. N. Bhattacharya</i>	362
✓ 38.	Mysticism in Indian Philosophy	<i>Sibajiban Bhattacharya</i>	372
39.	Ritual of Daily Puja in the Jagannātha Temple of Puri : An analytical appraisal	<i>G. C. Tripathi</i>	389
✓ 40.	A Comparative view of two Schools of Indian thought with special reference to Kashmir	<i>Jankinath Kaul</i>	397
✓ 41.	Vārsagaṇya, the Sāṅkhya Teacher	<i>Lallanji Gopal</i>	402
42.	The Epical world of Asvaghosha and Kalidasa : A comparative study	<i>Indra Nath Choudhuri</i>	417
43.	Means to liberation	<i>Jadunath Sinha</i>	425
44.	Akhanda Mahāyoga and Supramental Yoga	<i>E. Nilakanta Singh</i>	434
45.	Carved Stone-Discs dedicated to the cult of Goddess Sri	<i>P. K. Agrawala</i>	439

16.

16. 16. 16.

17.

17. 17. 17.

18.

18. 18. 18.

19.

19. 19. 19.

20.

20. 20. 20.

21.

21. 21. 21.

22.

22. 22. 22.

23.

23. 23. 23.

24.

24. 24. 24.

25.

25. 25. 25.

26.

26. 26. 26.

27.

27. 27. 27.

28.

28. 28. 28.





THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SPANDA IN SPIRITUAL LIFE

JAIDEVA SINGH

The concept of Spanda

In Sāṅkhya, Pātañjala Yoga and Vedānta, Self is *niṣkriya* or inactive. In Śaivāgama alone, Self, whether individual or universal, is active. What is the characteristic of this activity? It is *spandāyamāna*, ever pulsating, throbbing with the joy of creativity. Technically, it is known as *Vimarśa*.

In Sāṅkhya, yoga and Vedānta, Reality or Self is simply *prakāśa* or light of consciousness. The only difference between this light or any other light is that it is *svayam-prakāśa*—i.e. it shines by its own light, whereas other lights shine only with the light of consciousness. But this does not go far enough, for *svayam-prakāśa* does not connote creativity and without creativity, the very source of manifestation cannot be posited.

As Abhinavagupta puts it :

“अस्थास्यदेकरूपेण वपुषा चेन्महेश्वरः ।
महेश्वरत्वं संवित्तं तदत्यक्षद् घटादिवत् ॥”

(*Tantrāloka*, III, 100)

“If the Supreme Lord or Highest Self did not manifest in infinite variety, but remained cooped up in His solid singleness, He would be neither the Supreme Lord nor consciousness, but something like a jar.”

So, the Highest Reality is not simply *prakāśa*, but *prakāśa-vimarśamaya*. This *vimarśa* is its *spanda*. It is not simply light, but light throbbing with life, with creativity, with manifestation. This *spanda* or *vimarśa* is the *Kartrtva śakti* or the power of creativity of the Lord. Spanda is the heart-beat of Śiva. It is I-consciousness of the Supreme, pouring itself out in manifestation, maintenance of that manifestation and withdrawing it in its transcendental state. Without this throb, there would have been total void, universal blankness. This spanda is the *śakti* of the Lord expressing itself both as *jñāna* and *kriyā* (knowledge and action).

In the play of universal manifestation, it expresses itself both as agent and deed—*kartā* and *kārya*. The agent is expressed as “I” and the deed as ‘this’ or the object of I-consciousness.

There are two aspects of 'I'—the met-empirical Self and the empirical self or in the words of Śaivāgama as Pati-pramātā, and as Paśu-pramātā. In the case of Pati-pramātā, every object is non-different from the Self; in the case of Paśu-pramātā, every object is different from the self. It is either a psychic experience of pleasure or pain or a perceptual experience of an object.

In Sāṅkhyā, Pātañjala yoga and Vedānta, the self is a mere spectator. It is *niṣkriya*, without activity. Evidently, in these systems, *kriyā* (activity) has been confused with karma (action). Surely, the trans-personal Self does not work like a potter or a watch-maker. This is the work of the empirical self. But this does not mean that the trans-personal Self is inactive. Sāṅkhyā-yoga and Vedānta have taken activity in a very narrow and limited sense. In a wider sense, even *jñāna* is a kind of activity.

Even in the empirical individual, the transpersonal Self is *spandāyamāna*, carrying the five acts of Śiva viz. *sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *saṁāna*, *pidhānā*, and *anugraha* in its own way.

The transpersonal Self has the *Sāmānya spanda* (a general pulsation of *jñāna* and *kriyā*). The *viśeṣa spanda* (particular spanda) by which the empirical individual is moved comes from Māyā or Prakṛti. The life of the empirical individual is involved in this *viśeṣa spanda*.

Vimārṣa is *sāmānya spanda*. Through this *sāmānya spanda* alone is there a movement from *ahom* to *idam*, from the 'I' to 'this' (the objective world), and also the withdrawal from *idam* to *aham*, from the objective world or not-self to the 'I' or Self which is the all-of-Reality.

Bondage and Liberation

Forgetting the real nature of the Self which consists in *sāmānya spanda* expressing itself in universal *jñāna* and *kriyā* is bondage. Its real and complete reminiscence is liberation. As Abhinavagupta puts it :

मोक्षो हि नैवात्यः स्वरूपप्रथनं हि तत् (Tantra I, p. 192).
Liberation is nothing else but the recognition of one's true nature.

Categories of Experiencers

There are four classes of experiencers.—*abuddha*, *buddha*, *prabuddha* and *suprabuddha*, according to Spandakārikā.

Abuddhas are those who are completely extroverts. They are involved wholly in biological life and think of nothing else beyond their psychophysical existence. They are simply somnambulists, carrying on the various activities of life, without being ever awake to inner reality. They are the animals and men leading mainly an animal existence.

Buddhas are those whose evolution has brought them into human existence but their value in life consists only in seeking the pleasures of the sense. Power, self and priapism are their hall mark. With a slight change in Mathew Arnold's words, we can say :

“They meet, hurry and pass by
And do not for once possess their soul”.

They are unredeemed victims of *nigraha-śakti*.

Prabuddhas are those who have become spiritually introverts, whose values in life have changed, who have drunk the nectar of *anugraha-śakti*, and have turned towards the Supernal Light.

Suprabuddhas

When the prabuddha experient has been sincerely following the uphill journey, living a life of constant vigil and deep aspiration, he reaches the stage of *suprabuddha* experient who is a *pati pramātā* and no longer a *paśu pramātā*, who has received the accolade of the Spirit and has become a knight-errant of Truth.

It is obvious that it is the *prabuddha pramātā* who has passed the aptitude test and can gain admission to the holy life.

The Concept of ātmabalasparśa and its importance in the development of spiritual life

The nature of Spanda-śakti is *aham-vimarśa*, the divine I-consciousness which pulsates and flashes forth eternally. It is *sāmānya spanda*—pulsation in a general way. It is *Kriyāpradhāna*, predominantly active. Through it alone is manifested the universe which is non-different from it, and through it alone the objective manifestation finally comes to rest in the I-consciousness.

In the empirical self or the individual, *manas* and the senses etc. derive their energy from the *sāmānya spanda* of the transpersonal Self. So the transpersonal Self is not simply a spectator according to Śaivāgama.

But the empirical self is identified with his mind-body complex and is unaware of the nature of the transpersonal Self. When by means of *sādhanī* (spiritual praxis), he sheds his identification with the mind-body complex and is in perfect harmony with the *sāmānya spanda* of the transpersonal Self, he acquires contact with the energy of the Higher Self or *ātmabala-sparśa*, he is no longer a mere *paśu*, a mere empirical self, but becomes a *pati-pramātā*, a conscious participant of the Divine Life.

But the problem is ‘how to acquire *ātmabala-sparśa*. Before we understand how to acquire *ātmabala-sparśa*, we shall have to understand how we are landed in ignorance regarding our essential Self. Spandakārikā says in verse 45 :

“शब्दराशिसमुत्थस्य शक्तिवर्गस्य भोग्यताम् ।
कलाविलुप्तविभवः गतः सन् स पशुः स्मृतः ॥”

“Being deprived of his glory by *Kalā*, he (the empirical individual) becomes a victim of the group of Powers arising from the multitude of words, and thus he is known as the bound one (paśu).”

The Self-verbalising of the Supreme as *ahamvimarśa* gives rise to the multitude of phonemes. *Aham* contains all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet (from अ to ह). At its own supreme level, it is creative of the universe. But even at lower levels, the phonemes are not merely dead, inert letters. They are *śakti-varga*, stores of energy. Man, at the lower levels, loses sight of the divine I-Consciousness which is transpersonal and becomes a victim of the empirical consciousness of the psycho-physical I and begins to think “I am Mr. John or Smith, the son of so and so, occupying this particular position” etc., and thus loses sight of his divine heritage.

This is not all. The fall from the divine I-consciousness gives rise to all kinds of *pratyaya* or *vikalpa* in which he is terribly involved.

“परामृतरसापायस्तस्य यः प्रत्ययोद्भूवः ।
तेनास्वतंत्रामेति स च तन्मात्रगोचरः ॥” Sp. K. 46

“The rise, in the bound soul, of all sorts of ideas marks the disappearance of the bliss of supreme immortality. On account of this, he loses his independence. The appearance of the ideas has its sphere in sense-objects.”

When Śakti is oriented towards the outside, it manifests itself in *pratyayas*, in all kinds of *vikalpas*. The individual now wanders in *samsāra*, a victim of the whirling of *vikalpas*.

What is the way out? How can one acquire the *ātma-bala-sparśa*? *Spanda kārikā* says :

यदा त्वेकव संरूढस्तदा तस्य लयोदयी ।
नियच्छन्भोक्तृतामेति ततश्चक्रेश्वरो भवेत् ॥” Sp. K. 51

“When, however, he is firmly rooted in the *spanda* principle, thus bringing the emergence and dissolution of the appearance of *pratyaya* or *vikalpas* entirely under his control, he becomes the real enjoyer and thenceforth the lord of the collective whole of the śaktis.”

Spandakārikā advises the *bhāvanā* of the *sāmānya-spanda* or *aham-vimarśa* as the panacea of all the ills of psycho-physical existence.

The role of *bhāvanā* in spiritual development

This *bhāvanā* of the *Spandatattva* requires further explanation. *Bhāvanā* of *spanda-tattva* means constantly dwelling on the thought that my real Self is the *aham-vimarśa* of the Divine.

The problem is—every *vikalpa* is a thought-construct, a discrete idea, distinct from every other idea, a product of the discussing intellect, determinate, and therefore conditioned by education, environment, tradition, space-time, whereas the essential Reality is unconditioned. How can the conditioned mind *sāvikalpaka citta* ever grasp that central Reality which by its very nature is unconditioned, *nirvikalpaka* ?

First of all, we shall have to understand the meaning of word *bhāvana*. It is derived from the root ‘bhū’—to become. *Bhāvanā* is its causative form, meaning ‘to make become.’ There is no parallel word in the English language, nor in any modern Indian language. It is not like any other *vikalpa* or discrete thought. It points to a power of the deeper layer of the mind which makes one become what one is constantly dwelling on. It means *creative contemplation*. It is *śuddha vikalpa*, i.e. dwelling on the spanda of the Divine I-consciousness. The Divine I-consciousness is transpersonal; it is not involved in our personal emotions and value judgements; it is completely free from our personal quirks. So there is no risk of our personal emotions interfering with or vitiating the *bhāvanā* of *śuddha vikalpa*. By means of *bhāvanā*, *citta* or the individual mind itself becomes *mantra*, and acquires its potency.

What happens then is very well brought out by the following verses of *Span-dakārikā* :

“तदाकम्य बलं मंत्राः सर्वज्ञबलशालिनः .
प्रवर्ततेऽधिकाराय करणानीव देहिनाम् -२६,
तत्रैव संप्रलीयन्ते शान्तरूपा निरञ्जनाः
सहाराधकचित्तेन तैन ते शिवर्धमिणः ॥” २७

“The *mantras* by acquiring power of *spandatattva* become omniscient and proceed to carry out their office as the senses do of the embodied ones.”—26.

“Becoming *śuddha-samvit*, freed from the stain of *Māyā*, they get dissolved in the pure I-consciousness together with the mind of the aspirant. Therefore, the *mantras* are of the nature of *Śiva*.”—27.

A doubt still persists, *Vikalpa* is after all a mere, discrete thought-construct. How can this lead us to the realization of a Reality which by its very nature is *nirvikalpa* ?

Abhinavagupta says that in *bhāvanā*, the mind is attuned to *spanda-tattva*, to *svarūpa-cintana*, to reflection on the essential nature of the Supreme, and thus there is *vikalpa-samskāra* or purification of *vikalpa*. It no longer remains like an ordinary *vikalpa* of the work-a-day world. A purified *vikalpa* gives rise to another purified *vikalpa*, and thus there is a continuum of purified *vikalpas*. This purification has to pass through four stages.

चेतुष्वैव विकल्पेषु यः संस्कारः क्रमादसी ।
 अस्फुटः स्फुटताभावी प्रस्फुटन्स्फुटितात्मकः ॥
 (Tantrāloka, IV, 4).

As first, it is *asphuṭa*—immature, then *sphuṭatābhāvī*—oriented towards maturity, then *prasphuṭana*—becoming mature, and finally *sphuṭitātmaka*—mature.

When it becomes *sphuṭatama* i.e. when the maturity of purification reaches its Zenith,

ततः स्फुटतमोदारताद्रूप्यपरिवृहिता ।
 संविदम्येति विमलतामविकल्पस्वरूपाम् ॥
 (Tantrāloka, IV, 6).

then it becomes akin to *avikalpaka*, and is ready to be dissolved in the *nirvikalpaka*, *spanda-tattva*, the supreme I-consciousness of Śiva. It has reached a stage where the *vikalpas* of other value of life are completely annihilated.

अतः प्रतिद्वन्द्वरूपो विकल्प उदितः संसारहेतुं विकल्पं दलयति इति अभ्युदयहेतुः”

(Tantrasāra, p. 21).

The fully purified *vikalpa* becomes an adversary of those *vikalpas* which lead to transmigratory existence and destroys them completely.

By means of *vikalpa-saṃskāra* (purification of *vikalpa*), *citta* or the individual mind becomes purified, and then arises *sahaja-vidyā* which is an experience of harmonization of the individual mind with the I-consciousness, the spanda or pulsation of the Supreme.

Thus we see that *sāmānya spanda* or I-consciousness of Śiva is not simply a spectator, merely a witnessing consciousness in man. It sheds its *anugraha* or grace on the *prabuddha* or partially awakened individual and makes him *supra-buddha* or fully awakened.

According to Saivāgama, the universal consciousness or *cit* itself has become individual consciousness or *citta*.

As *pratyabhijñāhṛdayam* puts it “चितिरेव चेतनपदादवरुद्धा चेत्यसंकोचिनी चित्तम्”—5.
 “Citi (universal consciousness) itself descending from the stage of *cetana* (the uncontracted conscious stage) becomes *citta* (individual consciousness) inasmuch as it becomes contracted in conformity with the objects of consciousness (*Cetya*).”

In Self-fulfilment, *Citta* becomes *citi* again

“तत्सरिज्ञाने चित्तमेव अन्तर्मुखीभावेन चेतनपदाद्यारोहात् चितिः” 13

So, by *vikalpa-saṃskāra* in the process of *bhāvanā*, *citta* becomes *cit*. The individual has now entered the *sanctum sanctorium*. He no longer lives *sub specie temporis* but *sub specie aeternitatis*.

THE TANTRIC STRUCTURE OF AKHANDA MAHAYOGA

ARLENE MAZAK BREUININ

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj was recognized throughout India as the foremost modern authority on the Hindu Tantric traditions, but while his reputation as a religious scholar and text editor was well-established, few outside his small circle of disciples were aware of his extraordinary spiritual accomplishments as a Tantrik yogin. Kaviraj himself had not only experienced all the higher stages of consciousness associated with the ascent of kundalini through the chakras, but had dedicated himself to an advanced form of sadhana that went beyond all the traditional goals of Tantric yoga.

Calling the yoga that he practised the supreme integral yoga (akhanda maha-yoga), Kaviraj envisioned its ultimate result as an ideal that had never before been attained : the simultaneous collective liberation of the entire world. Despite the awesomeness of the goal, the theory and practices associated with Kaviraj's sadhana are not unique to him, but arise from a hitherto unreported sampradaya associated with the yogic masters of a hidden siddhashram somewhere in Tibet, called Jnanaganj.

The concept of collective liberation is not new in India. In Mahayana Buddhism, the bodhisattva vows to work for the liberation of all beings, but he or she expects that when nirvana has been attained, it will be renounced so that the bodhisattva can voluntarily reincarnate until the end of time for the spiritual welfare of all other beings. Not until every being has entered nirvana will the bodhisattva at last also enter nirvana. Such a perspective requires countless aeons to achieve collective liberation.

Other possible scenarios have been considered, including embellishments on the concept of a cosmic form of kundalini, just now beginning to awaken on a mass scale, which will direct the future evolution of mankind to an eventual collective liberation. However, with the self-destructive direction of many events in modern history, a new sense of urgency has entered the speculation of a number of Hindu saints who are concerned with the welfare of the world. In his own way, Sri Aurobindo attempted to achieve collective liberation with his efforts to bring

about the descent of the Supermind, thereby creating a new race of supermen in whom the Supermind, rather than the mind, would be the usual mode of functioning. But Sri Aurobindo did not know if the Supermind would transform all mankind, or only that part ready to receive it.

Gopinath Kaviraj and the yogins of the Jnanaganj ashram believe in the possibility of achieving collective liberation for all mankind. Moreover, they are convinced that a highly advanced yogin can achieve it as the result of one prodigious sadhana to be completed in a single life-time. In effect, such a sadhana, if successful, would be the most important event in world-history, a revelation of truth simultaneously illuminating billions of minds, forever altering the destiny of mankind. Like the Greek titan Prometheus who stole fire from heaven, Kaviraj was in fact a modern-day culture-hero, who ascended to the highest ontic planes of yoga in an attempt to bring down the fire of a cosmic form of kundalini for the benefit of all beings and the spiritual perfection of human society in our own time.

While we may characterise akhanda mahayoga as having primarily a world-redemptive function, it is very difficult to understand the details of the theory of this mahayoga from Kaviraj's writings. Although the world would receive the ultimate benefit from his sadhana, he was reluctant to publicize his efforts. Among his essays, there are few devoted to this subject, because details of the theory are reserved for those initiated by the masters of Jnanaganj, who are expected to practise the yoga single-heartedly. Kaviraj himself received these teachings from his own guru, Visuddhananda Paramahansa, who had practised yoga at Jnanaganj for some twenty years before returning to India.

What materials we do have are scattered discussions of certain aspects of akhanda mahayoga (vide bibliography); these are replete with hermeneutical problems, due to the way Kaviraj utilizes classical philosophical terminology in contexts that require a revisioning of their semantic meanings. Ordinarily, Kaviraj did not write about any stage of the sadhana until it had been completed because he felt that the sadhana itself was very sensitive to outside influences. Since he did not live to finish the final stages of his sadhana, our written records are necessarily incomplete. The Indian concept of adhikara or fitness to understand also plays a part in preserving the esoteric nature of these teachings. Even among the disciples of both Visuddhananda and Kaviraj, only a few received specific instructions about akhanda mahayoga, and even among these few, differences of interpretation have been noticed.

What then can we know of akhanda mahayoga? Recognising that our own interpretation will be only one understanding among others that may exist, we shall try to follow Kaviraj's explanations by studying his mahayoga as an extension of principles and processes that underlie the traditional Tantric sadhanas. Kaviraj himself has mentioned this aspect of his yoga, and this will be our approach.

To the extent that akhanda mahayoga is innovative, we have only the few hints that he has given of the problems of a pioneering yogin, and the procedures to be followed to gain the great goal of universal liberation. Here our discussion can only be an incomplete outline of its direction.

Envisioning the Nature of Liberation

Dissatisfaction with mundane existence and an intuition of the possibility of freedom from suffering in a permanent state of liberation or moksa is a leitmotif in much of Indian religious philosophy. But the actual nature of transcendent existence was much debated by the various Hindu sampradayas. In Samkhya, liberation was conceived as kaivalya, or the purity and freedom of the spirit or purusa isolated from the defilements of matter or prakrti. In the Nyaya-Vaisesika schools, liberation as resulting from the destruction of the visesa gunas of the Self, is similar in certain respects to the Samkhyan viewpoint. In Advaita Vedanta as well, although the Self is considered to be singular rather than a plurality, the transcendence of maya can be understood as a form of kaivalya. The quality of consciousness per se does not inhere in the pure transcendence of spirit in any of these schools. Rather it is a quality of spirit when associated with conditioning factors. As a result, the Tantric acaryas view these forms of kaivalya as really states of "unconsciousness."

The theistic schools of Hinduism devalue kaivalya as a spiritual goal, preferring rather communion with the Divine. Devotion plays an essential role both in the attainment of this goal, and in the description of the liberated being as a loving associate of the Divine. Some of these schools speak of the manifestation of divine powers in the soul. The early history of these theistic schools is associated with one or another of the Agamic traditions, from where they entered the mainstream of Vedic speculation.

But still another goal is expressed in those nondualistic Agamas which are closely related to the Tantras. This is the ideal of purnatva, or radical Self-integration. In the commentarial literature associated with these Agamas and Tantras, kaivalya, and even communion with the Divine, are only stages on a spiritual journey, that results in the complete divinization of the yogin. On this journey, samsara must not only be transcended but also transformed. Spirit is itself cetana, or having the quality of consciousness due to the existence of cit sakti in union with it. The conscious spirit penetrates non-samsaric realms beyond kaivalya, eventually discovering that even the delights of the Divine paradises ultimately arise from its own transcendent nature.

Ultimate truth, which is called paripurna, or "perfect", to distinguish it from that which is purna or "complete", contains both the samsaric and the non-samsaric realms as an integral unity. All of these realms are within oneself as modalities of

being simultaneously interpenetrating in a state of samarasya or equilibrium. It is the paradoxical nature of samarasya that diversity can manifest freely without compromising the essential nonduality of the supreme spiritual realization. The paripurna realization is not a teaching based on the bhedabheda philosophical perspective, but rather upon an uncompromising notion of advaya, as "not-two". Advaya is said to be beyond bheda, bhedabheda and abheda realizations—all these are subsumed to its own reality.

In many different passages throughout his writings, Kaviraj reveals his own preference for the Tantric goals of transformation, integration and samarasya, rather than kaivalya or divine communion. In Hindu Tantrism, the emphasis on transformation and integration is evident at every stage of sadhana. By means of examining the central Tantric concept of bindu, we can enter into an exploration of the intentionality of Tantric yoga. At the basis of every Tantric sadhana is a concern for the purification, ascent and stabilization of bindu. According to the yogic theory of the Tantras, ordinary people do not have the experience of this stable bindu. Instead, bindu is constantly revolving and causing the play of time; due to its instability it oozes kalas, creating the mortal body and the unconscious world.

But the Tantric yogin is able to reverse all the processes of world-creation. By concentrating the mind at the place between the eyebrows, the world becomes unmanifest. For the yogin, at least, the world dissolves, and the mind becomes pure, one-pointed and full of light. It is here that the mind is experienced as a luminous bindu; the world is only an expansion of this one-pointed mind. (Kaviraj 1378, p. 320) This bindu is actually the World-ground and is homologized with the impure ego (asuddha aham). Due to the existence of vasanas that impel world-creation and enjoyment, this bindu is unstable. It can be understood as the yogin's own prakrti or shakti responsible for the appearance of this false world. It is said to have fifteen kalas or parts. It lacks the sixteenth kala of pure spirit. The function of kundalini is to transform the unstable bindu which oozes into the stable bindu, or higher-order pure ego (suddha aham) which has sixteen kalas. In this process, kaivalya is first attained and then renounced for uniquely Tantric modes of transforming the unstable into the stable bindu.

In Tantric theory, the unstable and the stable bindus are referred to as ksara prakrti and aksara prakrti, respectively. The arising of kundalini purifies ksara prakrti and enables her to ascend toward ksara purusa in kaivalya and unite with him. This union is at first only momentary—the yogin has a fleeting experience of kaivalya, and then the ksara bindu descends, due to the existence of impure vasana. As bindu rises, vasanas melt, but do not disappear entirely. Due to their re-coagulation, albeit in a weaker condition, bindu redescends. But through repeated practice, the bindu is made to ascend again and again, until the union with ksara

Purusa stabilizes. Thereafter, the bindu does not re-descend, because all impure vasanas have been completely destroyed by kundalini.

This stable bindu is the union or *yugala* of sixteen kalas, when the conscious sixteenth kala experienced in *kaivalya* fully interpenetrates the unconscious fifteen kalas, making all of the kalas conscious and forging them into a higher-order unity. In this interpenetration, *ksara purusa* and *ksara prakrti* lose their separate identities, and the yogin attains a state of transcendent being beyond time and also beyond the passivity of *kaivalya*. This stable union marks an ontic transformation which has the symbolic form of *aksara prakrti*. In contrast to *ksara prakrti* which is unconscious *prakrti*, this *prakrti* is conscious and full of light—it is known as *cit-sakti* and described as the complete or *purna* state. In Tantric theory, *aksara prakrti* is associated with divine nectar (*amrta*) and non-samsaric realms such as divine paradises. The yogin who attains this level enters the abode of transcendent delights and the manifestation of his own divine powers.

However, as the *sadhana* continues, the yogin becomes aware of a state of consciousness beyond even *aksara prakrti*; this is the *aksara purusa* who is the witness of the fullness of *aksara prakrti*. Just as impure *vasana* separates *ksara prakrti* from *ksara purusa*, so pure *vasana* separates *aksara prakrti* from *aksara purusa*. It is this pure *vasana* that provides the material for *lila*. When *aksara purusa* exerts a pulling-force upon *aksara prakrti*, she unites with him. As a result of the *lila* or repeated union and disunion of *aksara prakrti* and *aksara purusa*, a further ontic transformation occurs when pure *vasanas* totally disappear. At that time, *aksara prakrti* and *aksara purusa* fully interpenetrate, which dissolves their separate identities, and in their stead *parama prakrti* develops, which has seventeen kalas. In fact, *parama prakrti* is a complex unity, said also to be the union of the *ksara* and *aksara prakrtis*. This is the *advaitic* stage called *samarasya*, which is the balanced interpenetration of the samsaric and non-samsaric realms. Ultimately, it is the self-manifestation of the yogin's own *ananda-sakti*. The number seventeen is actually symbolic of an endless number of kalas.

Beyond even *parama prakrti* is *parama-purusa*, himself the union of the *ksara* and *aksara purusas*. *Parama-prakrti* as *ananda-sakti* saturates *parama-purusa* with *rasa*, and this is the experience of the yogin who can identify with *parama-purusa*. *Purusottama* and *parama-prakrti* both exist within *advaita*. Even though it is an *advaitic* state, they are distinct from each other for the sake of enjoying a secret *lila* together. *Parama-prakrti* as *ananda-sakti* is intent on developing *rasa*, and increasing the blissful enjoyment of *purusottama*. When the *lila* of *parama-prakrti* and *parama-purusa* ends, a unitary infinite consciousness manifests as *mahacaitanya* beyond all forms of *purusa* and *prakrti* and beyond all divine *lilas*. When the yogin can attain this supreme unity of *mahacaitanya*, he reaches the end of the *sadhantic* path.

We can see how the orthodox theory of three sets of purusa and prakrti, found in the Bhagavata-gita and Vaisnava speculation, has been revalued in Hindu Tantrism to refer to the essential stages of yoga related to the transformation of bindu. Moreover, in Tantric theory, the three sets of purusa and prakrti have a far more extended usage than in orthodox Hinduism, because they are used to structure the entire system of Tantric sadhana. In each of the traditional Tantric paths associated with pasvacara, viracara and divyacara, one can find the relationship between the three sets of purusa and prakrti. Progressively identifying with each prakrti and purusa, and finally with mahacaitanya, constitutes a yogic ascent of adjacent ontic levels mapped out within one of these paths. Since these three sets of prakrti and purusa mark the advanced stages of a single path, the repetition of the terms in the other Tantric paths reveals the consistent structure of yogic ascent as a whole. While the sets of terms do not vary nominally from path to path, their ontic referents do change, and by studying the pattern of these changes, the interrelationship of the paths can be known as a massively coordinated architectonic structure.

We can as well study the relationships between the various Tantric paths, and the development of synergy in Tantric sadhana, by focussing on one or another of these transformations, as the pattern reappears in the different paths. For example we can study the transformation from ksara prakrti to aksara prakrti in relation to each of the traditional Tantric paths—those of the pasu, the vira and the deva. Kaviraj reveals the architectonic structure of kundalini, by discussing three kinds of kundalini related to the three paths, respectively. (1378, pp. 223-224.) First unconscious prakrti awakens as kriya-sakti, which is effected chiefly by means of practicing the asanas and mudras of hatha-yoga. This is the path of karma in which the enjoyment of minor-siddhis is attained, but no real jnana. However, on the next path of jnana, which leads to liberation, the second type of kundalini known as jnana-sakti awakens within maya, along with already awakened kriya-sakti. These two awakenings constitute the right (daksina) and left (vama) paths of classical Tantric sadhana.

But the third type of kundalini awakens as iccha-sakti within mahamaya or visuddhasattva by means of bhakti, on the central path when jnana-and kriya-sakti are fully united as aisvarik-sakti. In the Tantras, this is celebrated as the simultaneous realization of enjoyment (bhukti) and liberation (mukti), when the yogin begins to experience as his own nature both the cosmic functions and the inner transcendent reality of the Lord as Siva.

The right and left paths are related to each other as out-going (pravrtti) and in-going (nivrtti) currents. In the right path, the aspirant journeys outward through the lower evolutionary levels of consciousness until he comprehends the real nature of jiva-hood. In the left path, he journeys inward until he finds that his own nature as Siva exists behind the appearance of jiva-hood. In the third path, which is the

union of the previous two paths, he fully explores his divine nature, penetrating inner zones of himself as the Lord that in actuality constitute entry into the Godhead.

Kaviraj hints at the existence of a fourth path, which he calls the brahma-path, beyond all gunas including suddha sattva, but he does not elaborate further about this path (1378, p. 224). Nonetheless, a fourth path is clearly established in Kashmir Saivism where it is called anupaya. On this path, there is the awakening of mahakundalini as ananda-sakti or the perfectly established unity of iccha-, jnana and kriya-saktis, or the triphasic kundalini. The yogin dis-identifies with his nature as Lord Siva in order to fully experience himself as Paramasiva, or the complete Godhead. While this fourth path is not explicated in the Sakta Tantras, an aspect of it can be previewed at the end of the third path, in the yogic state called "beyond all bhavas" (bhavatita) when the yogin becomes identified with the supreme cit-sakti as the Mother of both jiva and Siva, the integral source of both bondage and liberation.

Whether in the Saiva or the Sakta schools, integration is in fact the goal of each of the traditional Tantric paths, all of which move towards the development of yogic awareness as an integral or akhanda mandala made of seventeen kalas. Categories which are opposite in orthodox darsanas are made to interpenetrate in Tantric yoga. Matter (the five bhutas) and mind (manas), prakrti and purusa, maya and brahman—each of these dyads is separated in the course of one or another sadhana of the orthodox Hindu schools, but in Tantrism, separation is only the first step. The Tantrists call it purification, which is itself followed by transforming the unconscious element by means of integrating it into transcendence, and finally effecting a holistic unity of samsara and transcendence which is balanced (samarasa) and marked by its own dynamic play. This is consciousness as an akhanda mandala—a integral whole in which all lower-order relationship co-exist and interpenetrate in perfect harmony.

In the course of gaining the seventeenth kala of the different Tantric paths, each succeeding akhanda mandala subsumes all the lower-order integrations within its own higher-order structure. Consequently, some Tantric yogins are not content even with the transformation of maya and its integration with brahman, but rather proceed on the brahma-path to make mahamaya and the state of sivatva which is beyond it into an akhanda mandala, thereby attaining parabrahman beyond all forms of the universe.

The Transformation of the Body

Tantric yogins discovered a means of avoiding the inactive state of bodiless kaivalya, by transforming the body itself, so that it can become a fit receptacle for supporting the full experience of mukti. Consequently, in Tantric siddhi, the unconscious body is not to be left behind, but rather purified and made conscious.

This is called kaya-siddhi and involves the progressive transformation of the body, which forms a central aspect of Tantric sadhana within each of its paths.

The Tantric yogin begins from the state of ordinary human experience, in which the ego claims the gross body and its aggregate of ten senses as its modus operandi for experiencing the world. But the yogin practices techniques that will lead not only to the transcendence of this body, but also to the development of a higher order mode of being : the creation of a subtle body (Kaviraj 1963, pp. 188-189). According to the Tantrists, all human beings have a subtle essence (*sukṣma satta*) which exists behind the physical body and animates it. This subtle essence is separated from the body at death, and continues its existence. But only yogins who have awakened kundalini can transform this subtle essence into a functioning subtle body. Naturally one who identifies primarily with the subtle body will have a subtle ego. The ego of the gross body will only be a reflection on the lower level of that subtle center of self-identity. Moreover, the yogin will be able to enter and exit his gross body at will.

But the Tantrist who seeks the goal of supreme integration (*purnatva*) does not stop his progress here. In the course of continued sadhana, he will dis-identify with this subtle body and its ego, and begin to identify with an emerging causal body which has its own higher-order ego. This causal body is a transformation of his causal essence (*karana satta*) created by the increased activity of kundalini.

Each of these yogic bodies is deliberately created to facilitate the process of dis-identification and re-identification with an emergent transcendent principle. Whereas the sadhaka who seeks kaivalya certainly attains transcendence, he cannot ascend further in the bodiless stage. But the yogin who re-identifies with the transcendent body, has at his disposal a vehicle for further sadhana and further comparable with the purusa-kaivalya of Samkhya, but has the means to continue to higher modes of being beyond this attainment.

At the level of the causal body and its ego, the Tantric yogin once again must develop means to disengage himself from it. In the technical language of their sastras, this is called *purnahuti*—the complete surrender of the causal ego, and with it the transcendence of *maya*. But here again the yogin is dissatisfied with kaivalya, even though this is the *nirvisesa brahman* of the Advaita Vedantists. Once more, the Tantrist is occupied with the creation of a body—this body must be able to support the atmik consciousness without any obscuration. This is called the supercausal or baindava body, which is not made of mayik materials, but rather the aprakrta material of *visuddha sattva*.

As the yogin ascends taking the support of various yogic bodies, he not only transcends the limitations of finite existence, but also moves towards the goal of spiritual unification with other *jivas*. The yogin who identifies with a causal

body is still separate from other jivas, because at this level, all causal sattas are separate. The Tantrists honor this doctrine of the Samkhyans that purusas are multiple and distinct from one another. But, when the Tantrist attains the supercausal or baindava body, the multiplicity of purusas merge into a single purusa. At the supercausal level, the Tantrist attains the unicity of atman and oneness with all jivas. Hence, Tantrists also honor the doctrine of one atman taught in Advaita Vedanta. But the Tantrist makes a crucial distinction between the spiritual achievements of the orthodox Hindu mystics and their own achievements. Because the body is transformed from an unconscious condition or upadhi to a conscious support, the Tantrist claims to have complete awareness of being liberated because enlightenment has also penetrated his buddhi.

With the supercausal body, a supercausal ego develops. No longer concerned with his own liberation, which has been achieved, the yogin at this level is intent on relieving the sufferings of others, and leading them to liberation. Because the yogin's supercausal essence is united with that of all jivas, he can be involved in assisting in the welfare of others.

However this baindava body is also not the last of the yogic bodies. When the Tantrist can succeed in disidentifying with this body and this ego, and when he can develop a form for his transcendent consciousness, he attains the sakta body. The physical body, the senses, and the mind lose their unconsciousness and become one entity with atman. With the attainment of the sakta body, the yogin has healed forever the creative split between spirit and matter. No matter how old the yogin is when he attains the sakta body, age disappears. He becomes forever youthful, beyond old age and decay, and achieves immortality, the eternal dream of mankind.

The Sadhana of the Corpse-Seat (savasana)

If we are to penetrate something of the mysteries of the Jnanaganj ashram, we shall have to investigate the meaning of a special siddhayoga pitha established in Varanasi, at the ashram of Kaviraj's guru, Visuddhananda Paramahamsa. Within a special walled enclosure on the grounds of that ashram is a small temple housing a Siva-linga and decorated with images of the ten mahavidyas, the famous mandala of goddesses worshipped by Bengali Sakta Tantrists. Beneath this temple is an underground meditation chamber dedicated to the sadhana of the nine-skull (navamundi) asana.

If we search the Tantric scriptures and their commentaries, we shall not find any mention of this navamundi-asana, for it is a feature unique to the akhanda mahayoga taught at Jnanaganj. After forty years of yogic labor, Visuddhananda Paramahamsa established this siddhapitha in Varanasi. Kaviraj assists us to understand its function by first discussing (1963, p. 262ff) the famous Sakta Tantric

sadhana performed on the seat of five skulls, or pancamundi-asana, which formed the final stage of Tantric sadhana for such famous Bengali adepts as Ramprasada, Kamalakanta and Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

While it is possible to find many instances in the Tantric scriptures of savasana, Kaviraj concentrates on a special form of savasana which is more symbolic than literal in execution. This is perhaps because the goal is not any worldly desire or supernatural siddhi, but rather ontic transcendence. The corpse that is used in this sadhana is the yogin's own body. When the yogin totally disidentifies with his physical body, his consciousness makes a complete exit, leaving that body inert like a corpse. Transcendent consciousness is shown as cit-sakti, dancing on the corpse. This body and its ego is not only to be dissolved, but its purified essence is to be transformed into a new mode of being. It is to be revived as a higher-order body with its own ego, by means of unification with cit-sakti. Hence, Sakti's dance on the corpse of Siva is full of erotic intent, rather than domination, because she is about to effect a complete ontic transformation by her union with him. The symbolism of the cremation ground and erotic union are always joined together in Tantrism to indicate ego-death and initiatory rebirth.

In discussing the symbolism of savasana, Kaviraj indicates that the progressive series of yogic bodies can be understood as cosmic in structure. Each body, being correlated with a world-experience, represents an anda, a "world-egg" or organized universe. Whereas in Puranic cosmology, the brahmanda is the largest organization of the universe, the Tantric scriptures have vastly extended this perspective. Beyond the brahmanda are the prakrtyanda, the mayanda and the saktanda, each higher anda incorporating within itself the lower-order andas. The yogin who can identify his body with an anda is the ruler of that anda. Hence, as the yogin progresses from one sadhanic path to another, he successively identifies with Brahma, the ruler of the brahmanda, Visnu the ruler of the prakrtyanda, Siva the ruler of the mayanda, Isvara and Sadasiva, the co-rulers (extrovert and introvert) of the saktanda. These five deities are the causal lords, the adhikari devatas, responsible for governing the universe.

As the yogin successively identifies with higher-order anda-bodies, he develops these higher-order forms of mind. Each of these forms of mind must be gradually surrendered. In Tantric theory, time exists so long as mind exists. Consequently, the yogin who is intent on surrendering mind is also in the process of transcending time. As there are higher-order forms of mind, there are also higher-order experiences of time, but all these forms of time are considered to be bondage.

Only yogins have the training to recognize and work with subtle forms of mind and time; these are associated with super-sensuous experiences of subtle sound, or nada. When the yogin is able to transcend his body-anda, he attains the bindu, or source-point in the void of his heart. His next task is to pierce this

bindu, to transcend it. During that process, he divides bindu into parts, known as ardhamatra. As he transcends the nine stages of ardhamatra, he hears various forms of nada.

This nada experienced in samadhi is homologized with the nada from which the universe emerged. When the universe dissolves in pralaya, it again becomes nada which itself disappears into the eternal silence. Consequently, when the yogin is intent on disidentifying with his body-as-anda, he tries to progressively disengage consciousness from it. The body-as-anda becomes inert as it is transcended. Just as the universe dissolves into nada, so the yogin who begins to transcend his body-universe hears nada. As each anda undergoes pralaya, he hears different types of nada.

When mind and time have been completely transcended, the yogin discovers the eternal present or ksana. It is beyond time, but not really other than the transformation of time into eternity. Yet the Tantric path does not end with the transcendence of time and the attainment of eternity. In keeping with their ideal of samarasya, Tantrists wish to experience the relationship of time and eternity as "not-two", but rather an interpenetrating unity. In the akhanda mandala, time has the form of akhanda time and exists only for the sake of endless lila.

Whenever a yogin can completely disidentify from a causal deity, he surrenders that anda-body and its ego. Removing his consciousness from that support, it becomes a corpse. The yogin symbolically demonstrates the transcendence of that modality by sitting on a skull. This is the relationship of the seat (asana) which is unconscious and the sitter (asina) who is conscious. The yogin who can make all five causal deities into corpses sits on the pancamundi-asana. Mahasakti as cit-sakti or mahakundalini dances on this asana. She is in the form of Kali, and the yogin obtains a position at her feet to the extent that he can identify with the five corpses. As mahakundalini, she is intent on the process of transforming the entire unconscious creation into the manifestation of pure consciousness (suddha caitanya) beyond even visuddha sattva. When this transformation is complete, the ultimate or integral ego which is called purnahanta shines in all directions. In the Tantras, purnahanta is celebrated as the supreme form of sabdabrahman, the samarasya of Siva and Sakti as para-vak. In purnahanta, pure consciousness is not only transcendent (visvatita) but also immanent (visvamaya) in the entire universe made of four andas.

Purnahanta includes the entire universe within itself as itself. Although it is spoken of as the integral ego, technically speaking it is not an ego, because ego is defined against an "other." Yet in purnahanta, there is no experience of anything other than oneself. Before the universe is emitted as creation (srsti), it is said to exist like a child in a completely conscious, supercausal state in the womb of

Sakti. It is at this level that the yogin gains the sakta or siddha body, in which pure consciousness permeates the entire universe which is experienced as his own body.

Nonetheless, purnahanta and the attainment of the sakta body are still less than the supreme Tantric goal, which is purnatva. Purnatva as Paramasiva is reflected on the mirror of Mahasakti, and Paramasiva knows himself as full (purna) in the experience of purnahanta. Purnatva itself is beyond purnahanta, beyond all forms of aham or ego. In purnatva, there is no difference between Siva, Sakti and the universe. All are dissolved in one supreme essence (parama satta). It is the all-pervasive consciousness of parabrahman or Paramasiva who is beyond the thirty-six tattvas. This attainment of parabrahman as purnatva is the supreme goal celebrated in the traditional Tantric texts, and the final result of the panca-mundi sadhana.

Yogic Kingdoms : (1) Khanda Yoga

In clarifying the nature of akhanda mahayoga, Kaviraj contrasts it with two other yogas which he calls khanda yoga and mahakhanda yoga. (1963, pg. 205ff.) An understanding of these terms is critical if we are to ascertain the level of his own advanced sadhana, yet our endeavour is particularly difficult because these terms are innovative and not found in the classical literature of Hindu Tantrism. Yet we would argue that a close analysis of his discussion yields clues that point to the probability that they arise from his own critique of the goals of classical Tantric sadhana. This perspective seems evident just from the names he has chosen : khanda which means partial, mahakhanda or beyond partial yoga, and akhanda the integral whole, with its expressed intent of limitless efficacy.

Khanda-yoga is carefully distinguished from the Vedantic goal of bodiless kaivalya in cidakasa, because pure transcendence from maya is only one stage on the path of the khanda-yogin. In yoga-diksa, the guru gives the khanda-yogin an asana or seat which will support his consciousness so that it can be anchored in the bodiless state. Along with this asana, the guru also gives a pure plane beyond time for doing the sadhana. This pure plane is a yogic kingdom structured like a mandala, with a circumference and a central bindu. The circumference is called the kingdom of the guru (guru-dharma). Kaviraj identifies it with the visuddha-adhvan, or level of mahamaya.

There is no entry to this kingdom of the guru without the development of divya-jnana or suddhavidya as cit-sakti. Let us recall that cit-sakti is unknown to Advaita Vedanta, and constitutes an essential difference and advance over the goal of kaivalya from maya. It is the task of the khanda yogin to spread his asana on the kingdom of the guru, where he will begin to do his sadhana of atma-karma. In this way, the yogin's own effort (purusartha) augments the grace or krpa of the guru.

To understand the meaning of atma-karma, we must first consider the nature of anatma-karma, which Kaviraj defines as karma occurring in the stage of ignorance, when Self-knowledge takes the support of the body-mind complex. So long as the yogin has not transcended maya, he does anatma-karma. Atma-karma arises after there is the discrimination between atman and maya, known as viveka, when Self-knowledge or atma-bodha arises in pure aham. From this description, it is quite clear that the sadhana of doing atma-karma occurs in the stage of the sixteenth kala. Two possibilities exist for the yogin, depending on whether he can complete the sadhana :

(a) if atma-karma can be completed even while the physical body exists, the yogin can obtain the central position in the pericarp of the lotus, as its supreme ruler. This central position of the supreme bindu is above cidakasa and identified with the attainment of siva tattva or the full nature of Siva (sivatva). Kaviraj calls it mahabhava, the seventeenth kala, when the yogin attains the sakta body.

(b) if the yogin dies before completing atma-karma, he can obtain only a position on one of the petals of the lotus. This position is less desirable, because it is subservient to the central bindu, and the yogin is denied complete mastery over the kingdom of the guru.

Kaviraj actually describes 3 types of the khanda yogin. However, none of them can attain the essential nature or svarupa of the Mother, but rather only her "shadows." The highest type of khanda yogin attains her first "shadow" or chaya. This is the central bindu of the kingdom of the guru, when purnahanta is attained. The intermediate type of yogin attains "the shadow of the shadow" or anuchaya, the petal of the lotus, identified with the upper part of cidakasa. Here the universe is seen floating on ahambhava, which is in its centre. The lowest type of yogin reaches only "the shadow of the second shadow" or pratichaya. This particular typology seems to be based on the hierarchization of ontic levels traversed on the path of the khanda yogin. If this is true, the lowest type of khanda yogin may be placed at the level of the fifteenth kala, or the tattva of maya, attained after the mayanda has been dissolved.

Beyond these three stages is the end of the khanda path, the unity of puruso-ttama and parama prakrti, which for Kaviraj is a state of oneness of iccha-, jnana-, and kriya-saktis, all completely developed; it is the attainment of purnatva.

Khanda yoga is further described as the yoga in which jiva becomes Siva. In fact, let us note that this is the very purpose of the third sadhana of classical Tantrism, and if we compare the ontic levels traversed within these two paths, as well as the way these ontic levels are related to each other in the transformative process, we find that the identification is complete.

(2) Mahakhanda Yoga

However, mahakhanda yoga is said to be the sadhana of Siva for the purpose of becoming Paramasiva. Once again the yogin obtains an asana from his guru at the time of diksa, but this asana is higher than the one obtained by the khanda yogin. The mahakhanda yogin also obtains a pure kingdom for spreading the asana, which again has the form of a mandala with a circumference and a center.

The circumference of the mandala is called the second kingdom of the guru, and is identified with Jnanaganj. It is important, however, to distinguish this kingdom of Jnanaganj from the ashram known as Jnanaganj. In fact, Kaviraj defines three kinds of Jnanaganj, by means of borrowing and revaluing Vedantic terminology : there is the paramarthik Jnanaganj, which is the second kingdom of the guru, known only to the mahakhanda yogin. There is also a pratibhasik Jnanaganj which he does not specify, and finally a vyavaharik Jnanaganj, which is the hidden ashram in Tibet.

The paramarthik Jnanaganj is a special creation, which is not a part of the creation of Brahma. This second kingdom was merely light (jyoti) in the beginning, but due to the spiritual practice of a mahakhanda yogin known as Mahatapas, one of Visuddhananda's teachers associated with the Jnanaganj ashram, it took the form of a kingdom beyond time more pervasive than the first kingdom of the guru.

The possibility of creating new kingdoms on pure ontic levels by means of yoga is not unknown in either Hinduism or Buddhism. In the Hindu scriptures, Dhruvaloka is such a creation. Sukhavati and other Buddha-fields created by the yogic sadhana of bodhisattvas are also described in the scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism. They are all places beyond the turmoil of samsara that shelter and prepare jivas for Full Enlightenment. Such kingdoms generally appear in cidakasa, but Jnanaganj differs from them in that it has been created on an ontic level beyond cidakasa, in a region which Kaviraj has called suddhakasa.

Towards the lower part of the plane of Jnanaganj is the baindava body, and toward the top is the sakta body. From above Jnanaganj all are youthful adolescents, according to their svarupa or essential nature. Everyone's position is in mahaprakasa in the form of sivatva.

Once again, the yogin will be involved in doing atma-karma on the asana spread over the yogic kingdom of Jnanaganj. But before he can do atma-karma, he must obtain transcendence from mahamaya; this is a form of kaivalya called visuddha vijnana-kaivalya, when he becomes the witness of cidakasa. (1382, p. 34.) It is a position in the brahmarandhra over the sahasrara cakra. The path continues from here, beyond the seven cakras, and Kaviraj calls it a path at the centre of the universe.

Even in visuddha vijnana-kaivalya, there is no development of Mahasakti. The yogin is Siva himself, the svarupa of cit beyond the universe, but that universe as the deed of Sakti is unconscious. Mahasakti is cit-sakti, by whose development there occurs the equilibrium (samanvaya) of conscious Siva and unconscious Sakti, which we recognize as the ontic transformation associated with the sixteenth kala as yugala. On this path, cit-sakti is considered to be Mahakundalini as ananda-sakti, who is triphasic in nature, as the union of kriya-, jnana-, and iccha-saktis.

At the center of the yogic kingdom known as Jnanaganj, is parama prakrti, or Rajarajesvari, the svarupa of Mother, which Kaviraj locates beyond mahabhava and beyond surya-mandala; i.e., the center of the second yogic kingdom is beyond yogamaya in a region known as mahaprakasa. This central bindu is also known as the kingdom of ananda, because ananda-sakti has been fully developed. According to the yogic imagery associated with this sadhana, parama-prakrti is situated in the lotus born from the navel (nabhi-mandala) of Paramasiva, which is of course the mahakanda yogin identified with Paramasiva. A secret sadhana called "cleansing of the navel" (nabhidhauti), not to be confused with the well-known practice of hatha-yoga, was utilized by Visuddhananda Paramahamsa to prepare for giving parama-prakrti or Rajarajesvari a seat on the lotus born from his own navel.

This descent to the nabhi-cakra is seen as complementary to the preceding ascent to the sahasrara. Hence, after urdhva-sakti has been developed, the yogin must proceed to develop adhah-sakti, i.e., the mahakanda yogin must descend from cidakasa through the merudanda that supports the back of the body to the sea at the level (1982, p. 31). There he must awaken Mahasakti by developing the thousand-petaled lotus of the nabhi-sea. This lower sahasrara is correlated to the higher sahasrara emanating from cidakasa. The upper sahasrara is in the form of Siva, but the lower one is in the form of Sakti. When the two become equal in strength, equilibrium (samyabhava) develops and the yogin attains his own essential nature (svarupa) as an all-embracing awareness an efficacy having the form of an akhanda mandala.

That yogin who succeeds in awakening mahakundalini and is able to pierce the bindu of her cakra, attains the Tantric stage known as brahmatva. The concept of brahmatva refers to the attainment of a position beyond cidakasa and even beyond suddhakasa, in the region of pure formless Being called mahaprakasa. For Tantrists, the Advaita Vedantic experience of brahman in cidakasa is devalued because the nature of Siva (sivatva) has not been developed; however exalted, it is still a state of pasu-nature (pasutva). Brahmatva, however, is the complete experience of all the dimensions of brahman; as such it is also called the attainment of the full nature of Paramasiva (paramasivatva). Such a yogin is known as the darpi guru. It is at this stage that the yogin identifies with the svarupa of the Mother.

Beyond even Rajarajesvari is the end of the mahakhanda path, where the temple of the mahayogin Mahatapa is located. "According to the layout of stages, Jnanaganj, the temple of Rajarajesvari, and the temple of Mahatapa Mahayogi, who is the founder of that place, are situated on different planes. Jnanaganj is at the lowest stage. The temple of Rajarajesvari is at the intermediate stage. The place of Mahatapa Mahayogi is above all the others." (1963, p. 202) While not specifically stated, it would appear that this highest plane on the mahakhanda path, can be identified with the level of unity beyond the seventeenth kala.

In reviewing the elements of mahakhanda yoga, we find that it has similarities to the fourth Tantric sadhana, i.e., sivabhava becomes paramasiva-bhava; moreover, the ontic levels traversed, and the general outline of their interrelationship, are the same in the two paths. However, mahakhanda yoga has a unique intentionality : it creates a specific kind of yogic kingdom in suddhakasa, Jnanaganj, with its centre of Rajarajesvari, which has no parallel in the fourth sadhana of Kashmir Saivism. It is not so much a place for the enjoyment of divine lila as a karma-plane for the ceaseless activity of the yogin.

(3) Akhanda Mahayoga

The paramarthik Jnanaganj is the highest actualized kingdom of the guru, but Kaviraj stresses that it is not yet the real kingdom of the guru, which is to be constructed by means of akhanda mahayoga. Just as the awakening of Siva and Sakti were important goals, respectively, of the previous two paths, the goal of akhanda mahayoga is the samarasya or complete union of Siva with his own Sakti. Kaviraj also describes it as the union of the universe with pure Being (mahasatta) beyond the universe.

This final kingdom of the guru is to be located beyond surya-mandala and beyond parama-prakrti. Since it has not yet been established, it has not received a formal name, although Kaviraj has referred to it as the kingdom of caitanya. Its field is the integral universe—nothing is outside it. The other two kingdoms of the guru are included within it. Time is also included in it—the sakti of time functions as "penetrated within" (antahpravista). Its circumference is the entire created world, containing all the tattvas down to prthivi. At its centre is the visva-guru.

As the processes uniting ontic levels attained in khanda yoga are structurally identical to the processes uniting ontic levels in mahakhanda yoga, we may ask if the structural pattern extends to akhanda mahayoga, which would then be seen as a fifth Tantric path. If our hypothesis is correct, the levels to be united in akhanda mahayoga would be the level of Mahasakti as mahakundalini and the level of the darpi guru beyond her, i.e., these two levels would be associated with the fifteenth and sixteenth kalas of this particular path. That is to say, sabdabrahman as para-

vak would have to be made samarasa with parabrahman, thereby developing the akhanda realm of purnabrahman. In fact, Kaviraj states that if the yogin can fully awaken Mahakundalini as the triphasal sakti, he can be established as the akhanda mahaguru, attaining a position in the svarupa of purnabrahman (1382, p. 35).

The Pancamundi Asana and the Navamundi Asana

We are ready now to consider some important structural relationships between the pancamundi-asana and the navamundi-asana, as indicated by the imagery associated with them. (1963, p. 269-70). In pancamundi-asana, Kali stands on Sadasiva, the fifth Part of the asana. The yogin who identifies with this image performs the sadhana of the dark fortnight of the wheel of time (kalacakra). It develops from the first night of the dark fortnight to the new moon night. This dark fortnight is associated with the yogic experience of the stages of bindu, or ardhaacandra. In the final stage of unmana, represented by the night of the new moon, Mind no longer exists, only great void (Mahasunya) remains. The yogin can proceed this far by his own effort, but finds mahasunya a great obstacle. Without the grace of Mahasakti, the yogin cannot ascend further into the kingdom of cit-sakti. The image of Kali standing on the pancamundi asana represents the yogic work of piercing this mahasunya.

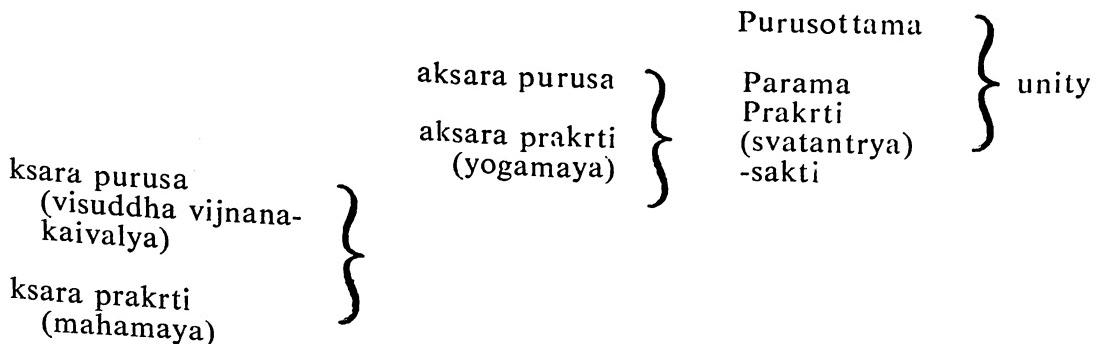
In the navamundi asana, Paramasiva is the asana; he is not in the form of a corpse, but only asleep over the corpses of the five adhikari devatas. Arising from the lotus born of his navel is Rajarajesvari or Lalita Srividya who presides over him. In the pancamundi asana, Kali symbolizes the new moon and the yogin arrives at the foot of the Mother, but in navamundi asana, Lalita Srividya symbolizes the full moon, where the yogin attains the lap of the Mother. The pancamundi-asana is on this side of mahasunya, but the navamundi-asana is on the other side of it. The goddess Tara has a position somewhere between these two goddesses, though Kaviraj has not specified her role.

We can trace the symbolism associated with these three goddesses to certain traditional Sakta Tantric texts, such as Mahakalasamhita, where krama-diksa is followed by the sadhana of trisakti, or Kali, Tara and Srividya, the three most important goddesses among the mandala of the ten mahavidyas. They are worshipped in succession for the sake of transcending mahasunya. Kali stands in the cremation-ground signifying the dissolution of the universe; she signifies the end of fifteen kalas. Srividya is also called Sodasi, or the stage of sixteen kalas. Tara is between fifteen and sixteen; some say she is between the yogic experiences of samana and unmana. Tara is the goddess who leads across to the other shore beyond time; she presides over the transformative process. Tara, then, would be associated with the coagulation and melting of samskaras, i.e., the repeated ascent and descent of bindu that precedes the attainment of the sixteenth kala as yugala.

It appears that this traditional concept of the sadhana of the three saktis has been applied to akhanda mahayoga to express the relationship of the pancamundi-asana to the navamundi-asana. Kaviraj specifies (1963, p. 278) that there is indeed the need to cross mahasunya, but this mahasunya is beyond the four andas of the universe. The pancamundi-asana is said to exist in the causal ocean, which is also known as cidakasa. Sleeping on that ocean is the ksara purusa, who contains within himself the five adhikari devatas. Beyond him is the aksara purusa who sleeps on the supercausal ocean, or suddhakasa. Aksara Purusa or Paramasiva sleeps because he is deluded by aksara prakrti, who arises from him to create a dream-universe. The aim of the navamundi sadhana is to awaken Paramasiva which will dispel that dream.

From this theory, we understand that the aksara purusa is the target of the navamundi-asana. His sleep is the root-ignorance, which must be dispelled forever. Since creation began, the aksara purusa has been separate from the lila of para prakrti and purusottama. If he wishes to enter that lila, he shall have to give up his nature as purusa, i.e., he shall have to become a higher-order prakrti, or parama prakrti herself. This can be achieved only if he can effect a permanent union with aksara prakrti, because union is fusion or synthesis which results in ontic transformation, symbolized here as the awakening of Paramasiva.

In akhanda mahayoga, as in the traditional Tantric sadhanas, the processes of the self-transformation of the yogin are consistently dialectical. We can schematize these transformative relationships in the following manner :



It seems that Kaviraj's use of the terms ksara, aksara and purusottama actually belong to the structure of the fourth Tantric sadhana. In the fourth sadhana, mahamaya as bindu is the nature of ignorance which veils purnahanta. But in akhanda mahayoga, it is aksara prakrti who deludes Paramasiva. In this context, aksara prakrti is homologized with purnahanta.

Given the importance of purnahanta as a central goal in the traditional schools of Tantric yoga, it is striking to discover that, in his discussion of akhanda

mahayoga, Kaviraj refers to purnahanta itself as the basic form of ignorance—it is that which blocks the attainment of collective liberation. Purnahanta is sakala mahabindu, which in the Sakta symbolism related to the mystic theory of kamakala, is called the sun (surya), itself the product of the amorous union of fire (agni) and moon (soma), or Siva and Sakti. In the Sakta Tantras, mahabindu is called the divine desire (aprakrta kama). The universe appears like a child in the womb of Mahasakti due to this aprakrta kama.

While Kaviraj has set up his analysis of the ontological situation to be addressed by akhanda mahayoga in terms associated with the fourth sadhana, we find that the fourth sadhana is related to the panca-mundi asana, but not to the navamundi-asana. For achieving success in akhanda mahayoga, Kaviraj states that two conditions must be fulfilled: the surya-mandala must be pierced, and the kingdom of parama prakrti is also to be pierced. The surya-Mandala must actually refer to the mahabindu as the surya of the theory of kamakala. However, in the fourth sadhana, it is mahamaya that is pierced, not yogamaya. Moreover, the kingdom of parama prakrti is the goal of the fourth sadhana, the center of the second kingdom of the guru. It is not pierced by the fourth sadhana. The two conditions of akhanda mahayoga can only be fulfilled by postulating the structure of a fifth sadhana based on the application of Tantric principles to the mastery of higher ontic levels.

If the sleeping Paramasiva is to awaken from his dream, yogamaya or purnahanta as the root-ignorance must be pierced. As in all Tantric sadhanas, ignorance is not merely to be transcended, but also to be transformed and united with higher principles in a new integration.

The Tantric Yigin as World-Redeemer

Revealing his own restlessness with even the ultimacy of purnatva, the traditional Tantric goal, Kaviraj critiques it as benefiting only the individual yigin who has the strength and the commitment to spend decades in intensive sadhana. What about the rest of the world—humanity sunk in its ignorance, destined to repeat its mistakes in untold incarnations, awakening ever so slowly through the centuries individual by individual? Considering the critical times we live in, can there be any true individual welfare without the collective welfare? Our own welfare, in fact, is inextricably bound up with global welfare.

In the yogic theory of the Jnanaganj ashram, the yigin who has gained his own purnatva must look back compassionately upon all people sunk in their collective ignorance and dedicate himself to winning the purnatva of the entire world. One yigin working prodigiously within one lifetime, could become identified with the aksara purusa sleeping on the supercausal ocean. If he could awaken from the world-dream, the root—ignorance in purnahanta itself would disappear and the kingdom of caitanya be created.

As Kaviraj has written (1963, p. 216), the boundaries between all the kingdoms would collapse, including the boundaries between the two previous kingdoms of the guru, and the boundary that separates them from the kingdom of maya. Samsara will disappear, and because it no longer exists, there is no need for the shelter of kingdoms beyond samsara. It is this decisively eschatological vision that informs Kaviraj's intent, because with the collapse of all the ontic levels, beings at all these levels have an equal right to enter the new kingdom of caitanya, the real kingdom of the guru. Hence, as world-redeemer the akhanda guru must effect a complete ontological reconstruction, replacing the old hierarchy of being with its complexity of levels, with the boundlessness of a single mandala as the radiant kingdom of caitanya, where all may experience their purnatva.

"Every kingdom has two sections. One is the center, and the other is outside it. If the strength of the center lessens, the circle as the sphere of adhikara becomes smaller. If the strength of the center increases, the sphere becomes larger. Once the strength of the center becomes unlimited, the sphere of adhikara becomes universally pervasive, to the extent that it becomes endless. Once the strength of the sakti of the center increases, the number of privileged people who can enter the center decreases; but once the strength of the center increases, grace becomes extended without limit." (1963, p. 222).

To establish this kingdom the yogin must complete its sadhana while in the mortal body. Even if one person obtain the complete stage in the mortal body, the anu and Paramanu of the entire universe are united with him. The akhanda guru is able to liberate the entire universe from all kinds of want and put it in total bliss and lordship. With the permission of the ruler situated in the center, all inhabitants of earth can sit on the petals of that great lotus. However, the perfection of this kingdom is not static, because the sakti of time exists as "penetrated within;" it is simply the end of every kind of ignorance.

There is a definite method prescribed for the creation of this new kingdom of caitanya, which requires that the yogin move in specific directions, back and forth across ontic levels, if he is to succeed. The first directive includes a prohibition : After ascending to Mahasakti and becoming identified with her, i.e., becoming Mahasakti herself, the akhanda yogin must make no attempt to enter parabrahman, because akhanda yoga requires a return to the lowest tattva of earth (prthivi) to achieve its goal, and if the yogin enters parabrahman or Mahaprakasa, there is no possibility of returning to the universe. In this regard, Kaviraj quotes the principle used by the Mahayana Buddhists : nirvana is not to be entered until all sentient beings have been liberated. Even after attaining Mahabodhi, Lord Buddha did not enter nirvana because it would have precluded his ability to help others gain full Enlightenment.

To follow Kaviraj's thought exactly, we must first ascertain what he means by the term Mahasakti. Kaviraj assists us by stating that this Mahasakti is not the svarupa of Mahasakti, so it must be one of her "shadows." Kaviraj states that full lordship (purna aisvarya) manifests at the level of realizing Mahasakti; now this lordship is par excellence the experience of the yogin who attains purnahanta. In fact, the first shadow (chaya) of the World-mother is yogamaya as para-vak, the supreme form of the universe as sabdabrahman; parabrahman as formless luminous Being (mahaprakasa) beyond the universe is the level just beyond yogamaya. In all likelihood, Kaviraj is referring to this level of yogamaya as the Mahasakti with whom the yogin should identify.

Accordingly, the akhanda yogin who attains yogamaya must not ascend further, because entry into mahaprakasa would mean his eternal dissolution there in the place beyond the universe with no possibility of return for the sake of benefiting the world. Rather, the yogin who realizes Mahasakti as yogamaya must then make an about-face and re-descend to the nabhi-cakra, through all the associated levels of the universe. This descent in akhanda Mahayoga is called the sadhana of pure selfless love (Visuddha prema). Kaviraj underscores the full import of that descent for the yogin by specifying that the sadhana of prema is done in the human level not in the divine level. When this sadhana of prema is complete, the svarupa of the yogin is transformed.

Now the task is to unite his essence or satta as Mahasakti with the satta that has been formed by the sadhana of prema. This unified satta will then begin to permeate the entire universe. It will also allow the yogin to enter mahaprakasa without fear of dissolution, because balance or equilibrium (samya) between the various ontic levels has been attained. Due to supreme power of freedom or svatantrya-sakti, which exists at the level of parabrahman, both functions can exist simultaneously yet separately.

In order to enter mahaprakasa, the mahayogin must concern himself with apprehending the universal eternal moment (mahaksana) which exists beyond time. Even within time, he must try to grasp ksana by concentrating his efforts on the junctures of time, or sandhi. Though ksana is single, it manifests differently and separately, according to the course that the sadhaka follows. But eventually it will become universal, revealing itself as mahaksana. When mahaksana is experienced, the yogin comes to know mahaprakasa. Here Kaviraj reworks the classical Tantric theme of the relationship of time and eternity, in which reality is the eternal moment or ksana, and time is only an imaginary construct of the buddhi. The association of mahaksana and mahaprakasa indicates, according to our own analysis of the structure of Tantric yoga, that mahaprakasa is revealed at the level of the sixteenth kala in this mahayoga, which again is in accord with the tentative evidence of a fifth sadhana.

According to Kaviraj's particular viewpoint (as transcribed by Singh, 1968), those who have labored in the past for collective liberation did not understand the correct procedure to be followed. This is the gist of his analysis : Previous saints have attempted to make cit-sakti as the World-Mother descend into each lower bindu, thereby transforming them completely. But for Kaviraj, this will not achieve collective liberation. Rather, the yogin must transcend the World-Mother and become identified with Paramasiva. It is at this point that the yogin is called the darpi-guru. The darpi-guru, rather than the Mother, must be established in all the lower bindus. From this comment, we obtain a glimpse of the vastness of his endeavor. The entire universe—all four andas and the formless kingdom of yogamaya—must be transformed by making parabrahman descend.

Even after the yogin has safely entered mahaprakasa, he is directed to once again redescend into the universe, even to the lowest tattva of prthivi. This descent from mahaprakasa seems to follow a pattern from classical Tantric sadhana in which the development of adhah-kundalini follows the development of urdhva-sakti. Kaviraj's intent is to expand the svatantrya-sakti found at the level of parabrahman so that it permeates the entire universe. Kaviraj hints that there is a procedure to be followed : first ananda is established, then vijnana and finally satya. Then svatantrya-sakti develops, along with the full development of mahaprema in the world.

When the mahayogin enters mahaprakasa, it reveals itself as self-manifested all-encompassing Being. The mahayogin directly understands how his yoga is related to every particle of the universe; the gross, subtle and causal states, as well as all time—past, present and future—are seen to be inseparably connected. Even the conceptual difference of Being (sat) and non-Being (asat) disappears. The mahaksana resting in mahaprakasa is free of sequence, because sequence is the characteristic of time. This mahaksana is homologized with omniscience—it is supernal knowledge that is simultaneously general and specific. Although there may appear to be a procedure in effecting this descent, when mahaksana as omniscience is made to descend into the world, there is no sequence in its manifestation. The supreme partless jnana which descends, dawns all at once, not part by part.

Having followed the logic of akhanda mahayoga, we find that the Mother of the universe as yogamaya is to be made samarasa with the darpi guru, who must be the yogin himself who has attained parabrahman or the full nature of Paramasiva (paramasivatva) as purnatva. When the sakala and the niskala mahabindus, or sabdabrahman and parabrahman, can interpenetrate fully in a totally balanced way, the supreme ontic transformation will occur. An akhanda mandala made of seventeen kalas will develop in purnabrahman as a completely new creation—a boundless post-eschatological kingdom that can embrace all mankind.

This is the purna advaita stage, when a single atman as purnabrahman remains as partless ananda, and yet can sport with its own nature, taking endless diverse forms. Both oneness and multiplicity, identity and individuality will coexist simultaneously, due to their samarasya. In lila, every existence may be possible, with no trace of time, maya, avidya, etc. The universe will not be dissolved in the akhanda mandala created in purnabrahman, but rather be perfected, with no chance of ever falling into ignorance again, because aprakrti kama and all desiderative forms of want have been abolished forever.

Although Kaviraj himself believed that he was approaching the realization of his ultimate goal, he was unable to achieve it during his life-time. According to his disciple, Hemendranath Chakravarty, Kaviraj had reached the level of the mahakhanda guru, and was in the process of completing the various stages of the akhanda mahayoga. Nonetheless, the Jnanaganj teachings remain a living Tantric sampradaya, inspiring the endeavors of other yogins trained at that secret ashram, as well as several of the disciples of both Visuddhananda and Kaviraj. But until one or another of these yogins comes forth to further interpret the principles of akhanda mahayoga, the continuing work will remain hidden from the world.

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GOPINATH KAVIRAJ ON KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

NAVJIVAN RASTOGI

Kaviraj ji once remarked "in spite of the antiquity of Śākta Culture and of its philosophical traditions. . . .the reason why no serious attempt was made is said to have been that it was deemed improper to drag down for rational examination truths inaccessible to the experience of ordinary man. . . . This reason is not convincing enough, for if the *Upanisads* could be made the basis of philosophical system, there is no reason why the *sākta Āgamas* could not be similarly utilized. For the function of philosophy is, as Joad rightly remarks, to accept the data furnished by the specialists who have worked in the field and then 'to assess their meaning and significance.'¹

The style of Kaviraj displays a typical quality—this quality appears to be the direct outcome of his approach and personal commitment to philosophy—that even when he discusses a particular system he does so in a much larger context. Truly speaking, he is a strong champion of the synthetic character of Indian thought and finds all the philosophical traditions and schools knit together by that central meaning in varying degree and expression.² This approach he seems to have imbibed from scholars of the *Trika* tradition. In his famous manual, the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, Kṣemarāja rejects fundamental distinction among various systems and considers them as forming different steps or stages of the supreme ideality—*Tadbhūmikāḥ śarvadarsanasthitayah*.³ This integral approach has been operative in

1. History of Philosophy Eastern and Western (HPEW), Ed. S. Radha-krishnan, London, 1952, Vol. I, p. 401.
2. "We have had enough of analytical work attempting to describe the different systems in isolation, taking each as a different *prasthāna* and proceeding along its own line. But time, I believe, has come when scholars should come out from their narrow grooves, take up a synthetic view of things and try to discover the underlying unity and interpret India's outlook as a whole". Foreword to the Studies in Jaina Philosophy (SJP), Nathmal Tatia, Banaras, 1951, p. xxiii.
3. PH Sūtra 8.

two ways. On the one hand, it seeks to discover reciprocity and parallelism between *Sādhanā* and philosophy and on the other, it brings the relative system into comparative focus of a much wider magnitude.⁴ While there has been an instant gain from this method in the form of spontaneous unravelling of many a hitherto riddle, there has been a loss too that the original form of that system stands diluted making it pretty difficult to comprehend its precise character.

With these preliminary observations let us now proceed to the main topic.

Nomenclature

The term Kashmir Śaivism has extensive application⁵ and, to some extent, its import is geographical. Presumably it encompasses dualistic, dualistic-monistic and non-dualistic traditions of the Śaivistic thought in Kashmir. We will, however, restrict ourselves to the sense in which Kaviraj uses it. In this sense it stands for *Pratyabhijñā* system or *Pratyabhijñā-Spanda* combine, that is, the monistic tradition of *Īśvarādvayavāda* or *Śirādvayavāda*. To him, therefore, it does not constitute a school in the narrow sense of the term like *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣika*, instead it denotes a definite conceptual framework manifesting itself in all the monistic Śaiva traditions of Kashmir. In his view it represents an extremely invaluable ancient treasure of the Indian thought.⁶ We have to bear two things in mind with regard to the discussion we are going to have now on this system. One, there are two under currents of Indian thought—Vedic and tantric which may be designated respectively as vedic and tantric cultures as well. Kashmir Śaivism is the essence of the tantric culture. Hence all the characteristic traits of the tantric culture and concomitant thought system thereof are closely preserved in its conceptual and structural frame work. Two, *Śākta* philosophical tradition constitute the sister or complementary thought system of Kashmir Śaivism.⁷ This factor has led to the considerable exploitation of the literature of *Śākta* monistic tradition by Kaviraj towards formulating his conclusions.

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4. See for detailed treatment of this aspect, BV Dvivedi's article "आगम एवं तन्त्रशास्त्र को कविराज जी की देन", Parishad Patrika (PP), Vol. XVIII-2, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, p. 30.
 5. Krama Tantricism of Kashmir (KT), Navjivan Rastogi, Delhi, 1979, Vol. I, p. 1.
 6. "यह भारतीय विचार साम्राज्य की एक अति प्राचीन दुर्लभ सम्पदा है।" Bhāratiya Saṃskṛti Aur Sadhanā (BSS), G. N. Kaviraj, two volumes, Patna, 1963, Vol. I, p. 1, 3.
 7. Cp. स्वयूथ्यानद्वयवादिनः प्रतीदानीम् आरम्भः । Śiva-dṛṣṭi-Vṛtti (SDV), Utpala, KSTS, p. 94.

Mechanism of Non-Duality

To Kaviraj Kashmir Śaivists are staunch non-dualists. This non-duality (*advayatā*) has been explained in terms of perfection (*pūrṇatā*) or synthesis (*sāmarasya*). Though both denote one and the same thing, they exhibit a shade of subtle difference in their connotation. The concept of *pūrṇatā* connotes unbroken continuity of self-potentiality (self-autonomy) and *Sāmarasya* stands for that state of self where all contradictions stand dissolved being knitted by a more fundamental meaning.

(a) As Pūrṇatā

The plenary existence which has been conceived at the root of limited existence, is designated as *Parama Śiva*. *Parama Śiva* is a pure monistic principle which has been explained with the aid of two equations. The first of them is the equation of 'being of the nature of luminosity' and 'reflective awareness' (*Prakāśa-vimarśamaya*) and the second is that of being-consciousness-bliss (*Sat-Cit-Ānanda*). These are mutually interchangeable equations :

$$Prakāśa = Sat + Cit$$

$$Vimarśa = Cit + Ānanda$$

The presence of *Cit* in both the situations underlines the consciousness-character (*Caitanya-svabhāva*) of *Sat*. This may be taken to be reiteration of Utpaladeva's description of *Vimarśa* as constituting the nature of *Prakāśa*.⁸ In plain words the only means to drive home the monistic character of the supreme principle is to accept it not only as luminous but self-luminous and to consider self-luminosity as pregnant with consciousness. *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* have been designated by another nomenclature of *Śiva* and *Śakti* also. By calling *Śiva* unbroken self-luminosity and *Śakti* self-repose (*Ātma-viśrānti*) of that luminosity⁹ the notion of self-dependence (*Ātma-nirbhāratā*)—an additional attempt to explain perfection—has been made more intelligible. Self-expression of the ultimate reality is possible only through its intrinsic power of autonomy. Thanks to its freedom, it can project the other, even though continuing to remain one, on the locus of its original being. This freedom is the gate-way to the fusion of infinite polarities.¹⁰

Really speaking the idea of reality as understood here is that of dynamic reality whose activity is derived from self-autonomy and since this activity cannot be mechanical it is posited as conscious or intelligent. This explains why power as

8. स्वभावमवभासस्य विमर्शं विदुरन्यथा ।

Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā (IPK), Utpala, KSTS, 1.5.11.

9. Tāntrika Vānumaya Meñ Śākta Drṣṭi (TVSD) G. N. Kaviraj, Patna, 1963, p. 165.

10. Ibid., p. 2.

consciousness (*Cidrupā Śakti*) happens to be a favourite theme of the Āgamas. To say *Śakti* is identical with *Śiva* means it spells reality's potential of self-becoming. It does not change or evolve (*Parināma*), it only expands and contracts (*Prasāra* and *Saṃkoca*). It is, therefore, depicted as vibrating (*Spandātmaka*). It is why the Absolute, ultimate light or supreme being never considered inactive. On conceiving the supreme luminosity in terms of 'being' one has to reckon with the existence of activity called 'becoming' in it and the supreme luminosity as agent of that activity. This becoming-activity in technical parlance goes by the name of *Sphurāṇa* (Vibration/shining) or *Vimarśa*. The same movement—potential or vibrational character is known as the Absolutic functionality (*Kṛtyakāritva*) in the tantric terminology. The emergence of cause-effect relationship in the form of doer-deedship (*Kartṛkarma-bhāva*) in Kashmir Śaivism is a logical outcome of the same.

Consciousness-power has twin phases. Creation, dissolution etc. are consequent upon the play of this power. It is ever active. On the one hand, expressing itself as self-concealment (*Ātma-tirodhāna*) or obscuration its dynamicity creates the world which remained inherent in it till now. On the other hand, manifesting itself as self-expression or grace (*Anugraha*) it dissolves that world and thereby occasions its absorption in the Absolute. Sustenance of world is the intermediary stage between creation and dissolution.¹¹ From Śākta point of view voluntary self-limitation of the Absolutic essence constitutes the only valid answer to our quest for a logical explanation as to why the Self which transcends time, space and causality is entrapped into the process of time. The aforesaid *Tirodhāna* is nothing but self-contraction. Unless self-contraction has taken place the creation cannot be accounted for, because without contraction the self does not get connected with a body. Removal of this self-contraction, that is, *Tirodhāna*, is brought about by *Anugraha*. *Tirodhāna* is, thus, nothing but appearance of duality in unity. Likewise, *Anugraha* is nothing but manifestation of identity with the total luminosity.¹² Let us remind again, this is what we understand by contraction and expansion of *Śakti*. There is no doubt then that fivefold functionality is just another name for freedom/consciousness.

Samvit (intelligence) may be compared to a mirror in which this world shines like an image reflected in a transparent medium. Just as the image is not different from the mirror, the world too remains inseparable from consciousness. But let us not press this analogy beyond this point. A mirror reflects an object, but intelligence, in its perfection, being creative does not require an object outside itself. This is freedom or power of actualization that is, *Bhavana-sāmarthyā*. Thus despite the innumerable variety of the reflected world in *Parama Śiva*, the supreme intelligence always retains its uniform character in the form of uninterrupted unity of

11. HPEW, p. 405.

12. TVSD, pp. 7-8 (Introduction).

being and consciousness. Reality remains undifferentiated as Universal Being, yet its specific forms are many and diverse, exactly as a mirror is one yet the images reflected therein are many. One becomes many, not under pressure from some external agency but as a result of its inherent dynamism. Motion appears to get started and multiplicity evolved under the impact of the aforesaid dynamicity. This is the reason why reality retains its unity intact in the face of emergence of creation etc. and countless variety thereof.

We thus, encounter three possible conditions for consideration :¹³

1. Only *Samvit*, even without the ‘within’ manifestation of world = *Cit* = (*Prakāśa*)
2. *Samvit* and the world manifested within (lack of external projection = *Ānanda* = (*Svātantrya*))
3. *Samvit*, world shining within and external projection thereof = *Icchā* = (*Camatkāra* or *Kridā*).

In each condition *Samvit* as such remains one and intact, leaving no scope for distinction to steal in. It is therefore, described as *Nirvikalpa* i. e., free from logical construction and modification. A comparison of the three states will tell us that the first conditions represents that state where there is no manifestation-neither external nor internal. The second is the state of internal, not external, manifestation. And third, which belongs to *Icchā* stands for the external projection. The externality is in a sense figurative, because *Samvit* being perfect even the socalled externality has no scope outside it.

The problem is : how does the determinate creation (*Vikalpa Sṛṣṭi*) proceed from the indeterminate (*Nirvikalpa*) source ? The answer is, from the autonomy or dynamicity of *Samvit*, though creation is a manifestation and its variety is also in the nature of manifestation. The world is inherent in *Śakti* and *Śakti* in *Parama Śiva*. When *Śakti* is inactive or dormant *Vimarśa* is considered dissolved in *Prakāśa* (*Antarlīnavimarśa*) : in the typical language of the tantras *Śiva* minus *Śakti* is *Śava* (corpse) : and when *Śakti* is active, as it always is, supreme consciousness overflows with reflective awareness of itself. This self-awareness (*Ātmaparāmarśa*) of the supreme being expresses itself as ‘I’ (*Aham*) which is called perfect and total (*Pūrṇa*) because there is nothing outside or beyond it that may act as its counter-positive in form of ‘this’ (*Idam*). In the usual tantric diction this is *Purnāhamitā*—complete and total I-hood. Perfection of ‘I’ implies presence of the entire reflected world in it as in the case of a mirror. Then alone the world becomes identical with “I”.¹⁴ From this it follows automatically that *Samvit* is both *Prakāśa*

13. TVSD, pp. 405-406. (Phrases in parenthesis convey our interpretation).
 14. HPEW, p. 406.

as well as *Vimarśa*—transcending the world (*Viśvātmaka*) as well as remaining immanent within it (*Viśramava*). Both together constitute the total (*Pūrṇa*).

Perhaps the above discussion has become inordinately long, but it has served a purpose. As it will be seen that the foregoing discussion embodies the logical arguments of the Śaiva absolutist against the charge that Śaiva position of ‘real unity’ with its concomitant ‘real plurality’ is logically unthinkable. The same logic also meets the charge of logical incoherence against the Śaiva advocacy of the relation of identity between the Absolute and the world order, both being two reals of coordinate status.¹⁵

(b) As *Sāmarasya*

The other term used for driving home the essence of *Advaita* is *Sāmarasya* i.e., harmony or synthesis. *Sāmarasya* means oneness resulting from dissolution of one into the other. In the absolute reality *Śiva-Śakti*, *Prakāśa-Vimarśa* and *Sattā-Bhavana* (being-becoming) are found in complete unison. Perfection, therefore, means synthesis of being and consciousness (*Śiva-Śakti-sāmarasya*).¹⁶ The perfect reality cannot otherwise be explained than as free un-interrupted luminosity.¹⁷ *Śiva*, is continuous undifferentiated luminosity and *Śakti* is self-repose of that luminosity, amounting, in other words, to self-recognition.¹⁸ In the pure *Śiva* state there is only *Prakāśa*—in the absence of any relation with *Śakti* it is transcendental state. The world is an off-shoot of *Śakti*. But in *Parama Śiva* state there is a complete relationship of identity with *Śakti*—both remain in equal prominence, equipoise and identity. The two, even while conceptually remaining two, are actually one. Hence *Paramaśiva* is transcendent and immanent simultaneously. Following on the heels of Kṣemarāja,¹⁹ Kaviraj considers it a special feature of Kashmir Śaivism. The same thing has been repeated elsewhere in a different idiom. Being means consciousness and consciousness means being and both coexist in bliss.²⁰ For further explication of the concept of *Sāmarasya*, Kaviraj takes recourse to several equations. The first among them is the equation of *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*. The same absolute reality which is ‘being’ (*Sat*) from the point of view of existence

15. SJP, p. 217-218.

16. TVSD, p. 12.

17. Ibid., p. 106.

18. Ibid., p. 165.

19. “प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदय में कौलगत तथा तन्त्रमत से त्रिकमत का स्थान ऊँचा माना गया है। इसका कारण है कि कौलाचार्य आत्मा को विश्वरूप मानते हैं एवं तन्त्राचार्य उसे विश्वातीत मानते हैं परन्तु त्रिकमतावलम्बी सिद्ध महापुरुषों की दृष्टि में आत्मा युगपत् विश्वरूप तथा विश्वातीत दोनों हैं।”

20. Ibid., p. 166.

TVSD, pp. 2, 8 (Introduction).

is *Cit* from the point of view of expression and *Ānanda* from the point of view of aesthetic enjoyment.²¹ The second is one of simultaneity between the two states of *Samādhi*—*Vyuthāna* (waking up from *Samādhi*) and *Nirodha* (cessation of determinate idea).²² This has earned its designation as *Nityodita* or *Nirvyuthāna*. *Samādhi* in the classical texts, because even in the awakened condition the experience of *Samādhi* continues unabated.²³ The third is the equation of *Bhakti* (devotion) and *Citi* (consciousness) marking individual's and *Śiva*'s powers respectively.²⁴ This particular point will be somewhat enlarged upon in the sequel. Thus we are fully seized of the fact that the Absolutic essence consists of the ultimate equipoise and coincides with the Upaniṣadic idea of “*Parama sāmya*.”²⁵

Ignorance

In order to substantiate the extreme monism of Kashmir Śaivists, Kaviraj subjects their concept of ignorance to a detailed treatment. A question may be raised : where does the world come from when the world is essentially identical with *Prakūśa*? The question may be framed differently : If the ultimate reality is characterized by self-effulgence what is it that leads to emergence of the world because in the absolutist's view nothing except *Prakūśa* exists? Śaivist's favourite reply has already figured above in a different context. Here we will spell out the traditional approach as presented by Kaviraj. As stated earlier, the Absolutic freedom has two elements—diminution and expansion (*Saṃkoca* and *Prasāra*). The divine potency responsible for this diminution is called ‘power of obscuration’ (*Tirodhāna Śakti*) and the event of diminution ‘act of obscuration’ (*Tirodhāna Kṛtya*). The ultimate reality first of all manifests *Tirodhāna Śakti* which obscures former's intrinsic character. In other words, it is the non-appearance of the Godly potency which remained undifferentiated hitherto.²⁶ Negation or non-realization of freedom in consciousness constitutes one type of ignorance whereas absence of consciousness in freedom the other type. Both these types of ignorance depict two phases of imperfect knowledge (*Apūrṇa Jñāna*) and both are usually conveyed by a single term—*Āṇavamala*. *Āṇava* literally means finitude or atomicity (*Aṇubhāva*) i.e., turning perfect into imperfect. By calling it *Mala* (coating) a reference is made to its veiling capacity.²⁷ The definitive terms used to denote these two phases of ignorance are *Pauruṣa* and *Bauddha* linked with the individual or empirical being and the intellect respectively. The intellectual igno-

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- 21. Ibid., p. 8 (Introduction).
 - 22. BSS, I, p. 6.
 - 23. TVSD, p. 167.
 - 24. Ibid., p. 163.
 - 25. परमं साम्यमुपैति दिव्यम् । Ibid., p. 3; BSS, I, p. 304.
 - 26. BSS, I, p. 38.
 - 27. Here ignorance or *Mala* has a wider meaning and *Māyā* is conceived to be its dependent category.

rance possesses twofold character— incomprehension and miscomprehension, whereas atomic ignorance consists in individuation or self-diminution. Understandably enough this is singled out as the sole cause of worldly career.²⁸ The self, despite being perfect and identical with Śiva, considers itself imperfect due to self-finitude wrought by this *Mala*. Though infinite, it starts experiencing itself as finite and conditioned. Once individuation sets in, good and evil tendencies (*Vāsanās*) arise, which invariably result in birth (association with body), age (span of physical existence) and enjoyment (*Bhoga*=experience of pleasure and pain). This in fact constitutes *Karma mala* i.e., obscuration in the form of coatings arising from action,—*Kalā*, *Vidyā*, *Rāga*, *Kāla*, *Niyati*, and their conglomerate called *Māyā*. *Māyīya Mala* is the next impurity that is responsible for the experience of gross elements, subtle and gross body, their regional substrate as well as their varied enjoyable objects. The bound or individual self remains perpetually obscured by the three impurities.²⁹ Amongst these three *Āṇava* is the basic impurity whereas *Karma* and *Māyīya* are dependent or secondary ones. They tread the following course—*Pauruṣa* → *Karma* → *Māyīya* and *Baudha*. Towards regaining Śivahood adherence to the fourfold *Upāyas* (redemptive knowledge)—*Āṇava*, *Śākta* etc.—is considered necessary in the first instance for removal of the intellectual or *Baudha* ignorance. Refinement of the determinate idea due to constant practice leads to the emergence of indeterminate idea.³⁰ At this point *Dikṣā* (initiation) is brought in to eliminate *Pauruṣa Ajñāna* (atomicity). In other words, the removal of intellectual ignorance (negation of consciousness in freedom) leads to the rise of *Baudha Jñāna* (awareness of freedom) and the removal of atomicity to that of *Pauruṣa Jñāna* (realization of freedom in consciousness). This is in fact what is known as emancipation. In fairness to the absolutistic character of the system it must be stated that *Dikṣā* too emerges in the wake of the Absolutic activity.³¹ Thus the entire process transpires to be one of freeing self by the self.

Kashmir Śaivism VS. Advaita Vedānta

A comparative estimate of Advaita Vedānta and Kashmir Śaivism by Kaviraj is a classic example of philosophical insight and assumes enormous significance for proper appraisal of the Śaiva absolutism of Kashmir. This has in fact helped to bring out distinctive character of the two excellent systems of thought. The main distinctions may be recounted as under : *Brahmavāda* describes *Māyā* as different from both real and unreal, and indescribable. The Śaivists hold that this does not totally eliminate the impression of duality. It is admitted that *Māyā* is non-entity, unreal (*Tuccha*) when viewed from the Absolute's angle

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- 28. BSS, I, p. 149.
 - 29. Ibid., p. 265-66.
 - 30. Ibid., p. 149.
 - 31. Ibid., p. 266.

and also that the reality of empirical level has no bearing on the transcendental principle of *Brahman*. But the question is : why does duality appear at all, if there is only one non-dual conscious principle ? To the *Vedāntin* pure *Brahman* is simply the substratum of the beginningless world-order whose appearance is rooted in the illusory transformation (*Vivarta*). To assert that the properties such as creativity etc. are superimposed upon *Brahman*, makes it all the more difficult to grasp as to how the Absolute becomes the finite being, world or God ? There is no denying the fact that there too is ignorance, *Māyā*, in the Śaiva absolutism, but its appearance is not contingent. It represents an Absolutic mode occasioned by voluntary exercise of the Absolutic freedom. By fully exploiting the analogy of cloud and sun Kaviraj emphasizes that there is no deviation from its unobscured nature even when it veils itself by its own power. The worldly variety is nothing but the reflection or awareness (*Vimarśa*) of its own being. The manifestation of variety constitutes the nature i.e., self-being (*Svabhāva*), of the Absolute.³²

Brahmavādins too admit that the Self has its own nature. In their view, however, the Self is pure witness or constitutes locus-consciousness (*Adhiṣṭhāna-caitanyātmaka*), while *iśvaravādins* (a traditional way of describing the Śaiva absolutists) subscribe to its nature as consisting of freedom, as constituting freedom and as agency. Here lies the major disagreement between the two—a feature proudly noted by Kṣemarāja.³³ In fact, the description of the Absolute in both the systems admits of similar terminology except that *Brahman* is devoid of *Kartṛtya* (agency), whereas *Vimarśa* or *Kartṛtya* constitutes the Absolutic essence of *Parama Śiva*.³⁴ The absence of vigorous affirmation of freedom in the Vedantic Absolute compels Kaviraj to conclude, hesitatingly though, that appearance of duality is not actually eliminated from Śaṅkara's *Vedānta*.³⁵

32. Ibid., I, pp. 3-4.

33. स्वतन्त्रशब्दो ब्रह्मवादवैलक्षण्यमाचक्षाणश्चितो माहेश्वर्यसारतां व्रूपे ।

34. The Śaiva absolutists never try to conceal their attitude towards *Brahmavādins*. The description of *Vedāntin*'s position as निविमर्शन्नब्रह्मवाद or शांतब्रह्मवाद does not appear to be laudatory. Also see Conception of Matter (COM), Umesh Misra, Allahabad, 1936, p. xiv (Foreword).

35. BSS, I, p. 5.

Quoted from PH, TVSD, p. 4

For what has been stated in the foregoing discussion the Śaivists assign Sāmkhya's *Purusa* and *Vedānta*'s *Brahmān* to the lower state (*Aparā-vasthā*) of the Self. Śaivists are not even prepared to accommodate them in the penultimate (*Parāparā*) state, not to talk of the ultimate state of the self. According to Śaivists such state has never come up for discussion in the *Vedānta* texts. In fact, that alone is the absolute. BSS, I, pp. 148-49.

In the Śaiva monistic tradition the term *Advaita* denotes eternal synthesis of the two. In Śaṅkara's view *Advaita* means negation of the two. Śaṅkara describes *Brahman* as real and *Māyā* as indefinable. He cannot accept *Māyā* to be real or treat it at par with the Absolute. That is why the Vedantic absolutism, according to Kaviraj, is exclusive and based on renunciation or elimination. Unlike the agamas, it fails to become inclusive or all-embracing.³⁶ In the agamic view the identity of the Absolute and *Māyā* is automatically established by showing *Māyā* as stemming from *Brahman* and also as real. If we adhere to the logic of Śaṅkara's Vedānta we will have to concede that *Brahman* too is unreal/indefinable, because in the condition in which *Māyā* is stated to be unreal/indefinable, because the knowledge of *Brahman* in that stage will be a byproduct of *Māyā*. Even while assuming the correctness of Śaṅkara's premise, "of the two opposed to another like darkness and light,"³⁷ it may be stated that darkness arises from light by friction and it is darkness again that culminates in light by friction. Both are eternally united, both exist totally integrated in their being.³⁸ This is what has been pronounced time and again as *Sāmrasya* of *Śiva-Śakti* or attainment of *Cit-Ānanda* which marks a unique feature of Kashmir Śaivism.

(a) Jñāna-Bhakti Synthesis

Kaviraj goes on enlarging the equation of *Cid-Ānanda*-synthesis. According to him the additional peculiarity of the Śaiva absolutism lies in the fact that it neither advocates the path of dry knowledge, nor the path of devotion bereft of knowledge, rather it lays down a path that integrates knowledge and devotion both. Logically *Bhakti* has no place in the ultimate stage of the absolutism propounded by Śaṅkara. According to him devotion is basically duality-centric and as such does not exist in the Absolutic state on attainment of knowledge. Needless to say, this devotion is ignorance-based and instrumental in character.³⁹ But, on the contrary, in the Trika philosophy *Mokṣa* has been portrayed as *Cidānanda-lābha* (attainment of consciousness-bliss) or *Purnāhamitācamatkāra* (self-relish flowing from perfect I-hood). Now the aspect of consciousness (*Cidamsa*) is knowledge and that of bliss (*Ānandāmsa*) devotion. The perfect I-hood or self-relish which marks the limit of knowledge, also marks the limit of

Cf. ते सर्वे व्याख्यातव्यापिकात्मोपासकाः शैवेऽस्मिन् अद्वयन्ये परमशिवं व्याख्यातस्वरूपं न गच्छन्ति, न तन्मयीभवन्ति । सांख्ययोगवेदान्तवाद्यादयस्तु अपरदशावस्थ एव, इति केन तेषामियत्वात्संभावनापि ॥

Uddyota on Svacchanda-tantra 4.391-92.

- 36. Ibid., p. 6.
- 37. तसः प्रकाशवद्विवरद्धस्वभावयोः: Śaṅkara on Brahma-sūtra 1.1.1
- 38. BSS, I, p.6.
- 39. साधनरूपा अज्ञानमूलक भक्ति Ibid., p. 8.

love or devotion. It is why it offers congenial ground for synthesis. Here the element of consciousness i.e., *Śiva*-state, and that of bliss i. e., *Śakti*-state, stand fused together instantly turning it into synthesis of devotion-knowledge or equipoise of *Śiva-Śakti*.⁴⁰

(b) Synthesis of the efficient and material causes

By expounding the analogies of *Yogin* and *Māyāvin* employed in *Tripurī* and *Pratyabhijñā* Kaviraj has drawn our attention to the creation of world as being rooted in the Absolutic will or as being totally independent of the material cause. Citing a *Kārikā* from *Utpala*,⁴¹ he says creation means externalisation of the inner content. The objective totality exists in the consciousness-Self (*Cidātmā*), only part of it occasionally gets manifested due to its Will. In the creation of this kind the material cause is rendered irrelevant.⁴² This independence from the material cause in the Śaiva absolutism is very well known in the form of the doctrine of the unity between efficient and material causes (*Abhinna-nimittopādā-navāda*) in Śaṅkara's Advaitism. Indeed, belief in absolutism presupposes the rejection of distinction between the efficient and the material. But, since Śaṅkara's absolutism hesitates to admit the real agency in the Absolute, the creation turns out to be an off-spring of ignorance, instead of Self-will.

Absolutist's Logic of Advaita Bhakti

Since the notion of devotion (*Bhakti*) has been mooted out in the context of the Śaiva absolutism we ought to record our indebtedness to Kaviraj for his two contributions. In the first place, he has developed the concept of the Absolutic devotion in its necessary dimensions giving out the absolutist's rationale and, in the second, he has brought into bold relief the aesthetical implications of the notion of *Bhakti* highlighting its *Rasa*-character.

(a) Its mechanism

In the Śaiva absolutism knowledge and devotion, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* are synonymous expressions. According to the *Tantrāloka* the distinguishing feature of the descent of power (*Śaktipūta*) consists in the rise of devotion for the divine.⁴³ And this *Śaktipūta* is basically an expression of *Anugraha Śakti* i.e., the Absolutic capacity of self-enlargement. Abhinava equates it with the direct cause of

40. Ibid., pp. 6-8.

41. चिदात्मैव हि देवोऽन्तःस्थितमिच्छावशाद्बहिः ।
योगीव निरुपादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत् ॥

IPK 1.5.7

42. BSS, I, p. 13.

43. Ibid., p. 231. Though Kaviraj does not refer to the *Tantrāloka*, his treatment is obviously based on it.

Mukti.⁴⁴ The ultimate reality is essentially consciousness-bliss that is freedom, attainment of whose identity is devotion and one who is capable of such an attainment is a devotee (*Bhakta*).⁴⁵ *Vimarsa* as self-relish or self-realization of *Prakāśa* and quiet rhythmic inherence of *Prakāśa* in *Vimarśa* symbolise *Śiva-Śakti* synthesis and it will not be at all inconsistent to call it *Advaita Bhakti* (Absolutic devotion). Here we are likely to encounter a problem. Knowledge and devotion are distinguished from one another on the ground of their cognitive and emotive contents respectively. In their essence one is cognition while the other is empathy. This is what has been repeatedly stressed by the respective equation of consciousness-aspect and bliss-aspect (*Cidañśa* and *Ānandāñśa*). In order to account for the empathetic or emotive nature of devotion, reciprocity—devotee-God-relationship—is required. How is that reciprocity possible in the Absolutic state? In one answer the problem is sought to be tackled by treating this distinction as ‘imaginary’ (*Āhārya*) and not real. The necessity for *Āhareṇa* (lit. fetching=imagining) is dictated by overflowing urge for self-fulfilment.⁴⁶ Wherever the ultimate reality is posited in terms of synthesis, it leaves little scope for duality. The devotion here is not a quest for self-interest⁴⁷ as is the case with instrumental or dualistic devotion rooted in ignorance, rather its essence lies in the quest for pure synthesis of self where devotee happens to be an enlargement of the divine and the world that of the Universal I. The other answer too follows from the same line of argument. In the technical phraseology of the *Bhakti* tradition, the Absolutic state is designated as great emotion/feeling (*Mahābhāva*) defined by the unfolding of the perfect I-hood. The perfect I-hood is synonymous with self-consciousness, that is, self-relish.⁴⁸ Self-relish (*Ātmāsvāda*) is both emotive as well cognitive, since *Cit* and *Ānanda* denote one and the same thing even though their connotation is different. As has already been pointed out earlier, *Cit* is the expression of *Sat* and *Ānanda* experience thereof. Thus *Anugraha* comes to mean the existence of only one total reality. Totality means absolute identity. Identity means identity of the devotee and the divine. The notion of

44. एव च अनुग्रहलक्षणोऽन्त्यः पंचमः पारमेश्वरः कृत्यविशेषः
परमपुस्थार्थप्रापकः तन्निवन्धनत्वात् परमार्थमोक्षस्य ।

Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarsinī with *Bhāskari* (IPV), Ed. Iyer & Pandey, Allahabad, (in three volumes), 1938 Vol. I, p. 26.

45. Ibid., p. 29.

46. Cp. यत्सुभक्तैरतिशयप्रीत्या कैतववर्जनात् ।
स्वभावस्य स्वरसतो ज्ञात्वापि स्वाद्वयं पदम् ॥
विभेदभावमाहृत्य सेव्यतेऽत्यन्ततत्परैः ॥

Quoted from the *Tripura-rahasya* (TR), *Jñāna-khaṇḍa* 20.33-34.

47. स्वार्थानुसन्धानात्मिका in BSS, II, p. 81.

48. Ibid., I, p. 8.

synthesis logically presupposes complete fusion of two effecting the uniformity of being. That is why the rise of great emotion of *Bhakti* implies ubiquitous perception of the divine—constant experience of all-encompassing divine presence.⁴⁹

The notion of Absolutic devotion has been further nurtured by Kaviraj by taking recourse to one more equation. He says devotion is an individual's power and consciousness *Śiva*'s. The emergence of synthesis between the finite and the infinite drives home the fact that the individual's power of *Bhakti* is completely merged with the divine power of *Citi*. As a result, the individual even though retaining its individuality becomes identical with the divine. This represents the state of *Mahāyoga* (i.e. great union).⁵⁰

The kind of *Bhakti* subscribed to by the Trika school is known as *Dāsyā* (servitude) in the traditional circles, where *Bhakta* (individualized consciousness) is *Dāsa* (servant) and *Bhagvān* (cosmic consciousness) is *Svāmin* (master). By propounding *Dāsyabhakti*, the Śaiva absolutist concedes the quintessence of *Bhakti*.⁵² Not that his acceptance is confined to the root-element alone, he also accepts the final fruit of *Bhakti* i.e., *Mādhurya* (sweetness) or love, as appearance (*Ābhāsa*). One must, however, remember that *Bhakti* is not a progeny of duality occasioned by ignorance. It marks a state of blooming non-duality, which is enlivened by a transworldly or transcendental duality. "In fact what is required in *Bhakti* or love is a 'real' unity and an apparent difference between the *Bhakta* and *Bhagvān* which is possible only in the absolutist's position."⁵¹ It is why here one comes across the simultaneous presence of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*. This, as we have seen, is a state of identity of *Śiva* and *Śakti*.⁵²

(b) Its Rasa-character

In this principle of *Rasa* complete integration of unity and multiplicity is easily discernible. The experience in *Bhakti* state is a sort of aesthetic relish, different from the intuitive delight of *Samādhi* and metaphysical delight of *Brahman*

49. Abhinavagupta in one of his couplets gives exquisite vent to this idea :

भवद्भक्तस्य संजातभवद्पूर्स्य मेऽधुना ।
त्वमात्मरूपं संप्रेक्ष्य तुभ्यं मह्यं नमो नमः ॥

Mahopadeśavimśatikā, verse 4.

Also see BSS, II, p. 81; Sva-samvedana (SS), G. N. Kaviraj, Patna, 1983, pp. 50, 150.

50. TVSD, p. 163. For fuller treatment of the idea see ibid., SS, pp. 8, 10, 13.
51. Significance of the Tantric Tradition (STT), K. Misra, Varanasi, 1981, p. 37.
52. BSS, I, pp. 9-10.

(*Brahmānanda*) and is unique in itself. In metaphysical delight there is no relishing, no tasting, no I-hood, no triadic relationship but in *Rasa* there is everything, albeit transworldly. Aesthetic enjoyment is nothing but the Self-relishing of the Universal, yet there is transcendental duality without which aesthetic enjoyment will not be possible.⁵³ This discovery of transworldly distinction or transcendental relationship, so to say, is an essential constituent of the aesthetic delight.⁵⁴ *Rasa* is an eternal entity and represents a state of perpetual relishing, or else the word will lose its essential signification. When the aesthetic object and aesthetic enjoyment both are eternal, the aesthete of necessity ought to be eternal. However, this triadic relationship does not surface at the time of actual enjoyment, if it does the aesthetic enjoyment will come to nought. Kallaṭa says enjoyment is necessarily a mode of the enjoyer.⁵⁵ The upshot of Abhinavagupta's view, therefore, lies in holding that it is the perfect 'I' which is constantly relishing itself. But this aesthetic tasting is not just pure knowledge—it is a feeling, an emotive experience. Since *Rasa* is a dense and expressed form of emotion, it is to be experienced with pleasure and without exertion. That is, the principle of *Rasa* is in the nature of bliss (*Ananda-rūpa*) also, it is not exclusively cognitive (*Cidātmaka*). Following this logic of Abhinavan aesthetics we could perhaps easily understand why the *Rasa*-experience does not fall under either of the opposing categories—determinate and indeterminate. Because the division such as determinate etc. belong to cognition and not to emotion or feeling. This *Rasa* is bliss, *Rasa* is love. It is why the *Vaiṣṇava* scholars expounded love (*Prema*) in terms of *Ananda-cinmaya Rasa*.⁵⁶

It is interesting to know, according to Kaviraj, that the Śaiva absolutists, like Sufis, consider their Absolute as consisting of beauty and bliss. The perfect beautiful views its own image reflected in itself and goes ecstatic with joy. This is what has been called *Svātmācamatkāra* (self-relish) in Kashmir Śaivism. This *Camatkāra* is really *Pūrṇahamtācamatkāra* (self-relishing of the total I-hood) manifesting itself in love or desire (Kāma). This spells out the cause and effect both of *Śivā-Śakti* union i.e., it is the original or *Sṛṅgāra Rasa*. It is this principle of *Rasa* that is active at the root of the world process.⁵⁷ Kaviraj, however, does not attempt an answer to the question which *Rasa*, *Śānta* or *Sṛṅgāra* is original and constitutes the source of *Bhakti*. Perhaps this is not immediately relevant either. He, nevertheless, does inform us that *Śānta Rasa* is

53. Ibid., p. 10.

54. Ibid., II, pp. 310-311.

55. भोक्तृव भोग्यरूपेण सदा सर्वत्र संस्थितः ।

Quoted from the *Spandakārikā* (Sp. K) in BSS, II, p. 312.

56. BSS, II, pp. 311-312.

57. Ibid., I, p. 20. Kaviraj dwells on Kāma-tattva (desire or sex) in detail in a different-context. See SS, pp. 359-361.

considered most important by the Śaivists, though they attempt a synthesis of Śṛṅgāra with Śānta in the form of Śiva Śakti union.⁵⁸

Naturally a question arises. If the Godhead remains ever enshrined in its self-delight, what is then compulsion for it to get inclined towards pain. The reply we get from the Śaiva absolutist, bears the imprint of the aesthetical underecurrents of his metaphysics. Somānanda says that *Rasa* or bliss-experience is concomitant with the process of self-enlargement. Since the world is essentially an expression of the Most Beautiful, the activity or phase of self-enlargement is neither evil nor an object of despise.⁵⁹ As such its outward worldly flow, though occasioned by Māyā, is necessarily part of the Absolutic process of self-evolution set in motion by the urge for self-enjoyment.

From here we are automatically led to the doctrine of *Lilārāda* of the Śaiva absolutists. The creative joy of Śiva not only sets in motion the worldly process, it also accounts for its joyful march. Thus the world is taken as *Lilā* or sport of the divine. This sport is an eternal affair because the waves of joy in the ocean of self always keep tossing up due to the ever active dynamicity of the Absolute. As such Śaivists too talk of *Nityalila* like *Vaiṣṇavas*.⁶⁰ Philosophically it would mean that though the world is manifestation or an appearance (*Ābhāsa*) it is unbroken spontaneous, projection of the universal mind.

Jñāna-Yoga Synthesis

A little earlier, we have seen that in order to substantiate Absolutic freedom and creation's independence from the material cause the analogy of *Yogin* has been successfully employed in the *Pratyabhijñā* and *Triṣṇurā* systems. Really speaking the equation of consciousness-principle and *Yogin* was utilized in proving two things. One, the creation of the world is volitional or has the divine volition for its material cause and two, the system firmly subscribes to the *Jñāna-Yoga* synthesis, like *Jñāna-bhakti* synthesis, in the final repose. In other words it underlines the unity of *Jñātṛtva* (subjectivity) and *Kartṛtva* (agenthood) that is, they are essentially one in spite of their conceptual distinction. In the very first *Pratyabhijñārīkā*, *Parama Śiva* has been depicted as knower and doer both.⁶¹ The universal mind is the ultimate knower, hence its activity amounts to know-

58. BSS, I, p. 314.

59. Śiva-dṛṣṭi (SD), KSTS, 1.11-12.

60. Kṣemarāja describes Śiva as “कैलासादिषु नित्यप्रवर्तमानप्रसोदनिर्भरक्रीडामयं लोकोत्तरप्रभावं विस्तारयित्रे”

Stava-Cintāmani-Vṛtti, pp. 60-61, quoted in TVSD, p. 6.

61. कर्तृरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धे महेश्वरे ।

अजडात्मा निषेधं वा सिद्धिं वा विदधीत कः ॥ IPK 1.1.1

ledge, knowledge being the property of knower. The same principle is the universal agent, hence its knowledge amounts to activity. The undifferentiated unified state of the two is self-consciousness. The inclination of knowledge and activity is called 'will'. It is why the consciousness is deemed to be possessed of volition, and creation is said to arise from that volition without recourse to any material cause.⁶² At this stage the will or desire being self-contained does not remain unsatiated and there is, therefore, no scope for pain. This explains why the *Yogins* are always full of bliss and self-enjoyment. The absence of will characterises the state of knowledge, witness or pure subjectivity. The presence of will marks the state of the unity of *Dṛṣṭṛtya-Bhoktṛtya*, *Jñātṛtya-Kartṛtya* and *Śiva-Śakti*.⁶³ In this context it will be pertinent to recall that the Śaiva absolutism regards *Sattarka* as the best part of *Yoga*. *Sattarka* means pure cognition, intuitive knowledge, reflective awareness of the self. Technically it has been defined as definite comprehension characterised by spontaneity and self-awareness. Those who get endowed with this intuitive vision (*Sattarka*) on their own, instantly get all their knots loosened and attain the perfect Śivahood. Such *Yogins* or *Jñānins*—both are synonymous—do not turn inactive on attaining perfection. They continue working for the uplift of the world. Thus the synthesis of knowledge and activity (i.e., *Yoga*) remains undisturbed even during the worldly course.⁶⁴

Mukti : An Extension of *Śiva-Śakti*—Synthesis

From the above premises we arrive at an important conclusion that the concept of *Mukti* as envisaged here is an extension of the basic notion of *Śiva-Śakti*—synthesis. Quoting Kallaṭa⁶⁵ Kaviraj remarks that *Jīvanmuktas* perceive the world as their sport or, in other words, play of their own intrinsic freedom. The yogic trance, they are firmly entrenched in, never gets interrupted since their perception of the essential synthesis between unity and diversity, between break from and repose in *Samādhi*, eliminates all chances of any doubt. In fact both constitute two modes or aspects of one and the same state. This justifies the description of agamic *Mukti* as *Parā-mukti* (supreme emancipation). *Parā Mnkti* is perfection.⁶⁶ Expression or restoration of the Śiva-hood on removal of the finitude or individuality is emancipation. Attainment of such a state during the continuance of physical body is known as *Jīvanmukti*, while after the fall of body as *Videhamukti*. So far as the outer semblance is concerned there does not appear much difference between the Śaiva and Śāṅkara absolutisms. Here it is attaining identity with

62. BSS, I, pp. 4-5.

63. SS, p. 8.

64. BSS, I, pp. 230-233, 256-257.

65. इति वा यस्य संवित्तिः क्रीडात्मेनाखिलं जगत् ।
स पश्यन्स्तरं युक्तो जीवनमुक्तो न संशयः ।

Quoted from Sp. K. in BSS, I, p. 6.

66. BSS, I, p. 254.

Paramaśiva, in Śaṅkara it is with *Brahman* but the difference that obtained earlier still continues between the concepts of *Śiva* and *Brahman*—a point which we have already discussed at length. Thus one is the state of witness consciousness and pure cognition, whereas the other is that of synthesis between freedom/agency and knowledge. There is one additional disagreement—and that relates to the process involved. In Vedānta it is removal of ignorance, in Śaiva it is sublimation of ignorance into knowledge i.e., self-recognition. The Śaivists, therefore, dismiss the *Vedānta Mukti*'s claim to *Pūrṇatva*. On the contrary, it is the attainment of perfection that constitutes *Mukti* in Kashmir Śaivism. Perfection consists in synthesis of *Bhoga* (enjoyment) and *Mokṣa* (emancipation). The unity of enjoyer and the object of enjoyment goes as well by the name of *Bhoga* as by that of *Mokṣa*. There is definite evidence to believe that such an approach had crystalized by the time of Abhinavagupta.⁶⁷ Maheśvarānanda considers it a unique feature of the *Trika* thought.⁶⁸ This state, that is, the state of self-immanence is marked by the perception—"this all is mine." This immanence is the essence, not an accidental property, of the self. *Jivanmukti* is, therefore, another name for self-reflection.⁶⁹

Now the question is how does the state of *Mokṣa* come into existence? Whether the rise of knowledge is consequent upon the removal of *Karma* or ignorance, or the destruction of *Karma* follows in the wake of emergence of knowledge. According to Jaina philosophy attainment of real knowledge will not be possible till *Karmapudgalas* are done away with. On the contrary, Indian philosophy in general advocates the rise of knowledge first—whether it is due to the effect of divine grace or due to one's efforts—and then the removal of doubt and destruction of *Karma*. But in the tantric philosophy a sort of synthesis between the two mutually opposite positions seems to have been worked out.⁷⁰ The obscuring principles of the self are—*Āṇava-mala* and *Māyā-kañcukas*. *Āṇava-mala* leads to diminution of one's infinite being, whereas *Māyā-kañcukas* obscure the divine potencies of the self. For the rise of real knowledge it is imperative that the root coatings must be removed first. An adequate maturing of these coatings causes the automatic descent of divine grace and, due to instrumentality of *Kriyāśakti* at the time of initiation (*Dikṣā*), basic obscurity in the form of individuation gets dispelled. Similarly withdrawal of *Pauruṣa Ajñāna* (individuation or finitude) leads to the rise of *Pauruṣa* knowledge.⁷¹

67. यस्याः भोक्त्र्याः स्वतन्त्राया भोग्यैकीकार एष यः।
स एव भोगः सा मुक्तिः स एव परमं पदम्॥

Quoted from pp in BSS, I, p. 253.

68. BSS, I, p. 9.

69. Ibid., p. 584.

70. Ibid., pp. 584-585.

71. Also see ibid., p. 269.

Problem of Succession in Mukti

A problem that has constantly engaged Kaviraj's attention relates to succession (*Krama*) in self-realisation. To him this problem appears more relevant in the context of Kashmir Śāivism, specially in view of its firm belief in the Śakti-character of *Vimarśa*. He has handled this problem on different occasions and the upshot of his contention is that there is no succession in self-realization or Absolutic state. In this connection he refers to the Śaivist's prescription of *Krama-mudrā* whereby the grasp of objectivity and that of the primal subjectivity i.e., perfect I-hood, is effected simultaneously. To him this represents the highest type of *Yoga* i.e., *Parama Yoga*.⁷² Realisation of trans-sequential character of self-awareness is termed *Krama-parāmarśa* in the scholastic diction of the system. This *Krama-parāmarśa* is *Jivanmukti*.⁷³

The vibrational character, that is, the dynamic character, of reality does not deter Kaviraj from sticking to his view that succession has no place in the Absolute, even when there may be a sort of extra-subtle succession in the Śakti state. This is sought to be explained in the following manner.

The Absolute is pure synthesis. At the time when this synthesis gets disturbed, that is, when creation begins, it is Śakti that vibrates, though Śiva continues as pure witness. Śakti,, as we had occasion to notice, has two phases—expansion and contraction or enlargement and diminution. Both the beginning and end of these two points are invariably characterized by equilibrium. Between these two points inequilibrium (*Vaiṣamya*) i.e., the cycle of time, sets in. The creation and withdrawal i.e., expansion and contraction, form inalienable essence of Śakti.⁷⁴ This is also recognized as 'opening out' (*Unmeṣa*) and 'closing in' (*Nimeṣa*) of *Spanda* (elan).⁷⁵ These phases appearing in succession one after the other are referred to as the cycle of time, *Kālacakra*, within which the entire creation keeps moving.⁷⁶

Succession is an aspect of time (Kāla) while Moment is one and indivisible. Owing to its dynamicity (*Spandana*) the latter appears to be endowed with succession. Time is a logical entity—totality of moments. Hence, unless time is transcended, it is impossible to clinch the moment. In the world two conflicting powers are always at work.⁷⁷ One is the divine power (*Bhagvat-śakti*) or power of grace (*Anugraha*). In the Absolute they function in harmony and are designated by a

72. TVSD, p. 4 (Introduction)

73. Ibid., p. 95.

74. BSS, I, pp. 304-305.

75. TVSD, p. 14.

76. BSS, I, p. 305.

77. Sambodhi, G. N. Kaviraj, Varanasi, 1981, pp-2-3.

single term *Svātantrya* (freedom). Beginning with self-contraction these two streams adopt separate course. *Kīlaśakti* strengthens the individualization of consciousness while *Anugraha Śakti* restores the original Absolutic essence of the self. The power which dislodges the time-force from its regular course of obscuration is significantly termed *Kāla-samkarsinī Śakti* (one that drags or pulls time). This is a name given to the Absolutic transcendence. When *Moment* gets firmly entrenched—it represents a moment of successionless or timeless time. This is the state of *Kālasamkarsinī*. This is the state of total I, compact with undifferentiated self-luminosity. The signal is clear—self-realization brooks no succession.⁷⁸

It must be, however, pointed out that the original inspiration comes from the system of Patañjali⁷⁹ whose seed idea of *Kṣana*⁸⁰ has been developed by Kavirāṣ in the light of Kashmir Śaivism, specially its Krama branch. The concepts of moment and intuitive grasp thereof in Patañjali and Vyāsa have been extended to the notion of the Absolute in the Absolutic Śaivism with all its concomitant logical implications.

Philosophy of Speech

One of the most significant contributions of Kashmir Śaivism has been in the field of philosophy of speech or language. Really speaking the root concept of speech (*Vāk*) is implied in the concept of *Vimarśa* i.e., reflective awareness of the self. In his *Pratyabhijñākarikā* Utpala defines *Caitanya* (consciousness in terms of *Pratyavamarśa* and *Pratyavamarśa* in those of *Parā Vāk* (ultimate speech) arising out of its own spontaneity that is equated with the Absolutic autonomy in the final run.⁸¹ Now this reflective awareness of the self (*Pratyavamarśa*) consists in the delightful activity of self-realization in the form of the total I-hood.⁸² It is this principle that acquires the title of *Parā Vāk* for its precise function lies in expressing the universe in its totality. The journey from word to meaning is a journey of cosmogonical process till its completion. The same reality that is realized as self in knowledge appears as not-self in the spoken word. This is meaning.

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- 78. Ibid., pp. 6 and 14.
 - 79. TVSD, p. 4 (Introduction).
 - 80. तेनैव क्षणेनकृत्स्नो लोकः परिणाममनुभवति,
Yoga-Sūtra-Bhāṣya (YSB) 3.52;
also cf. अक्रममिति एकक्षणोपारूढं सर्वं सर्वथा गृह्णाति
YSB 3.54. See Sambodhi, p. 2.
 - 81. चितिः प्रत्यवमर्शत्मा परा वाक् स्वरसोदिता ।
स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन्मुख्यं तदैश्वर्यं परमात्मनः ॥ IPK 1.5.13
 - 82. स्वात्मचमत्कारलक्षणः अहमिति स्वविषयास्वादरूपः ।
Bhāskari, published with IPV, I, p. 250.

The descent of *Vāk* passes through four stages—*Parā*, *Paśyantī*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī*. *Parā Vāk* is knowledge defined by the supreme self-awareness. It stands for the perfect state of all the objects. The second stage named *Paśyantī* (lit., perceiving) is the extrovert state of the ultimate speech and consists of inner reflection (*Āntara Pratyavaramarśi*). Against the universal reflection in the *Parā* state it figures here in the extraordinary form. That is why in this state the denoted meaning which is being visualized by the knowing subject appears as wrapped in I-hood. In fact, the dawning of an individual realization which is not dependent upon its objective counterpart always adopts this course. This is intuitive knowledge. At *Madhyamā* (middle, intermediary) level the subjective reflection undergoes inner differentiation. At that moment its content assumes significane-significans frame as distinct from the subject-object frame. Being indistinct it eschews sensory apprehension. But at the gross level, called *Vaikharī* (i.e. pertaining to body), it becomes distinct and is subject to sensory perception.⁸³ No doubt, the subtle indeterminate root word, by assuming the form of gross determinate idea, denotes the gross meaning i.e., object. One may, thus, note that the differentiated form of the significand-significans frame has its genesis in the synthetical relationship of *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* and comes into existence along the course of linguistic descent.

The problem has been further studied from another, though related, point of view in the overall context of *Mātrikā* (matrix). It forms an integral and a major aspect of the agamic mysticism. We do not propose to take up its treatment by Kaviraj as in our view this aspect relates more to *Sādhanā* than philosophy.⁸⁴

Appraisal

In the foregoing discussion an humble effort has been made to present Kaviraj's view of Kashmir Śaivism as a system of thought piecing together his relevant contribution at one place and to focus on his understanding of the key concepts and metaphysical problems. Before we proceed to take a stock of his contribution a few remarks about his approach appear necessary at this juncture. He tries to understand a problem with deep reverence of a disciple, or expounds it with the command of a competent teacher. Moreover, to him the philosophical process is essentially an experiential process rendering the philosophical analysis subordinate or complementary to the process of *Sādhanā*. It may further, be borne in mind that though his thinking is complete—logical and consistent, yet at times several gaps do appear in treatment of the related issues, perhaps owing to the scattered treatment of the issues. As a natural consequence his method has not been as critical as is generally expected from a philosophical scrutiny and analysis. But he is extremely logical in one sense. He knows what he wants to

83. BSS, I, pp. 544-545.

84. TVSD, p. 281.

say, and hence he analyses or expounds an abstruse or difficult idea in terms of or with reference to the cognate concepts. If necessary, he goes back in history to keep track of the phases that have been eventually instrumental in reaching the present state of idea and also points out to its latent possibilities. Across the entire intellectual exercise the inner thread of logical consistency is maintained—i.e., the argument does not suffer from inner contradiction. In the forthcoming paragraphs we shall endeavour, indeed against the background of our preceding treatment, to draw the attention of the scholarly world to the missing links and also to the issues that hold great possibilities in future.

Let us begin with the nomenclature of the system. We have seen at the outset that by Kashmir Śaivism Kaviraj understands *Pratyabhijñā* and *Spanda*. He adopts this classification from R. K. Bhandarkar and finds some grain of truth historically, but considers this division misleading.⁸⁵ In his view *Pratyabhijñā* or *Spanda* is as good a school of philosophy as *Krama*, *Kula*, *Trika* and *Tripurā* systems are. But from philosophical point of view their essential and original character is almost the same, if we leave aside details relating to the respective *Sādhanās* or practices. And for effectively conveying that central theme there cannot be more representative expressions than these two. While *Pratyabhijñā* embodies the epistemic and spiritual means towards the attainment of the Absolutic reality, *Spanda* is instrumental in achieving integral character of that reality. This is the reason that though Kaviraj devotes considerable time and space to the discussion of several important ideas of the systems such as *Krama*, *Kula*, etc., he does not accord them the status of an independent system of philosophy. Likewise, despite treating *Kula*- and *Tantra-prakriyās* as two independent systems of *Sādhanā* he propounds their culmination in *Trika*. Perhaps he imbibes this attitude from Abhinavagupta who declares that all the *Upāyas*—which constitute the traditional method of presenting different schools—finally culminate in *Anupāya* that is, *Pratyabhijñopāya*. Against this background one finds it strange—rather one is irked by lack of an adequate explanation at least—when Kaviraj approvingly cites Kṣemrāja where the latter points out to the *Trika* concept of self as distinguished from Tantra and Kula's⁸⁶

Likewise Kaviraj does not throw any special light on the concept of *Pratyabhijñā*. Perhaps the reason for this lies in his emphasis that it is not a kind of some school or discipline, instead it embodies a philosophical approach. It might be interesting to know that even in the system of *Pratyabhijñā* itself recognition has not been recognized as an independent source of valid knowledge, rather it is found imbued with all the sources of knowledge as well as the entire cognitive

85. BSS, I, p. 1.

86. TVSD, pp. 2, 8 (Introduction).

activity.⁸⁷ The particular terminology employed by Kaviraj in the course of comparison between the two absolutisms of Śaṅkara and Kashmir (e.g., Śaṅkara's monism is exclusive and negative while Śaivist's inclusive and all-embracing) finds its source in the notion of *Pratyabhijñā*. The Advaita attitude may be described as analytical and isolationist (*Vivekamūla*) and the Śaiva as synthetical (*Sāmarasya-mūla*). These attitudes may be conveniently extended to the realm of epistemology where its impact is felt in their respective cognitive processes which may be styled as determinative and assimilative for want of better expressions. The former has *Adhyavasīma*—knowing by excluding the other—as its basis, while the latter *Anusaṅdhāna*—knowing by including the other.⁸⁸ Needless to say that *Pratyabhijñā* is assimilative knowledge and therefore falls under the second category. Imperfect knowledge (*Apūrṇa Jñāna*) in terms of which the concept of ignorance has been nurtured, regains its perfection only through this *Pratyabhijñā*. That is why the notion of valid knowledge as developed in the Śaiva absolutism is not rendered in terms of revealing the unknown but in terms of removing the stupor or veil from the known.⁸⁹ Befittingly enough it has been called *Mala* i.e., coating. *Pratyabhijñā* is, therefore, the result of the integral and affirmative attitude of the Śaiva absolutist towards life.

Similarly though the concept of *Spanda* (elan/vibration) has received thoughtful attention from Kaviraj, its philosophical implications, it seems, could be exploited further. Let us see.

Kashmir Śaivism and, for that matter, the other monistic agamic systems have adopted the original Sāṃkhya scheme of categories after necessary modifications in tune with their metaphysics. But some of them have been adopted in the *Sāṃkhya* fashion, while some on the *Yoga* pattern—because the process of change has been assigned to the will of God instead of leaving it to the whims of a blind destiny. This adoption has been partial in the sense that the nature of *Prakṛti*, *Puruṣa* and Īśvara is not different but identical basically. This unity has been arrived at in two ways. On the one hand, by advocating the theory of the dependent Māyā that is, by identifying Māyā and the principle of consciousness; and, on the other, by extension of the *Sāṃkhya* process of homogeneous transformation (*Sadrśa-parināma*)—whatever is appearing externally in the form of a heterogeneous transformation is not heterogeneous but homogeneous one occurring in the body of the God. Such an approach takes care of both the apparent transformation (*Vivarta*) as well as the

87. इह दीर्घदर्शिना प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमान्यतमप्रमाणमूलं
प्रत्यभिज्ञामाश्रित्य . . . IPV, II, p. 195

88. Vide “तान्त्रिक दर्शनः प्रकृति और सांस्कृतिक संदर्भ”
N. Rastogi, PP, p. 38.

89. Vide “Recognition in Pratyabhijñā School : A Study in Epistemology”,
N. Rastogi, ABORI, Diamond Jubilee Volume (1977-78), pp. 847-848.

real transformation (*Pariṇāma*)⁹⁰ in spite of its appearance as external, an object is real and is identical with its source.

From it a significant conclusion follows that the concept of real we come across in Kashmir Śaivism is that of a kinetic real. Vyāsa, the celebrated commentator of the *Yoga-sūtra* alludes to two types of eternity : *Kūṭastha-nityatā* and *Pariṇami-nityatā*,⁹¹ that is, being-eternity and becoming-eternity. Being-eternity is the nature of *Puruṣa*, while becoming-eternity of *Prakṛti*. The synthesis of these two bipolar notions is found in the Śaiva Absolute i.e., *Parama Śiva*. In its Śiva-aspect reality is being, whereas in Śakti-aspect it is becoming—their unity is real. This aspect of the tantras may be designated, borrowing a term from Dasgupta, as ‘concrete idealism’.⁹² The gulf between the two polarities has been bridged in a genuine philosophical style. We have already seen that Śiva is *Prakāśa* i.e., pure consciousness and Śakti is *Vimarśa* (self-consciousness) i.e., inherent dynamism or activity of that pure consciousness. Consciousness and its intrinsic dynamicity cannot be separated from one another. In order to apprehend and explain their unity the *Sāṃkhya* process of identification between *Buddhi* and *Puruṣa* has been taken recourse to. Here *Vimarśa* is reflected in *Prakāśa* which actually means reflection of the real essence of *Prakāśa* itself. *Prakāśa* can grasp its own purity of consciousness when it is reflected by its own activity or *Vimarśa*. This is actually what is understood by I-consciousness. Thus the first point in evolution of the notion of reality is *Prakīśa*—pure consciousness; the second is *Vimarśa*—intrinsic dynamism of consciousness; and the third is synthesis of the two—return of *Prakāśa* as ‘I’ through the medium of *Vimarśa*. Since the concept of *Vimarśa* is involved in the concept of *Prakāśa* Just as ‘thinking’ is involved in ‘thought’, their unity stands accounted for. This is why it is reckoned as synthesis of duality and unity both and the vital source of this fusion is the conceptual process of thought or idea in the form of *Spanda*.⁹³ Such an approach also takes care of the so-called discrepancy involved in admitting the reality as a changing constant.⁹⁴ Eternal Sport (*Nitya*

90.

नेत्रै विभोविवर्तोऽस्ति परिणामश्च न क्वचित् ।
अथवा द्वयमप्यस्तु तदाऽप्यस्य न खण्डना ॥

Attributed to Siddhanātha, quoted in PP, pp. 55.

91.

द्वयी चेयं नित्यताः कूटस्थनित्यता परिणामिनित्यता च ।
तत्र कूटस्थनित्यता पुरुषस्य परिणामिनित्यता गुणानाम् ॥

Yoga-Sūtra-Bhāṣya 4.33

92. Indian Idealism, S. N. Dasgupta, Cambridge, 1962, Sub-section 37, p. xxiii.

93. Philosophical Essays, S. N. Dasgupta, London, Chap. ‘General Introduction to the “Tantra Philosophy.”

94. “But so far as the monistic school (i.e., Kashmir Śaivism) is concerned we do not think it warrantable to suppose that the Self is believed to be a changing constant. It is affirmed in one breath that the Self merely

Līlā) to which Kaviraj makes several references appears to be a theological interpretation of the metaphysical activity of *Spanda*.

In the tantric absolutism this synthesis has been achieved through another source also. This pertains to speech or language. Though Kaviraj's treatment in this sphere is obviously more disposed towards *Sādhanā*, it is not difficult to gather the philosophical threads. The concept of six passages (*Ṣadadhva*) appears to have been embarked upon in the tantras specially for drawing attention to the twin directions of the cosmic flow of the Absolute dynamism—word-current and meaning-current. *Mantra*, *Pada* and *Varna* represent gross, subtle and ultimate stages respectively of the word-flow, whereas *Bhuvana*, *Tattva* and *Kalā* those of the meaning-flow. In the *Śaivāgamas* the process that marks the creation of the world also marks the linguistic evolution. Hence, the linguistic evolution is a real symbol of the creative process. It is the inherent potentiality of consciousness or creative freedom that actualizes in the twin modes of word and meaning. The enormous emphasis that has been put on *Varnasṛṣṭi* or *Mātrikās* has its source in the same line of approach. Here too word is *Vimarśa* and meaning *Prakāśa*. The denotation of a meaning by the word, therefore, has the same thrust—self realization of meaning in the form of a word.

Kalidasa Bhattacharya⁹⁵ has drawn certain important conclusions from the agamic doctrine of word/meaning-flow. In his view, Indians' *Parā Vāk*—pure or highest form of speech is what the Western aprioristic thinkers recognize as 'thought'. This pure speech is free and universal. It is pure in this sense that the gross sounds that constitute the spoken form (*Vaikhari*) of language and the mental images, that reside in mind at the time of its articulation, are not contingent events. Not only these sounds and mental images but the concrete objects of the world as well, are self concretisation or self actualization of pure speech or language. The meaning of words neither depends upon the logical connection of words nor on the intention of the speaker. That the word 'A' means the object 'B' undoubtedly depends upon convention, but a word must convey 'some' object is necessarily a-priori.⁹⁶ Since these meanings are a-prioristic anticipations of facts and these facts are free or

appears to undergo change and that this *appearance* is real. It is difficult for the logical understanding to be reconciled with this position.”
SJP, p. 218.

95. Philosophy, Logic and Language (PLL),
Kalidas Bhattacharya, Bombay, 1965, p. 227.
96. Cp. तत्रापि अस्ति अंतः परामर्शः । सकलेन हि शब्दग्रामेण शब्दनं सहन्ते वस्तुनि तत्र च नियतशब्दयोजनं क्रियते । IPV, I, p. 289, also Cp. इति सूक्ष्मेण प्रत्यवमर्शेन संवर्तित-शब्दभावनामयेन भाव्यमेव । संवर्तिता हि शब्दभावना प्रसारणेन विवर्त्यमाना स्थूलो घटादि . . .
Ibid., p. 293.

different from the pure word, these meanings must be considered a-prioristic.⁹⁷ According to Bhattacharya, the syntactical and semantical study of pure word is quite close to the traditional Western logic of terms and judgement.⁹⁸ But, this has to be borne in mind that analysis of pure speech has taken place in the context of metaphysics, not in isolation from it.

Let us address ourselves to the problem that is likely to generate some heat. It is whether Kashmir Śaivism be considered pure metaphysics or a theology, as in the case with several *Bhakti* schools. The opinion seems divided. While Pandey describes it as ‘Realistic Idealism’⁹⁹ and Dasgupta as ‘concrete Idealism’¹⁰⁰ Murti chooses to refer to it as ‘Absolutistic Theism’,¹⁰¹ Sharma as theistic absolutism¹⁰² and Alper as theology¹⁰³. From the perusal of Kaviraj’s treatment one gets fairly certain that he is inclined to treat it as a theistic system. Kaviraj has a point. Earlier we have seen that ignorance in Kashmir Śaivism has a twofold character—individualisation of consciousness called *Pauruṣa Ajñāna* and defilement of intellectual operation called *Bauddha Ajñāna*. For the removal of the former, which is the predominant constituent of the Śaivist’s ignorance and consists in loss of freedom, initiation is considered essential; while for the removal of the latter, which consists in loss of knowledge, recourse to the four *Upāyas*—four modes of redemptive knowledge namely *Āṇava*, *Śākta*, *Śāmbhava* and *Anupāya*—is prescribed. The purpose of *Bauddha Jñāna*, consequent upon the removal of *Bauddha Ajñāna*, is to prepare ground conducive for the elimination of individuation i.e., *Pauruṣa Ajñāna*. The initiation is secured as a result of the divine grace. From these premises it becomes abundantly clear that synthesis of *Sādhanā* and knowledge is absolutely essential for securing release. The chances of *Pratyabhijñā* staking its claim as a system of pure metaphysics are thus bleak indeed. But if we view the things a little more objectively, we will notice immediately that the basic thrust of the four *Upāyas* lies in transforming determinacy into indeterminacy. *Anupāya*, whose etymology negates its *Upāya* character and which has been named *Praty-*

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- 97. Cp. अत्र दर्शने विषयस्यापि विमर्शमयत्वात् अभिलापमयत्वमेव ।
Ibid., I, p. 289.
 - 98. PLL, p. 227.
 - 99. Abhinavagupta : An Historical And Philosophical Study, K. C. Pandey Varanasi, 1963, p. 319-320.
 - 100. He uses it to describe tantric position which equally applies to Kashmir Śaivism. See Indian Idealism, p. 23.
 - 101. Kashmir Śaivism, L. N. Sharma, Varanasi, 1972, p. 1.
 - 102. Ibid., p. 3 (Preface).
 - 103. “... Utpala’s thought is as much theology as any non-Western System.” ‘H. P. Alper’s forthcoming work’ “On Recognizing Śiva.” SUNY Series, fn. 2, p. 39.

bhijñopaya, has been equated with *Mokṣa*—self awareness of the total I (*Purnāham-vimarśa*)—by Abhinavagupta. If this is *Mokṣa*, one will have to concede that the rise of freedom of consciousness (*Bodha svātantrya*=*Pauruṣa Jñāna*) is possible from consciousness of freedom (*Svātantrya bodha*=*Bauddha Jñāna*). In other words there appears a strong possibility of transcendence of experience leading to transcendence of being. Besides, describing the rise of *Dikṣā* as ‘internal’ in such situations and equating divine grace with the ‘expansive’ component of the vibrating ideality lend sufficient strength to the view that there is enough potential in Kashmir Śaivism, for its blooming into a pure metaphysical thought.

In this context it will not be unreasonable to state that the Absolutic devotion (*Advaita Bhakti*), which has been passionately discussed by Kaviraj at length, pins its total faith in invariable unity of the devotee and the divine rather than in apparent duality thereof. *Advaita Bhakti* unexpectedly believes in the intrinsic divinity of man and, therefore, resolutely holds that the devotee is *actually* transformed into the Godhead.¹⁰⁴ Such a notion of *Bhakti* seems to have emerged from the notion of unity between the infinitesimal and the all-pervading (*Aṇu* and *Bhūmā*) or microcosm and macrocosm.¹⁰⁵ The equation between *Yogin* and *Parama-Śiva* also focusses on the same. In other words not only *Bhagavān-Parama Śiva*-Absolute, which happen to be the ultimate aim and destination of *Bhakti-Yoga* (*Sādhanā*)-*Jñāna*, are one but even the means e.g., *Bhakti-Yoga-Jñāna*, too are identical between themselves. Viewed from this angle the metaphysical thrust of the Śaiva absolutism becomes more potent.

By advocating the complete and uninhibited expression of the *Sat-Cit-Ānanda* character of the Absolute in *Bhakti* and also by highlighting the aesthetical dimensions of *Bhakti* Kaviraj has laid down the basis for the growth of a full-fledged aesthetics from the metaphysical premises of the system. In fact, Kaviraj is the pioneer scholar who develops the theory, of aesthetic enjoyment (*Rasasāstra*) as the applied metaphysics of the Śaiva absolutism. Though Pandey has done remarkable work in this direction, Kavirāj’s approach is more comprehensive. After the great Hindi poet Prasad¹⁰⁵ Kaviraj is the only person who so passionately unearths a meaningful relation between the cosmic activity of creation and the creative activity of a poet. But undoubtedly Kaviraj worked on a much wider canvas. The link-up of *Bhakti*, *Sādhanā*, *Yoga*, philosophy and aesthetics required kind of intellectual calibre only Kaviraj was the capable of providing.

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- 104. “... another object is to unite the worshipper to the God and in fact transform him into the God.” Hinduism & Buddhism. An Historical Sketch, Charles Eliot, London, Vol. II, p. 190.
 - 105. Kāvyakalā Tathā Anya Nibandha, Jai Shanker Prasad, Chap. on Ānandavāda.
 - 106. BSS, I, p. 17.

Growth Areas

During the course of unravelling the mysteries of Kashmir Śaivism, Kaviraj offers a few brief but invaluable insights in the unexplored areas. A work on those lines is bound to deepen our understanding of Kashmir Śaivism. Our job, for the time being, lies in inviting attention of scholars to these areas.

One, there is more in Kaviraj's observation than meets the eye when he says that though Kashmir Śaivists proclaim the supremacy of Śānta Rasa they synthesize Śānta with Śringāra in Śiva-Śakti synthesis. If there is synthesis, supremacy of either sentiment is lost. While Śānta is philosophically more fundamental, Śringāra is aesthetically more basic. In the *Abhinavabhbārati* Abhinava declares Śringāra to be the primary sentiment. An enquiry into this will naturally bring us at the threshold of a more important issue—which *Puruṣārthā* is the primary source of Indian aesthetics—Kāma or Mokṣa, and if both, how is their synthesis effected—bringing us back to the integral attitude of the Absolutic Śaivism.

Two, Kaviraj draws our attention to the historical ties between Kashmir Śaivism and the *Achintya-bhedābheda* of Chaitanya Mahāprabhu. Kaviraj had postponed the discussion on this to some later occasion¹⁰⁶ which perhaps never came. He also finds a close parallel between the two with reference to the aesthetical undertones of the Absolutic devotion.¹⁰⁷ Even from the points of view of metaphysics, *Siddhanā* and cultural significance he finds both systems equal in importance.¹⁰⁸ A philosophical and critical appraisal of the two may provide vital information enriching our understanding.

Three, According to Kaviraj there exists a close nexus between the agamic and Sufi thoughts. He singles out their relation for a detailed scrutiny. He finds the following three doctrines of Sufi's quite close, though partially, to Āṇava, Śāmbhava and Śākta *Upāyas* respectively.¹⁰⁹

- (i) The ultimate reality is self-conscious will and the world is its limited evolution.
- (ii) The ultimate reality is one and is of the nature of eternal beauty.
- (iii) The ultimate reality consists of knowledge or luminosity.

We are, however, not in a position to comment on the above contention. However, the analogue between the *Upāyas* and three Sufi principles is not clear to us, because the traditional understanding of the respective *Upāyas* appears somewhat different. But one thing is pretty definite that Sufism and Kashmir

107. Ibid., p. 11, 20; II, p. 314.

108. Ibid., I, p. 1.

109. Ibid., I, pp. 17-19.

Śaivism did come closer at some point of history. Nilla Cram Cook has visualized a close parallelism between the poet-philosophers of Irfan in Central Asia and philosophers of Kashmir.¹¹⁰

Four, Kaviraj further draws our attention to the existence of a dialogue between Christian mystics and Kashmir Śaivists with reference to the notions of grace,¹¹¹ power of consciousness,¹¹² synthesis,¹¹³ as well as *Bhakti* as synthesis. A study of the last two items will be found particularly rewarding from the angle of comparative philosophy and mysticism.

Conclusion

The Absolute is not only a metaphysical reality, it is also the Supreme Value. *Sāmarasya* must have an additional implication also—Synthesis of the ultimate reality and the ultimate value in the Absolute. Identity between the individual and the universal exhorts us to instal man or individual in the centre of entire evolution as its pivot, because microcosm and macrocosm are essentially one in their divinity. The ‘datum’ is neither unreal nor a matter of ridicule. Similarly it is not that the ‘transcendental’ alone is to be cherished as desirable or attainable. Perfection consists in divinisation of both the “daturm” and the “desirable”—that is, induction of the value-consciousness and a sense of worthiness towards this life. This, therefore, constitutes the world view of the Śaivists. Kaviraj declares “Life’s meaningfulness lies not in rejecting *Māyā* or the world generated by it, but in perceiving it as divine power and divine enlargement.”¹¹⁴ Invariably and logically this results in the spontaneous inclination of a *Yogin* towards human or cosmic welfare even after attaining emancipation.¹¹⁵ Kashmir Śaivism offers a well cultivated background for building up Kaviraj’s own philosophy, *Akhanda Mahāyoga*, whose aim is collective welfare of the entire mankind i.e., emancipation of all from the emancipation of one. He is firm in his conviction that a *Yogin* never sits idle even after attaining perfection. His spontaneous activity is always on the move.

Kaviraj’s message is all the more relevant today. With these words I pay my homage to this great son of India.

जयन्ति ते सुकृतिनः रससिद्धाः कवीश्वराः ।
नास्ति येषां यशःकाये जरामरणं भयम् ॥

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110. Cf. The Way of Swan, quoted in Kashmir Bi-annual, Ed. P. N. Pushp, Vol. I, No. I, Srinagar, p. 90.
 111. TVSD, p. 5, (Introduction).
 112. Ibid., p. 6 (Introduction)
 113. Ibid., pp. 163-164.
 114. BSS, I, p. 6.
 115. Ibid., pp. 232, 256.

GOPINĀTH KAVIRĀJ ON THE DOCTRINE OF PRATIBHĀ WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA

RAGHUNATH GHOSH

The present paper deals with Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja's view on the doctrine of *Pratibhā* in Indian Philosophy and how this doctrine has been accepted by the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems. In this paper an effort has been made to present his view in a clarified way so that some problems arising on the way of understanding can be removed easily, which is, of course, followed by some evaluative remarks. In this context I would like to put forth the original contribution of Dr. Kaviraja, the celebrated thinker in Indology in recent time, in explaining this doctrine.

It has been pointed out by Dr. Kaviraja that there are many things in the world that are not capable of being known by ordinary sense-organs. The inadequacy of the intellectual power points to the existence of the world which is beyond the reach of our sense organs. Hence Dr. Kaviraja's conclusion is that there is some faculty in a man that is capable of revealing that world. This faculty is known as *Pratibhā*.¹ This point will find justification in the fact that there are many things like God, self etc. that can not be known through sense organs, but the existence of them is already accepted in Indian tradition. The Indian scholars have propounded the nature of them and found out the extraordinary means of realising them. These can be known by super-sensual power or vision which does not come from the ordinary mental platform, but it comes from some kind of power called *Pratibhā*. It can not be argued that there are no objects which can not be revealed by sense organs, for, the usages of the terms like normal perception, *prākṛta*, sensual etc. prove that there are corresponding opposite concepts like supernormal perception, *atiprākṛta*, supersensual etc. If there were no possibilities of being supernormal perception etc., the usages like normal perception etc. would have been meaningless and hence, these particular usages presuppose the existence of the opposite concepts that can be known through *Pratibhā* alone. So Dr. Kaviraja, I think, is correct in his way of proving the existence of *Pratibhā*.

1. Gopinath Kaviraj : *Aspects of Indian Thought*, pl. University of Burdwan, 1984. Henceforth. *Indian Thought*.

The literal meaning of the term '*Pratibhā*' is, as Dr. Kaviraja has observed, a flash of light which reveals the objects. The light is 'the wisdom characterised by immediacy and freshness.'² This point reminds me a particular definition of *Pratibhā* which runs as follows. *Pratibhā* is such a wisdom having capacity to illumine the objects newly again and again.³ Keeping this point in view perhaps, Dr. Kaviraja has inserted two adjuncts, viz, 'immediacy' and 'freshness' to *Pratibhā*. Besides these, it has been described as 'supersensuous and suprarational apperception.'⁴ This statement bears some similarities with Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, where it is stated that genius is super normal, as it comes from over mind. Sri Aurobindo has said, "It comes out from something deep within which calls down the world, vision, the light and power from a level above the normal mind (i.e. over mind)."⁵ Such type of vision is accepted in Western philosophy also where it is described as intuition. According to Croce, this intuition is a distinct species differing from intuition-in-general by something more.⁶ Here the phrase 'something more' indicates 'the supersensuous and suprarational apperception' as advocated by Dr. Kaviraja. There is no reason to think that the knowledge attained through *Pratibhā* is always of higher type but it might be both higher and lower. The telepathy etc. are included under second category while the Supreme Wisdom of the saint belongs to the first one.⁷

In another way the intuition or *Pratibhā* stands for the Highest Divinity. It is 'the power of self-revelation or self-illumination of the Supreme Spirit with which it is essentially and eternally identical.'⁸

If the above mentioned view of Dr. Kaviraja is taken for granted, a logical problem will crop up, because 'eternal' means having no beginning and end. If *Pratibhā* is taken as eternally identical, it will not be treated as an effect (*kārya*) due to not becoming counter positive of the prior-absence (*Prāgabhāvapratiyogi*). That which is eternal can not have any begining at all due to its not having prior absence which is one of the preconditions for being an effect.⁹ *Pratibhā* can not be described as eternal, because it is found that many persons become seer or *Rṣi* after

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2. *Ibid.*
 3. "Prañjā navanavonmeśaśālinī pratibhā Matā" *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, V. S. Apte, p. 358, Motilal, 1973.
 4. *Indian Thought*, p. 1.
 5. Sri Aurobindo : *Future Poetry*, p. 342, Sri Aurobindo Ashrama, Pondicherry.
 6. Benedetto Croce : *Aesthetic*, Vision Press, London, 1962, p. 12.
 7. *Indian Thought*, p. 1.
 8. *Ibid*, p. 2.
 9. "Kāryam Prāgabhāvapratiyogi"
Tarkasamgrahaḥ, by N C Goswami, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, p. 293.

acquiring this *Pratibhā* through their own *sādhanā* though they were not so before. The śruti also gives injunction to mankind for attaining this seerhood.¹⁰ So how will it not be an effect? It must be an effect and hence non-eternal.

In response to the above mentioned problem, it can be said in favour of Dr. Kavirāja's thesis that he is not forwarding any view which is contradictory to the above mentioned one. He agrees with the view that some persons may become *Rṣi* or endowed with *Pratibhā* through their *Sādhanā* or *adṛṣṭa* though they were not so before. But his emphasis is laid on the fact that there are persons, though a very few in number, who are born-genius and in their cases only *Pratibhā* is eternally identical with the Supreme spirit. Moreover, here eternity is not taken in a technical sense as pointed out in the above-mentioned passage, but it has to be taken as opposite to transitoriness. The intention of saying this in such a manner is that if someone has acquired *Pratibhā* or seerhood it is not for the time being, but eternal, i.e., having beginning but no end.

When the term "Pratibhā" is used in the sense of 'guru',¹¹ it is to be inserted in the *Pratibhā* of the second type where it is described as eternally identical with the supreme self. The term 'guru' means initiator, i.e. one who initiates. As *Pratibhā* initiates man to see past, present and future and helps him to be identical with the supreme self by virtue of having genius eternally identical, it is called 'guru'.

After this Dr. Kaviraja proceeds to give some characteristic features of the knowledge arising from *Pratibhā*. As this suprasensuous knowledge has no spatio-temporal limit, it is considered as transcendental having capacity of revealing past, present and future by a single flash.¹²

This point can be highlighted in the following manner. The English rendering of the term '*Rṣi*' is seer, i.e. one who sees, which means one who sees past, present and future through one's transcendental vision. He can alone know the Truth manifested in all objects. That is why, *Rṣi* is described as *kavi* in the Upanisad,¹³ which means *krāntadarśi* or omniscient i.e. knower of all objects existing in the present, past and future. Such type of vision is, as Dr. Kavirāja has pointed out, just like a search light, as all objects come under the range of it.¹⁴ A man who attains this vision, is considered as identified with Brahman, the *kavi*.

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10. *Īśopanisad*, Mantra No. 16.
 11. *Indian Thought*, p. 2.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. *Īśopanisad*, Mantra No. 8.
 14. *Indian Thought*, p. 2.

The Āgamas accept the terms *Pratibhā*, *Prajñā* indicating that vision, but they have coined another word for it which is *Samvēda*.¹⁵ This coinage is, I think, highly significant and from the etymology of the term, it follows that *Samvēda* means ‘true knowledge’ (*sam* means *Samyak* or true and *vēda* means knowledge) which indicates the knowledge of something which is true. Again it indicates the knowledge of Truth in as much as *Pratibhā* alone can give the knowledge of Truth which is true for all time. Moreover, wrong knowledge remains in a man who is not a seer. An individual may commit mistake or have wrong notion of the objects as long as he is not endowed with *Pratibhā* in this world, but when he transcends this stage and attains seerhood (*r̄ṣitva*) he will attain *Samvēda*. That is why, there is no difference (except terminological) between *Pratibhā* and *Samvēda* as both of them lead to the same idea.

There is another type of *Pratibhā* by which the aesthetic pleasure can be explained. Those who enjoy literary art in the form of drama, as for example, become happy or unhappy after sharing the happiness or misery of the hero and heroine. Behind this there is no argument by which a man can be convinced. No cause is found to explain this type of emotional involvement. As the cause of it is not found through ordinary sense organs and reasonings, it can be taken through extra-sensory medium which is called *Pratibhā*. As this pleasure transcends the limitation of personal interest, it is disinterested universal pleasure.¹⁶ As such pleasure is mystic in character, it must be caused by *Pratibhā* which is described by Abinavagupta as a dwarfed image of the *Brahman*.¹⁷ Dr. Kaviraja has accepted the existence of such type of *Pratibhā* which has got secondary importance in his philosophy. He opines, “There is another, a secondary one which is also found in literature.” He explains that our attraction towards art objects again and again in search of aesthetic pleasure is due to an impulse which is caused by *Pratibhā*. This *Pratibhā* underlines all behaviours. When a man, after thinking an object pleasurable or painful, generally is drawn towards or away from it, it is due to this *Pratibhā* which produces a flash from within.¹⁸

In this connection a problem may be raised from the standpoint of the Naiyāyikas. It is known to us that the knowledge of the conduciveness of an object (*iṣṭasādhanatājñāna*) and the knowledge of the non conduciveness of it (*aniṣṭasādhanatājñāna*) become the cause of one’s inclination or declination to

15. *Ibid.*

16. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy : *Dhanyāloka*, Motilal, 1982, p. XXXI.

17. “Parabrahmasvādasavidhah”

Locana, on *Dhanyāloka*, Chowkhambā, p. 193.

18. *Indian Thought*, p. 18.

it. If the knowledge of conduciveness of an object etc. become the cause of inclination etc. *Pratibhā*, according to them, has no role at all.

In response to this problem, it can be said that Dr. Kaviraja is not opposing the view of the *Naiyāyikas*, but he is pointing out more precisely that the knowledge of the conduciveness or otherwise of an object comes from within. But how a man can be aware of its conduciveness? A man can know it with the help of *Pratibhā* which is within him.

It seems that Dr. Kaviraj has maintained no difference between *Pratibhā* operating in the case of attaining aesthetic pleasure and that operating in ordinary behaviour. But from the effect it can easily be presumed that a sharp distinction lies between them. It is known from the fact that the former is mysterious while the latter is not. Had *Pratibhā* been same in both the cases, there would have no difference between them. Hence, the difference at least in the degree of *Pratibhā* is to be admitted. In the case of the former the degree of *Pratibhā* is stronger than the latter. As Dr. Kaviraj has not mentioned this anywhere, his theory gives rise to the abovementioned problems. How can this problem be solved?

In reply, it can be said that all kinds of activities, aesthetic or ordinary, are, according to Dr. Kaviraj, caused by impulse which is due to *Pratibhā*. This impulse may be higher or lower according to the *Pratibhā* an individual possesses. It has been pointed out by him earlier that *Pratibhā* is one in its essence, but differing in kind according as it is developed by a steady and continuous effort or produced automatically by virtue of bare *Adṛṣṭa* (unseen factors).¹⁹ Moreover, Dr. Kaviraj does not want to give much importance on this type of *Pratibhā*, because in the case of aesthetic it can give temporary spiritual pleasure to an individual. But it is, I think, not thought as sufficient for mankind by him. That is why, his stress is laid on that *Pratibhā* which can give rise to a permanent vision or which can make a man *yogi*. For this reason he does not discuss so much on the role of *Pratibhā* in the aesthetic enjoyment and ordinary behaviour.

Dr. Kaviraj has rightly pointed out that the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems of Philosophy are engaged more in the discussion on the realistic world and hence they have not discussed much on *Pratibhā*, the source of supersensuous knowledge.²⁰ A reason can be forwarded in favour of *not* dealing with this supersensuous knowledge. Once there was a time when the Indians mostly devoted themselves to the discussion and substantiation of the other-worldly objects due to the influence of the *Advaitins* like *Saṃkarācārya* etc. At that time the *Naiyāyikas*

19. *Ibid*, p. 5.

20. *Ibid*, p. 3.

felt it necessary to discuss this-worldly objects that can give an individual this-worldly or seen *Niḥśreyas* in the form of comfort etc. as well as the other-worldly objects that can give him unseen *Niḥśreyas* (highest good). In this way they want to prove that both *Dṛṣṭa* and *Adṛṣṭa Niḥśreyas* are essential for perfect human development.²¹

If *manas* becomes absolutely motionless, two states may, as Dr. Kaviraj has observed after following the *Vaiśeṣikas'* line, come into being : the first one is known as *Suṣupti* or dreamless sleep and the second as *Yoga* or *Samādhi*. In *yoga* or *samādhi*, in which consciousness, far from subsiding, is exalted into an extra-ordinary charity of Immediate Intuition. Time, space and other limitations having vanished, the *manas* stands face to face, as it were not only with the pure self but with the realities of all things. This vision is *Pratibhā* or *Arṣajñāna*.²²

The above mentioned view is, I think, very much well represented and well argued. It is correctly said that *manas* stands face to face with pure self and this state of mind alone gives rise to deep concentration or *yoga* by which the power of the sense organs becomes increased. If the power of the ear can be increased through this type of concentration, one can hear any sound anywhere. If in the same way the power of eye is increased one can visualise any object anywhere. All the objects can be realised through experience which is produced by concentration of our mind with the object of knowledge.²³ The *Vaiśeṣikas* are of the opinion that such type of experience is also possible due to the merits of the previous birth or this birth and due to the restraint (*yama*) and observance of rules by which a due state of mind and body can be maintained. This mental exercise gives rise to the transcendental perception of a *yogin*.²⁴

Dr. Kaviraj boldly criticises the view of Jayantabhaṭṭa according to whom *Pratibhā* lies in a place where there is a sudden flash in the life of an ordinary individual at some rare moments, but not in the case of *Yoga*. According to Dr. Kaviraja, in both the cases there is *Pratibhā* which is 'one in essence but differing in kind', as it is produced automatically in a man according to his *adīṣṭa*.²⁵ The extraordinary power of *Pratibhā* distinguishes it from ordinary knowledge. Dr. Kaviraja's stand point will be more firmfooted if it is mentioned that the *Naiyāyikas* have accepted this *yoga* or *Pratibhā* as a *Pratyāsatti* or

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21. Sri Phanibhusan Tarkavagisa : *Nyaya-darsan*, vol. I, p. 25 (Paschim Banga Rajya Pustak Parisat).
 22. *Indian Thought*, p. 5.
 23. *Nyāyasūtra*, IV/2/38-50.
 24. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, IX/1/11-15.
 25. *Indian Thought*, p. 5.

contact. As this is not known ordinarily, it is accepted as extra-ordinary contact by which the entire objective world may be comprehended in a single moment.²⁶

In the case of *yogaja Pratyakṣa Pratibhā* is eagerly manifested and hence, it is described as the wisdom of Supreme Being. There are some cases where *Pratibhā* is less manifested and hence they are called intuition. The knowledge of atom, not being possible through ordinary perception, is possible through intuition or extra-ordinary perception. In the same way the knowledge of universal is possible by some other method. When a man perceives a particular jar, he will see the whole class of jar through the method called *Sāmānyalakṣaṇā*.²⁷ Again, the knowledge through *Jñānalakṣaṇā* is possible due to the manifestation of *Pratibhā*. Otherwise how can a man know other things at the perception of a particular object? When one perceives a sandalwood, as for example, at a distance, one can immediately know of its fragrance though it is not in contact with his sense organ. Therefore, the knowledge of fragrance in this case is to some extent intuitive.²⁸ From the above discussion it can be concluded that Dr. Kavirāj is completely in a safe philosophical position when he argues, in connection with refuting Jayantabhaṭṭa's view, that *Pratibhā* is one in essence but differing in kind.

In the concluding part of the chapter dealing with *Pratibhā* as accepted by the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* schools, Dr. Kavirāj, after following Viśvanāth Nyāya Pañcānan, has brought out twofold character of *yoga* intuition, viz. *yogī* who is eternally connected (*yukta*) and another who is yet to connect (*yunjanā*). The former is, by virtue of being aware of all things, described as the mirror of Eternal Light, while the latter needs some contemplations for such awareness.²⁹ In a *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* also these two stages of vision of seers are described. One stage belongs to those who have adopted complete mastery over concentration. To them vision is ever present while another belongs to those who have no such mastery but have got some occasional glimpses of *Pratibhā*.³⁰

Some more supplementary points may be forwarded from the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika*-standpoint in favour of their acceptance of the doctrines of *Pratibhā* in order to

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26. *Bhāṣīparicchedaḥ*, verse No. 63.
 27. “Sāmānyalakṣaṇa iti sāmānyaṁ lakṣaṇam Yasya ityarthah. Tatra lakṣaṇapadena yadi svarūpamucyate, tadā sāmānyasvarūpa-pratyāsattirityartho labhyate... Tatra dhūmatvena sannikarṣeṇa dhūma ityevamrūpam sakaladhūmaviṣayakaṁ jñānaṁ jāyate”.
 28. *Siddhīntamuktāvalī* on verse No. 63.
 29. “... Saurabhatvasya bhānam Jñānalakṣaṇayā.”
Ibid.
 30. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, IX/1/13.

illumine Dr. Kavirāj's high thinking in this respect. Both the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems believe in *Śruti* which is also the product of *Pratibhā* possessed by vedic seers. The Vedic *Mantras* are poetry as they are represented by the *kavi* or seers. It is a well-known fact that both the systems accept the subject matter of the Vedas as authentic. To believe in *Śruti* entails to rely on the output of *Pratibhā*. Moreover, they believe in *Jivanmukta* or *Apararga*. That is to say, they believe in the existence of such a state where a man becomes free from sufferings.³¹ In this position an individual can see the real nature of the objects due to being endowed with his *Pratibhā*. An individual can be endowed with *Pratibhā* if he can remove wrong knowledge from his mind. Due to the removal of it the mind becomes free leading to the possession of *Pratibhā* through which the real nature of the world will be revealed to him.

Dr. Kavirāja's treatment of this concept is highly analytic and he is the first scholar who has drawn readers' attention to this concept in Indian philosophy in general and shown in various ways that the *Nyāya* and *vaiśeṣika* systems, though known as realistic philosophy, have accepted this concept. His greatest contribution in the field of philosophy is that he is not satisfied in taking the term '*Pratibhā*' in a traditional sense, i.e. having sudden occasional flash in an individual. That is why, he strongly criticises Jayantabhaṭṭa, the celebrated Naiyāyika, and gives less importance on the *Pratibhā* which gives rise to aesthetic enjoyment. He has tried to show that one can attain eternal vision, the mirror of Eternal Light, through the *yogic* path. Dr. Kavirāj is himself a *yogin* having eternal vision and hence he has easily realised the future of mankind. The function of those who are *R̥sis* is to lead others so that they may reach their destination, i.e., seerhood. Keeping this view in mind, Dr. Kavirāj, the seer of Truth, prescribes others the eternal path for making them seer, the supreme goal of mankind. This contribution in the field of philosophy undoubtedly evidences Dr. Kavirāja's *Pratibhā*, the mirror of Eternal Light, and for this we should remain grateful to this scholar-saint for ever.

31. "Tadatyantavimokṣah Apavargah
Nyāyasūtra, 1/1/22 and
Vātsyāyanabhāṣya on the same.

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA GOPINĀTH KAVIRĀJ'S VIEWS ON VEDĀNTA, TANTRA AND MARXISM

BIRESHWAR GANGULY

Section I

Introduction : It was an afternoon of June, 1951 when I had the first meeting with Mahāmahopādhya Dr. Gopinath Kavirāj, the greatest Indologist of India at that time, at his Sigra residence in Varanasi. Sri Shashadhar Bhattacharya of Calcutta and Brahmachari Bibhu of Ma Anandamayee Ashram accompanied me on the advice of Shree Shree Ma Anandamayee. There had been a controversy regarding the philosophical merit of Dr. Kaviraj's latest book '*Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*' just the previous night in the *Āshram satsanga* and I had the audacity of dubbing the book as sheer absurdity in the presence of Mother and other learned *Sannyasis*, who were staunch admirers of Dr. Kaviraj. Hence it was Mother's advice that I should have a personal interview with the undisputedly learned author to remove doubts in my mind.

When we entered into the first floor room of the philosopher, he received us very warmly and with a smiling face but mystic glance. I was convinced from the very look of Dr. Kaviraj that he was a great *yogi* and not merely a learned Indologist. Even then I had the frankness to ask him about the merit and authenticity of his latest book, "*Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga*", in which he had predicted that *satyayuga* (Golden Age) was imminent at the cosmic level for our solar system and not merely at the micro level of the *sādhaka*. I was astonished to hear from him that the book was not the product of rational discrimination or interpretation of authentic Hindu Scriptures but of dictations given by her sister-disciple in her condition of trance. Hence I was justified in not taking the book very seriously.

My next question was meant for scanning the span of his erudition, knowing full well that he was an authority on *Tantra Śāshṭra*. I asked him whether it was possible to reconcile with the methodologies of Vedanta and Marxism.

I am giving below in the next four sections the summary of his views on

Vedānta, *Tantra* and Marxism, which were explained by him in one full hour with profuse quotations from the original texts of all the three schools of thought.

Section II

He told me at the very outset that though the question was meant for testing his knowledge on the two subjects of *Vedānta* and Marxism, yet it sprang also from genuine doubts in my mind as to whether it was possible for a *Sādhaka* like me to teach on and believe in Marxism and at the same time to try to interpret the *Hindu Shāshtras* in the light of Shankarāchārya's philosophy of monistic or *Māyāvādi Vedānta*. When I readily admitted that his hunch was correct, he proceeded gladly to explain that the effort of mine was neither irrational nor ineffective, for Shankara dealt with the transcendental or absolute truth, whereas Marx dealt with relative or historical truth about some aspects of the phenomenal world. He, however, pointed out that the effort at reconciliation with the two theories would fail at the intermediate level of *Sādhanā*, when the *sādhaka* needs an integral philosophy to make a synthesis between ends and means, for at that level the methodological gulf between the two systems would be too apparent to permit any practical synthesis. How can a *yogi* accept Shankara's view that the world is an illusion and yet try to interpret human history with the methodology of dialectical materialism? Moreover an aspirant for *Brahma Jnāna* (absolute knowledge) cannot assimilate the Marxian hypothesis of class-war, for all *jīvātmās* (individual souls) are one and the same *Brahman* in the final analysis.

However, Dr. Kaviraj admitted again that a reconciliation with Marx and Shankara would become easy at the final stage of *jīvanmukti* (liberation in life), when the *yogi* has attained absolute knowledge, in which all contradictions are finally resolved. Then he proceeded to explain the fundamentals of the two systems of thought (given below in sections III & IV) and came to the conclusion that a better reconciliation is possible with Marxism and *Tāntrik Monism* (section V) rather than with Marxism and *Māyāvādi Monism* (of Shankarāchārya). *Vedānta* deals with *Vidyā* (absolute knowledge), Marxism deals with some aspects of *avidyā* (relative knowledge), whereas *Tantra* deals with both.

Section III

Vedānta : According to monistic *Vedānta* philosophy of Shankarāchārya, Brahman alone is the ultimate reality, the world is an illusion, the *jīvātmā* or individual self is fundamentally the same as Brahman and not different from *Paramātmā*, the illusion of the world is apparently created by the inscrutable powers of Brahman, known as *Māyā* and liberation consists in the recognition or realisation of the truth that the Self is ever free and this state of consciousness

comes when the *Sādhaka* becomes completely desireless. This, in a nutshell, is the essence of Vedantic philosophy, as explained by Shankarāchārya and other monistic philosophers of India.

Monistic Vedanta has uniformly admitted that the world of sense and intellect is an illusion, that is relative or temporary truth, having no permanent or absolute validity. The conception of dualism has no logical or ontological justification. The entire Vedantic philosophical literature from Sankarāchārya down to Madhusūdan Saraswati is pre-occupied with the main task of proving the unreality of the objective or phenomenal world. This is done by appeal to logic as well as authority (*Shruti*). The following three are the criteria of Truth, viz., (a) authority (*Shruti*) (b) logic (*Yukti*) and (c) self-realization (*Ātmānubhuti*). The methodology of *Vedanta* is rational in the sense that it is not in conflict with the demands of logic or reason. But as reason has its limitations, the Vedantic methodology transcends reason by the help of supra-rational appeals to *Shruti* and self-realization. Vedanta is out and out rational, but when reason fails to unravel the mysteries of Reality, it takes the help of supra-rational *pramāṇam* (proof).

However, it has to be remembered that the aim of Vedanta is the realization of the Self (*Ātman*) and not merely a rational defence of it (the Truth). The *Ātman* alone is real, that is, permanently true and not the appearance of the universe or the objective world, which is the Non-Self. The false identification of the Self (*Atman*) with the non-self (world) is the cause of bondage, which is nothing but the ignorance of the real nature of the Self. Therefore, freedom (*mukti* or *moksha*) is attained as soon as the ignorance disappears on the dawn of self-realization, which is the *summum bonum* of *sādhanā*. (Here he cited the familiar analogy of the rope appearing as a snake in darkness, the fear generated by this illusion and the subsequent disappearance of the illusion, the moment light is brought.) According to *Ashtāvakra Samhitā* :

यत्र विश्वमिदं भाति कल्पितं रज्जुसर्पवत् ।
आनन्दपरमानन्दः स बोधस्त्वं सुखं चर ॥ (1.10)

“You are that consciousness, which is Supreme Bliss, in and upon which this universe appears superimposed, like a snake on a rope. Forget the superimposition and live happily.”

Though moral discipline and detachment are needed in monistic *Sādhanā* for preparing the mind to be able to realize the Truth, yet what is of supreme importance is the conviction about the normative ideation. Here he referred to the simple formula of *Ashtāvakra Samhitā* again :

मुक्ताभिमानी मुक्तो हि बद्धो बद्धाभिमान्यपि ।
किंवदन्तीह सत्येयं या मतिः सा गतिर्भवेत् ॥ (1.11)

"He who considers himself free is free indeed, and he who considers himself in bondage, remains bound. 'As one thinks, so one becomes' is a popular saying in this world, and it is quite true (with regard to bondage and liberation also.)"

Then he referred to *Māyā*, that power of *Brahman*, which creates the illusion of the phenomenal world and which is the principle of unreason and the source of irrationality and infatuation as well as false identification. But the *Māyā* of Vedanta is different from the Satan (Absolute Evil) of Semitic conception and *Mahāmayā* of *Tantra*, which has both the powers of bondage and liberation. However, the redeeming feature of Vedantic *Māyā* is that She is also the embodiment of science and scientific reasoning. Here he referred to *Avidyā* of *Ishopanishad*, which comes within the purview of *Māyā*, whereas both *Avidyā* and *Vidyā* come within the purview of *Mahāmayā* of *Tantra Shāshtra*.

विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तत्त्वेदोभयं सह ।
अविद्यया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ (Isha. 11)

"One who knows *vidyā* (*Brahmajñānam*) and *avidyā* (scientific knowledge) together, solves the problems of the world of death by *avidyā* and attains the bliss of immortality of *vidyā*."

Then he stated that while Vedanta deals only with *Vidya* and Marxism deals only with some aspects of *avidyā*, *Tantra* deals with both and can reconcile the contradictory approaches of Shankara and Marx. Amongst the 108 *Upanishads*, which are source materials for Vedanta, the *Ishopanishad*, the *Brihadāraṇyak Upanishad* and the *Chhandogya Upanishad* provide the connecting links between Vedanta and *Tantra*.

Section IV

Marxism : Marxism as a system of thought includes Philosophy, Sociology, Economics and Political Science, but is essentially an integral theory, which attempts to understand scientifically the empirical or verifiable world within the historical period. That is to say it makes no attempt to understand the fundamental nature of reality, which was found to be the chief concern of Vedanta. Vedanta is not only monistic but also idealistic in approach, whereas Marxism is dualistic (rather pluralistic) as well as materialistic. Vedanta is concerned with the liberation of the individual *Jivātmā*. Marxism is concerned with the rise and fall of the capitalist society. For explaining the historical nature of capitalism, Marx borrowed Hegel's dialectic logic, but, as is commonly said, he made Hegel stand on his legs instead of on his head. For Hegel was an idealist and Marx was out and out a materialist. He gave the materialist interpretation of history with the help of dialectic logic, according to which society marches forward from one epoch to another through the clash of opposite forces or classes in society, known as the

thesis and the anti-thesis, so that a new synthesis is arrived at. It is through this process of class-war that primitive communism was converted into ancient patriarchal society, which in turn gave birth to medieval feudal society. Out of the ashes of feudalism was born the modern capitalist society, much before the industrial revolution in Europe. The industrial revolution of the 19th century only brought into sharp focus the contradiction between the two major classes in society, viz., the capitalist bourgeois and the proletariat working class. According to Marxist prognosis, if production is to satisfy the growing demands of society, a new society has to be born as new synthesis a result of the clash between the bourgeois thesis and proletariat anti-thesis. The new society will be a socialist society, which will be not only a classless society but also a stateless society. Of course the Soviet society, established in Russia after World War I, is class-less society in some sense, but not a stateless society.

Engels has called Marxism as scientific socialism as against the Utopian Socialism of Louis Blanc, Saint Simon, Fourier, Proudhon etc., as the latter philosophers did not accept the realistic historical fact of class-war. There is no doubt that there was exploitation and class conflict in Western society. Hence Marx was justified in his dialectic materialism. But he went to the extent of interpreting religion as an opium of life, for Christianity taught the exploited masses of Europe to tolerate their pitiable existence with a religious spirit of resignation and without revolting against the powers that be. Can you say so with regard to Hinduism, in which the epics are full of wars between the gods and the demons ? The gods and goddesses are all armed with multiple weapons and whose two best and most popular scriptures, viz., *Durga Shaptashati* (*Chandi*) and *Shreemad Bhagavat Geeta* were born in the battle field. Of course, during the medieval period and early modern period, with regard to Hinduism as interpreted and propagated to the masses through half-cooked *Māyāvād*, it can be admitted that religion acted as an opium of the masses, who had a wonderful stamina, of tolerating poverty and social exploitation. However, it is the same *Vedanta*, *Geeta* and *Chandi* which provided the ideological inspiration to the leaders during the freedom movement. Religious ideals of Hinduism made them fearless and stirred them into action along with Western ideas of national freedom, which they imbibed through Western education. It is only recently that ideas of socialism along with ideas of democracy and nationalism have influenced the leaders and the intellectuals.

Now we see that Marxism has nothing to do with liberation and bondage in the Indological sense of the individual self's liberation from desire and hence ultimately from the cycle of birth and death. Rather the philosophies of life in the two systems of Vedanta and Marxism are diametrically opposed to each other and an aspirant for liberation can reconcile Marxism in his *Vyavahāric* or practical life only for social emulation or conformity with sophisticated intellectual pursuits.

However, there is another kind of Indian monism, namely *Tantra Shāstra*, which can provide a meeting ground between idealistic monism and materialistic socialism.

Section V

Tantra : *Tantra Shāshtra* of India, though pre-Vedic in origin, was codified and popularised much after the Vedic period. Like Vedānta, *Tantra* has also many schools like monistic, dualistic etc. But as monistic Vedānta has ultimately stood the test of rigorous reasoning, so also monistic *Tantra* has finally stood the test of reasoning and time. (Dr. Kaviraj made occasional references to *Divyāchāra*, *Vīrāchāra* and *Pashvāchāra* schools of Tantra Sādhanā, but ultimately stuck to the *Divyāchāra* school and laid emphasis only on the philosophical side with reference to my original question).

According to *Tantrik* monism, *Parama Shiva* is the ultimate reality, in which *Shiva* and *Shakti* are two complementary aspects of the same reality. *Shiva* is the conscious principle and *Shakti* is the principle of energy and action. The appearance of the dual aspects of *Shiva* and *Shakti* takes place through *Sadāshiva Tattva*, (of Kashmir Shaivism), which is *Shuddha Sattva* and is akin to Sri Aurobindo's 'Supramental', from which creation of the universe starts. *Shakti* or *Maheshwari* is *Mahāmāyā*, and not *Māyā* of *Vedānta* and has the triple aspects of *Mahākālī*, *Mahālakshmi* and *Mahāsaraswati*. These three principles have been explained very beautifully by Sri Aurobindo in his 'Mother'. If you want to find an analogy in the metaphysics of *Shreemad Bhagawat Geeta*, you may refer to the 15th chapter, in which *Purushottam* or *Paramātmā* is *Parāmashiva* of Kashmir Shaivism and higher *Tantra*. Both the *Kshara* and *Akshara Purushas* are two aspects of *Paramātmā* or *Parama Shiva*. *Kshara Purusha* is akin to *Shakti*, who splits Herself up into *Jiva* (individual self in plural number) and *Prakriti* (Nature). *Shakti* is actually *Parā Prakriti*, within which is inherent *Aparā Prakriti*. Hence *Sakti* is known as *Aparajitā*. Mind, intellect, egoism, the five senses of perception and the five senses of action are all elements within *Prakriti* (lower) and the whole universe is a *Pariṇāma* (manifestation) of *Prakriti*. *Akshara Purusha* is actually *Atman* or *Nirguna Brahman* of monistic *Vedānta*.

In the process of cosmic dissolution as well as individual liberation the opposite process of creation is involved. But the monism of *Tantra* is accepted both as a logical principle and as a psychological principle of *Sādhanā*. That is to say the dichotomy between matter and spirit is resolved in the *Tantric Sādhanā*. Matter is not negated or looked down upon in *Tantra*. Rather matter is to be divinised (not merely through sublimation of material desires) by accepting matter to be actually divine. For nothing is *Jada* (matter), every thing is *chetanā* (spirit) or *chitshakti*. Hence the acceptance of idol worship and *Panchamakāra Sādhanā* in

Pashwāchāra Tantra. That is even the eating of fish and meat, drinking of wine and sexual inter-course are to be offered to the divine *Shakti*. Even sex has three dimensions in *Tantra*, viz., sex for procreation, sex for recreation and sex for sublimation. It is sex for sublimation, which can be used as a means of liberation. Hence the ultimate symbol of *Tantra Sādhanā* is found in the image of Goddess *Kali*, standing nude on Lord *Shiva*. Thus *Tantra* teaches the real method of *Yoga*, (union of the individual self with the Absolute Self or *Shiva*), whereas *Vedānta* of the Shankara school teaches the method of *Sāṅkhyā Sādhanā* or the method of negation or *viyoga*, as mentioned in Shreemad Bhagavat Geeta. Of course the rational interpretation of Geeta, without text-torturing should proceed on the lines of *Vishishtādwaita Vāda*, (qualified monism) of Rāmānujāchārya.

If you accept the *Parināmavadi* Monism of *Tantra*, you can succeed in evolving an Indian variety of Marxism or socialism, suited to the soil of India and aspiration and attitude of the modern Hindus. The modern educated Hindu has naturally accepted democracy and technology for solving problems of the polity and the economy. And those social engineers, who accept the fundamentals of Marxism for establishing a socialist society and who admit the limitations of a materialist philosophy for aspirants of final liberation (life of bliss), will have to forge a link between *Tantra* and Marxism.

Dr. Kaviraj concluded by exhorting young intellectuals like me to work out the details of the future Indian brand of socialism, based on *Tantra* and Marxism.

THE CONCEPT OF PURE CONSCIOUSNESS IN KASMIRA SAIVISM

DEVAVRATA SEN SHARMA

All orthodox systems of Indian philosophy admit the spiritual principle or soul to be of the nature of pure consciousness or *Caitanya*. Pluralists like the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas speak of soul as eternal substance (dravya) which is characterised by consciousness. While explaining the meaning of consciousness, they mention two characteristics which are discernible in all sentient beings, namely, all sentient beings are self-conscious, and secondly, they are the knower (*jñātā*) or subjects of all objects. Knowledge is, in fact, regarded as invariable concomitant of consciousness. The insentient things are devoid of these two essential characteristics, hence they are regarded as material (*acetana*). Jayantabhaṭṭa, however disagreeing with Vātsyāyana, holds that the soul or *ātman* is unconscious by its very nature but it acquires the attribute of consciousness as a result of suitable collocation. This means that soul *per se*, in Jayantabhaṭṭa's view, is not self-aware, it becomes self-conscious and self-aware only after being endowed with body and senses. Consciousness, therefore, is neither essence of the substance called soul, nor is its eternal attribute, it is an adventitious attribute when he becomes associated with body and senses and becomes capable of coming into contact with objects, and thereby a knower.

Dualists like Sāṃkhya Yoga admit the existence of mutually different eternal entities, called *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛiti*, the former representing consciousness principle (*cit*), and the latter the principle of matter. *Puruṣa* is held to be of the nature of pure consciousness (*cit*) and pure Existence (*Sat*). Consciousness (*Caitanya*) in the Sāṃkhya view is not an attribute or characteristic inherent in *puruṣa* or soul, it constitutes the very nature of soul, the essence. It is this essence which distinguishes *puruṣa* from *Prakṛiti* which is regarded to be dynamic material principle (*jadaśakti*). Unlike the Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas, it is not described as substratum of knowledge which actually is the characteristic of *antahakarāṇa* (internal sense organ) though, on the empirical plane, *puruṣa* or soul is mentioned as the seer (*draṣṭā* or *Sākṣi*). Outside creation, *puruṣa* exists as consciousness principle which always remains immersed in its Essence. Like the Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas, the Sāṃkhya Yoga system believe in

the existence of infinite multiplicity of souls, though they believe in their all pervasiveness. This should be understood in the sense that they do not travel outside the body but are said to exist everywhere simultaneously. Both the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Sāṅkhya systems consider the consciousness principle or soul to be totally devoid of *Kriyā* or action.

The Pūrvamīmāṃsakas too talk of soul as an eternal sentient entity that is different from the body, the sense organs and the mind. It is omnipresent and many, and is manifested through all their cognitions. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa takes a slightly different view. According to him, the self is not always revealed in the cognitions of external objects, its existence has to be admitted apart from physical body because movement, knowledge, pleasure, pain etc. cannot be attributed to physical body that exists even after the death of the individual. Hence, they argue movement etc. must belong to the sentient entity different from physical body i.e. soul. The Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas hold that the soul is never cognised separately from the cognised object, in fact both the soul and the cognised object shine both in the self-luminous knowledge which actually illumines both the soul and the object simultaneously in one operation. Kumārila agrees with the Prābhākaras in holding soul to be non-self-luminous (*asvayamprakāśa*) in nature. It is held to be all pervasive but many. Thus, according to Mīmāṃsakas, soul is not of the nature of consciousness, knowledge or bliss as is conceived by the Uttaramīmāṃsakas or the Vedāntins, it is merely of the nature of eternal existence (*sattā*) devoid of any quality such as pleasure, pain, knowledge, willing etc. Kumārila, however, holds it having the potency of knowledge.

The Advaita Vedāntins, especially belonging to Śāṅkara tradition, however believe in the existence of one Reality which is of the nature of pure Existence, pure Consciousness and pure Bliss (*Satcidānanda*). This is given the name *Brahman* owing to its all-pervasive nature and *ātman* owing to its omnipresence in the all beings as their innermost core. The *ātman* or soul is one but it appears as many due to its association with individual ignorance (*vyāṣṭi ajñāna*). It is of the nature of self luminous light (*Svayamprakāśa jyoti*) whereby it is not only self-revealed but it reveals all those material objects with which it comes into contact through knowledge.

On examining the views about soul expressed by the different orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy we find a gradual hierarchy in the conception of soul as we move from pluralism to monism. In a nutshell, these views can be put under three heads. Firstly, pluralists like the Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas who take gross materialistic view of life, consider soul to be a kind of eternal substance in which consciousness (*caitanya*) is merely an adventitious attribute which is manifested on soul getting embodied, and thereby becoming a subject. Secondly, the dualists like

Sāmkhya-Yoga hold the view that consciousness is the essence of souls, and it is in fact this essential characteristic which distinguishes them from matter i.e. Prakṛiti and its evolutes. Souls are inactive by their very nature and therefore immutable. Thirdly, the monist like the Advaita Vedāntins speak of soul being of the nature of pure Consciousness, pure Existence and pure Bliss. It is by its very nature immutable, all pervasive, self luminous light, devoid of action or kriyā.

By denying the existence of Śakti in the pure consciousness constituting its essence, the Advaita Vedāntins seem to reduce the pure consciousness to actionless locus for the operation of material Śakti technically called Māyā Śakti, which is held responsible for the appearance of multiplicity, that is world, in the unity of Brahman. This view of the Advaita Vedāntins which is based on their negative approach (*Sannyāsamūlaka pravṛtti*) regarding the concept of the supreme Reality, Brahman, appears to be a truncated view when compared to the integral view of the Advaita Śaivites of Kāśmīra. Let us now examine the Śaiva view in the background of the views of different orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy.

According to the Advaita Śaiva School of Kāśmīra which is also known as Trika school, the soul is of the nature of pure Consciousness (*Caitanyamātmā*). Unlike the Advaita Vedāntins, they hold that the pure consciousness is not only of the nature of self-luminous light (*Svayam prakāśa jyoti*) but also is of the nature of light (*śuddha prakāśa*) that always shines (*sphurat*) and makes itself self-revealed (*Svayamprakāśita*). That is to say, pure consciousness as pure illumination (*prakāśa*) possesses innate capacity for self revelation whereby it always shines and reveals itself. This innate capacity for self revelation found exclusively in the sentient objects is technically called *Vimarśa śakti* i.e. power of self revelation and the act of self-revelation as parāmarśa or self-experience by the pure Consciousness. The *Vimarśa Śakti* is an eternal attribute of pure consciousness or pure illumination (*prakāśa*), and as such is inalienable from it by its very nature.

To ordinary human mind which gets fragmentary vision on account of its limited nature, this description of pure consciousness (*caitanya*) possessing innate power of self-revelation may appear to imply that the two aspects namely pure illumination (*prakāśa*) and the power of self-revelation (*Vimarśa*) are distinct aspects, mutually exclusive and therefore having a relationship of substratum and attribute. But Śaivācāryas regard this to be an erroneous view, arising from man's inability to obtain integral view of objects. It is true that sometimes distinction is made between substance and attribute, power and substratum of power, but such distinction is conventional one that exists only in the form of concept in our minds for the sake of our better understanding of their nature. It is not a real distinction which actually exists and is experienced as such. For instance, one cannot experience the power of burning different from fire or fragrance different from rose because

they are inseparable by their very nature. We sometimes make such conceptual distinction in order to understand the difference between the power of burning and the power of heating in fire etc. which has no practical validity in real life.

Thus, the pure illumination (*śuddha prakāśa*) and the power of self-revelation (*Vimarśa*), the twin aspects of pure consciousness are not two distinct entities, having independent existence. These are one and identical in essence. In other words, the pure consciousness as illumination (*prakāśa*) always implies and involves the pure consciousness as the self-revealing power or *vimarśa* so that it is impossible to think of one without the other even for the sake of logical abstraction. It is therefore, said that every object in this world whether sentient or insentient, is of the nature of pure consciousness which is biune in nature, having pure illumination (*prakāśa*) and self-revealing power or *vimarśa* constituting its essence.

It may be asked when every object in this world is of the nature of pure consciousness having pure illumination and pure power of self-revelation as two integral aspects constituting its very nature, how can we explain the distinction between sentient and insentient objects. The Śaivācāryas give the following answer :

Every object whether sentient or insentient that has existence or being is of the nature of pure consciousness as illumination (*śuddha prakāśa*), because existence in the Śaiva view implies revelation to experience or Potentially of being revealed. This in other words means that the very concept of existence (*sattā*) is co-extensive with manifested (*prakāśya*) such that one cannot conceive anything having existence but being unmanifest (*aprakāśita*) or lying outside the domain of manifestedness. That being so every existing thing in this world, both sentient and insentient necessarily is of the nature of pure illumination (*prakāśa*) which is an aspect of consciousness. The distinction between sentient and insentient objects in this world, however, can be made on the basis of manifestedness or otherwise of *Vimarśa śakti*. For instance we find that the sentient objects possess the capacity of self-consciousness and self-awareness as also of revealing the insentient objects in their knowledge. This implies that operation of *Vimarśa śakti* is manifest in them, whereas in the insentient objects which are also of the nature of pure consciousness and pure illumination, the *vimarsa śakti* lies latent (*antarlīna*) and not absent, thereby rendering them incapable of being self-conscious and self-revealed. Hence, insentient objects are revealed by the self-conscious subject in whom both *prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* are equally manifest. Thus the dormancy or otherwise of *Vimarśa śakti* is the determining factor in a particular object being insentient or otherwise in the view of śaivācāryas.

The Supreme Reality which is of the nature of pure consciousness, the aspect of pure illumination the everchangeless self-same principle in the quiescent aspect

technically called Śiva while the vimarśa śakti, the ever vibrating and thereby self-revealing aspect in dynamic form is technically called śakti in the feminine form. Since in the supreme reality these two aspects viz. pure illumination (śuddha prakāśa) or Śiva and the self-revealing power (vimarsā śakti) or śakti are held in perfect equilibrium, it is described as prakāśa-vimarśa-maya and is given the name Parama Śiva. The Parama Śiva is said to be endowed with Śakti, held to be identified with this essence, hence he is called the supreme lord (Parameśvara).

MĀTRKĀ IN KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

GIRIJA SHARMA

There is a type of *Sāmbhavayoga* where, in addition to the power of volition (*icchāśakti*), the cognitive power (*Jñānaśakti*) also helps a little bit. This type of yoga is practised with the help of the garland of letters of Sanskrit alphabet (*Varnamālā*). The Indian alphabet from 'a' to 'h' or 'kṣa' goes by the name of *Mātrikā*. It has been also termed as *Akṣamālā* (rosary).

अक्षमालेति विख्याता मातृका वर्णरूपिणी ।

As a person mutters a prayer on each bead of rosary, like-wise a practitioner of *Mātrikā* has to arouse the spontaneous revelation mentioned as *udyama* with the help of the contemplation on the letters and sounds of *varṇamālā*, one by one. Even *Kailāsavāsi Śiva*, the great Lord also is said to be contemplating on this *akṣamālā* or *varṇamālā*.

(क) कथयामि वरारोहे यन्मया जप्यते सदा ।

आत्मस्वरूपं जानीहि ईशस्तु परमेश्वरः ॥ (प० त्री० p. 194)

(ख) मत्परं नास्ति तत्रापि जापकोऽस्मि तदैक्यतः ।

तत्क्वेन जप इत्यक्षमालया दिशसि क्वचित् ॥ (शि० स्तो० III-17)

An aspirant has to realise directly that the whole universe is just a reflection of his innumerable powers appearing in his own pure luminosity through his own divine will. He has to realise that all the thirtysix tattvas are the reflections of his own divine powers. He has to visualise that the different aspects of his divine Śivahood shine as the vowel sounds from a to aḥ and the reflections of his own different powers manifest as the consonant sounds from ka to ha or kṣa. The *Mātrikākrama* from a to ha is generally in vogue.

(क) अनुत्तराद्या प्रसूतिर्हान्ता शक्तिस्वरूपिणी । (तं. आ. ३-२०४)

(ख) अतोऽकारहकाराभ्यामहमित्यपृथक्तया ॥ (शि. सू. वि. पृ. १९)

But some teachers counted kṣa also

अकारादिक्षकारान्ता कलास्ताः शब्दकारणम् । (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ७)

and considered it as the *kūṭabija*

तदियत्पर्यन्तं यन्मातृकायास्तत्त्वं तदेव ककार सकार प्रत्याहारेणानुत्तर-
विसर्गसंघटुसारेण कूटबीजेन प्रदर्शितमन्ते । (शि. सू. वि. पृ. ३१)

Kṣa emerges from the mingling together of *Ka* (representing the *pr̥thvitattva*) and *sa* (representing the *Sadāśiva tattva*) and denotes the whole manifestation from *ka* to *ha* by comprehending all the sounds coming in between.

येन निखिलमेव योगेष्येन मातृकायाः सतत्त्वं प्रदशितं भवति । (तं० आ० वि ३-पृ. १७८)

It is just like a *pratyāhāra* of the grammarians. *Svatantrānandanātha* has considered *Kṣakāra* as the worshipable *Śiva* (*Upāsyāśiva*) because the letter *sa* (*Sadāśiva*) is the highest enfolder (*āvaraka*) of the whole multitude of *tattvas* below it and also of the letters up to *sa*; and *ka* (*pr̥thvitattva*) is the lowest of the enfolded (*āvṛta*). Hence *kṣakāra*, the representative of both *Sadāśivatattva* and *Pr̥thvitattva* is rightly said to be worshipable *Śiva* enfolding in Him all the *tattvas* and the whole phenomenon.

मात्मा पशुः प्रकृतिरेव तथा निगीर्णो
हात्मापि चित् प्रकृतिरेव निवृत्तिरूपा ।
इत्थं द्विधा प्रकृतिविश्वमभूः क्षकारः, शम्भुः परः परत एव भवेत् प्रकृत्या ।
(मातृकाचक्रविवेक-५-२२)

He means to say that *Sadāśiva* is worshipable because of his having a form. *Śiva*, the absolute God, having no form, cannot be made an object of worship.

The vowel sounds are known as *bija* and represent *Śivatattva* along with its sixteen aspects comprising of His primary powers and their combinations. The consonant sounds are known as *yoni* and represent the reflections of the powers (*śaktis*) of *Śiva* and their outward expansions.

(क) बीजयोन्यात्मकाद् भेदाद् द्विधा, बीजं स्वरा मताः ।
कादिभिश्चस्मृता योनि………… । बीजमत्र शिवः शक्तिर्योनिरित्यभिधीयते ।
(शि. सू. वा. ३-१० तः १२)

(ख) बीजयोनिप्रभेदेन तत्र बीजं शिवः स्वयम् ।
शक्तिर्मायाभिधा योनिः कादिक्षान्ताष्ट्रवर्गिणी ॥ (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ६१)

The vowel sounds denote the different aspects of pure transcendental *Sivatattva*. ‘A’ the first letter suggests anuttarahood of *Siva*, which is the state of pure luminosity endowed with the unrestricted flow of pure bliss and is also called *Akula* (where no determinate comprehension takes place) ‘Ah’ (*visarga*), the last vowel sound, suggests the fully grown supreme propensity of *Śiva* towards outward manifestation of the whole phenomenon which lies within Him. Ah is called *Kaulikīśakti* or *Vaisargikīśakti* (creative power) as well,

अनुत्तरं परं धाम तदेवाकुलमुच्यते ।
विसर्गस्तस्य नाथस्य कौलिकी शक्तिरुच्यते ॥ (तं. आ. ३-१४३)

because from this very sound, the manifestation of the Universe represented by consonant sounds, begins. It is called *kaulikisakti* in the sense that it is the path or media through which the *kularūpa bhāvajāta* (the determinate multitude of phenomenal *tattvas*) ascends back to the pure transcendental Śivahood (*Śivāvasthā*). Thus the media or path lying in between *Akula* or *kula* is called *kaulikisakti*.

अकुलस्यास्य देवस्य कुलप्रथनगालिनी ।
कौलिकी सा परा शक्तिरवियुक्तो यथा प्रभुः ॥ (तं. आ. ३-६७)

The vowels lying in between *a* and *āḥ* represent the different types of flashes of Siva's blissful, perfect and independent free-will. The first six vowel sounds are the root cause of the whole varṇamālā

- (क) स्वराणां पट्कमेवेह मूलं स्याद्वर्णसन्तती ।
पट् देवतास्तु ता एव ये मुख्याः सूर्यरश्मयः ॥ (तदेव १८४-१८५)
- (ख) पडेवेह स्वरा मुख्याः कथिता मूलकागणम् ।
ते च प्रकाशरूपत्वाद्विजेयाः सूर्यरश्मयः ॥

because consonants (*vyañjanas*) owe their origin strictly to vowels,

तत्रानुत्तरात् कर्वगः, शुद्धाया इच्छायाश्चर्वगः, सर्कार्मिकाया इच्छाया द्वी टर्वर्गस्तर्वर्गश्च उन्मेषात् पर्वगः,
इच्छाया एव त्रिविधायाः यरलाः, उन्मेषाद् वकारः, इच्छाया एव त्रिविधायाः शपसाः । योनिसंयोजगः
धकारः । (तं. सा. पृ. १५, १६)

as they cannot exist without their help. This suggests the factual principle that the *tattvas* from *śakti* to *prthvi* depend upon Śivatattva for their existence, they emerge from it and get again absorbed into it.

The consonant sounds from *ka* to *ha* represent the *tattvas* from *prthvi* to *śakti*. Thus *ka* represents *prthvitattva* and *ha* represents *śaktitattva* and inbetween letters represent the elements from *jalatattva* to *Sadēśivatattva*. These letters do neither denote nor indicate the *tattvas* through *abhidhā* (the literal sense of the word) or *lakṣaṇā* (the figurative sense of the word), because these letters are out of the scope of any *saṅketa* (the conventional relation between a word and its meaning).

न च साङ्घेतिकमिदम् । (प. त्री. वि. पृ. १२५)

The *tattvas* are merely suggested as the reflections of divine powers through a superior power of word called *vyañjanā* (the suggestive power).

Māṭrīkā has been recognised as the supreme learning (*vidyā*) of all learnings; there is no *vidyā* above *māṭrīkā*.

न विद्या मातृकापरा । (स्व. तं. ११-१९९)

Māṭrīkā, in fact, is the *parāvāk* or *śabda Brahman* (the transcendental speech), which is the power of the supreme consciousness (*citiśakti*) of the supreme self. It is the

matrix, that is, the creator of the whole manifestation. Abhinavagupta explains the philosophical nature of Māṭkā in his *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* in detail. He says that the supreme Goddess, (*parā bhagavati*) shines always by virtue of her wonderful power of *Svātantrya* (free-will). Her innermost nature is unrestrictible and ever awake. By virtue of such an unrestrictible flow of her creative nature, she manifests all the subjective beings from *Akala* to *Sakala* and all the objects as blue, yellow, pleasure, pain etc. Having pure consciousness as Her essence she shines as consciousness in the whole phenomenon. Every being, even a small child or an animal in this phenomenon, is aware of his self-existence. He knows that 'he is'. Thus the pure consciousness shines as self awareness, equally in all beings. The self-awareness (*vimarṣa*) is self-evident and is the body of the supreme speech (*parā-vāk*). That transcendental speech expands by virtue of its wonderful divine nature. It proceeds by its own independent nature, without any limitation or restriction. Thus the awareness of one's self is beyond the limitations of time, space and allusions (*saṅketa*). It is perfectly full by itself and its own form is wonderfully different from all the limited perceptible forms. This supreme and grand consciousness (*mahāsamvit*) is the nature of pure knowledge and bears the form of pure I-ness (aham), which consists of both its aspects of *prakāśa* and *vimarṣa*. It contains all *ahamta* (I-ness) and *idamta* (this-ness) and is *viśvottirṇa* (transcendental) and *viśvamaya* (immanent). Such a pure knowledge or *parā vāk* is the Māṭkā, which is the essence of all the tattvas. When that pure and transcendental *parā māṭkā* appears as if coagulated just a little, that solidified form of it is called *bija* and *yoni*, which are known as Śiva and Śakti respectively (P. T. V. pp. 212-213).

In *Śivasūtra*, Māṭkā is known by many other names also. It is called as Śakti, Devī, Raśmi, Kalā, yonivarga and Mītī.

मातरः शक्तयो देव्यो रसमयश्च कलाः स्मृताः । (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ७)

This implies the fact that the circle of māṭkā (*māṭkācakra*) bears vast meanings. The letters contained in māṭkā are not simple letters. They suggest particular meanings and bear great significance. Each and every letter represents a different power of the Lord. Māṭkā is the supreme creative power (*kriyaśakti*) of the Lord,

स्वाभासा मातृकां ज्ञेया क्रियाशक्तिः प्रभोः परा ॥ (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ३५)

which is luminous of its own accord. The group of the letters of māṭkā (i.e. letters from a to ha or kṣa), or the multitude of these *kalās* form the circle or wheel of māṭkā. The realisation of this māṭkācakra has been considered as one of the highest aims of an aspirant. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara has considered Māṭkā as the root or origin of the whole multitude of *mantras*.

He says : When the Lord (whose body is said to be an ever shining and imperishable luminosity) is inclined towards His potent power (*vīrya*) or say when the Lord's potent power comes face to face to him, that is, when He becomes consciously aware of His supreme Godhead, His volitional power (*icchāśakti*) emerges distinctly. This volitional power is *Sisṛkṣā*, the Lord's supreme will to manifest without what lies within Him as His pure I-consciousness. When this volitional power (*sisṛkṣā*) comes face to face before Him, it assumes the form of objectivity (*idantā*) within His pure I-consciousness. There rises the *anāhatadhvani* (the supreme consciousness described as sound produced at the level of *Parāvāk*, the state of supreme speech) without the touch of any physical organs. From *anāhata dhvani*, the second type of speech i.e. *Paśyanti vāk* rises, which is impregnated with all the elements called *pada*, *vākyā* and *artha* of speech. Hereby emerges the life-force (*prāṇātmikākriyā*). From the life-force the concrete or gross form of speech i.e. *Vaikhari vāk* or articulated speech, at the physical plane, (which contains fifty letters from a to kṣa), rises and becomes the fountain-head of the whole phenomenon. This group of letters from a to kṣa is called *Māṭrkācakra*, which rises from Śiva in the above mentioned way. It is the creative power of the Lord.

Parā vāk is, infact, the supreme self-consciousness. *Nāda* or *anāhata dhvani* is the awareness or the indeterminate psychic lustre of the supreme aspect of the self. *Paśyanti vāk* is the awareness of diversity in perfect Unity and *Madhyamā Vāk* is the determinate conception at the stage of complete diversity. It involves the three dimensional existence of relative subject, object and the relation in between. *Vaikhari* is accompanied by articulated speech while *Madhyamā* consists of only mental word-images and determinate ideas of conceptual nature.

Māṭrkā has also been considered as the seat of knowledge (*jñāna*). *Māṭrkā* is the only source, wheresfrom all the cognitions (pure and impure) proceed. It is the substratum of all knowledge.

- (क) ज्ञानाधिष्ठानं मातृका । (शि. सू. १-४)
- (ख) ज्ञानस्यैव द्विरूपस्य परापरविभेदतः ।
स्यादधिष्ठानमाधारः शक्तिरेकैव मातृका ॥ (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ७, ८)

There is no cognition sans letters of *Māṭrkā* because every cognition is accompanied by word-images. All the cognitions like, "I am incomplete, I am complete, I am thin or I am fat" are formed of words.

अपूर्णोऽहमहं पूर्णोऽहं कृशोऽहं कृशेतरः ।

इति शब्दानुवेधेन शोकहर्षादिकारिका ॥ (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ४)

Māṭrkā is the prop of divine and correct knowledge but only in the case of its being known or recognised (*Jñāta*) correctly, because right realization of the reality is the path of liberation for an aspirant. When a person has the right conception

about māṭkā, it becomes the liberating power for him. It leads a person to his final aim of supreme emancipation.

स्वमार्गस्था ज्ञाता सिद्धयुपपादिका ॥ (सं. का. ४८)

On the other hand, when māṭkā remains unknown or unrecognised (ajñātā), it becomes the binding power.

सेयं क्रियात्मिका शक्तिः शिवस्य पशुर्वर्तनी ।
वन्धयित्री स्वमार्गस्था ॥ (तदेव)

It involves a person more and more in bondage because worldly souls are bound basically by their wrong conceptual knowledge. It leads such a person to a downward mundane path. As a liberating power, Māṭkā assumes the form of 'Jñānādhiṣṭhānam māṭkā', (S. S. 1-4) and as a binding power, it assumes the form of 'yonivargah kalāśariram', (S. S. 1-3). Yonivarga is said to be the body of the limited creative power (kalā) of souls in bondage,

Yonivarga is composed of four śaktis, which are also called *yonis* (a mystic name). These are such cosmic powers of the Lord through which he runs the whole show of the phenomenal existence. A person controlled by the four saktis (Ambā, Jyesthā, Raudrī and Vāmā),

अम्बा ज्येष्ठाभिधा रौद्री वामा च शिवमूर्त्यः । (शि. सू. वा. पृ. ७)

becomes covered by a web of inclinations towards worldly enjoyments and loses his natural freedom.

तेनासौ भोग्यतां याति तासां ॥ (Ibid)

He works, as these Śaktis direct him and drive him. Thus matkāśakti is the bestower of both knowledge and ignorance (P. T. V. p. 214). It shines as completely identical with Śiva, His powers and all the cosmic elements as the reflections of those powers, while an adept is practising the māṭkākrama of śambhavayoga.

There is another order of the letters of māṭkā which is called *Mālinikrama*. Mālinī does not consist of any different entities than māṭkā. It is māṭkā itself standing in a confused or irregular order of letters-cum-sounds.

शब्दराशिः स एवोक्तो मातृका सा च कीर्त्तिता ।
क्षोभ्यक्षोभक्तावेशान्मालिनीं तां प्रचक्षते ॥ (तं. आ. ३-२३२)

When the consonant sounds or yonis and vowel sounds or bijas are mixed together irregularly starting from 'na' and ending in 'pha', then it is called *Mālinī*.

सा शब्दराशिसङ्घटाद् भिन्नयोनिस्तु मालिनी । (तं. आ. ३-१९९)

Mālinī is so called because it contains or maintains (malate) the whole universe in its phenomenal form in it as its own self.

मेलते विश्वे स्वरूपे धत्ते, मालयति—अन्तः करोति क्रुस्तमिति च मालिनीति व्यषदिश्यते ।

(तं. आ. वि. खं. ३ पृ. १९२)

Abhinavagupta describes it as *Parāśakti* (supreme-power), *Viśvarūpiṇī* (which has the whole universe as its form) and beautiful on account of its different creative flashes rising through the union of bijas and yonis.

वीजयोनिसमापत्तिविसर्गोदयसुन्दरा ।

मालिनी हि पराशक्तिनिर्णीता विश्वरूपिणी ॥ (तं. आ. ३-२३३)

In the Mālinikrama na is the united letter and pha the final one. All the remaining letters represent the tattvas in an irregular and confused order (M. V. T. Adhi : II slo. 37-41). It has been said that one can attain the ultimate aims of bhukti and mukti more quickly through the meditation (*upāsanā*) on Mālinī as compared to that on Mātṛkā.

विशेष-विधिहीनेषु न्यासकर्मसु मन्त्रवित् ।

न्यसेच्छाक्तशरीरार्थं भिन्नयोर्निति तु मालिनीम् ॥ (मा. वि. तं. २-३६)

(See also P. T. V. pp. 151 to 154)

It is the bestower of both the supernatural powers (siddhis) and emancipation (mukti) (P. T. V. p. 122).

THE PRATYABHIJÑA CONCEPT OF MAN : A CONTEMPORARY REASSESSMENT

REWATI RAMAN PANDEY

Science and technology are the inventions of human mind. They are the best aids to mankind in making human life smooth and prosperous. They have created paradise on the earth. But prosperity breeds contempt. The developed countries in order to establish their supremacy over the others are misusing science and technology and are piling up their armouries with such lethal weapons that thousands of Nagasaki and Hiroshima could be destroyed within a moment. The whole of the universe is sitting on a volcano which may burst out at any moment.

Never before were water air and now the entire cosmos so much polluted as they are to-day. The cosmic pollution is so much that it has now entered as it were into the very heart of the people, that is why corruption has become the normal code of human transactions. Thus pollution is let loose both within and without.

When tradition loses its hold, when scepticism prevails, it is philosophy which comes to our aid and gives a right direction. It is the *Ātma Vidyā*, *Parā Vidyā*, *Adhyātma Vidyā* which alone can save the destiny of man from the twin ghosts of cosmic pollution and nuclear supremacy. There is no other way for salvation (*Tameva Vidyātimṛtyumeti nānyah panthā Vidyate ayanāya.*)

In the following pages an humble attempt is made to study 'The *Pratyabhijñā* Concept of Man : A Contemporary Reassessment'.

The beauty of Indian philosophy is this that it is equally rooted in both the *Vedic* tradition and the *Āgamic* tradition. They are complementary to each other. The *Vedic* philosophy culminates in the Absolutism of *Śamkara*. This Indian genius who hailed from the South sometime during the 8th cent. A. D. is not great for the reason that his philosophy stands forth complete needing neither a before nor an after. He is not great that he rooted out Buddhism for good. He is great, even, unrivalled so far as his contribution towards the cultural integration of the country is concerned through his philosophy and religion.

The Absolutism of Śamkara is rooted in the Upanisadic- *Ekamevādvitiyam*, *Ekam Sadviprāḥ bahudhā vadanti, Satyamjñānamanantam Brahma*. Thus it is pure Consciousness which is devoid of all attributes (*nirguna*) and all categories of intellect (*nirviśeṣa*). This is para *Brahman* of Śamkara. *Brahman* associated with *māyā* is the qualified *Brahman* (*Saguṇa* and *Saviśeṣa*). This is the *apara Brahman* or the Lord (*Īśvara*) who is the creator, preserver and destroyer of this world, which is the *vivarta* of the Lord. The *para Brahman* of Śamkara has been compared with the Absolute of Schelling which was condemned by Hegel as a shot out of a pistol and again he called it a night in which all cows were black. It is true. But no philosophy empirically negates the existence of this world. Śamkara observes :— That omniscient and omnipotent cause from which proceed the origin, sustenance, and dissolution of this World—World which is differentiated by names and forms, contains many agents and enjoyers, is the abode of the fruits of actions, these fruits having their definite places, time and causes and the nature of whose arrangement cannot even be conceived by the mind—that cause we say is *Brahman*.¹ The universe is a cosmos and not a chaos, The rhythmic movement of the sun, the moon and the stars, the music of the spheres, the enchanting song of the nightingale, the beautiful form of the black antelope—all these cannot be the handiwork of either a blind force or of a chance coincidence of atoms collecting together. Without the postulation of an intelligent being possessing omnipotence and omniscience the regulated creation of the universe is not intelligible.²

Śamkara following the Upanisadic teaching, establishes the essential identity between *Ātman* and *Brahman*. That is to say, from within *Jīvātman* is *Ātman*, which is identical with *Brahman*—the cosmic Reality. This identity is well brought out in the great sayings of the Upanisads such as *Tattvamasi*, *Ayamātmā Brahman*, etc. The empirical life of the *jīvātman* is solely due to *adhyāsa* and when this obstacle of *ajñāna* is removed by *jñāna*, *jīvātman* realises its identity with *Brahman*. This realization of identity, in the Advaita philosophy of Śamkara, is called *Mokṣa*. This is the highest goal, according to Śamkara, of human life.³

One who realises it in one's life makes the best of it, while one who fails to realise it is the greatest loser.⁴ There is no better attainment than that of the Self. It is this that all Vedic assertions and scriptural prescriptions have for their ultimate end.⁵ *Mokṣa* is the state of Brahmanhood.⁶ This realisation of liberation is not the attainment of something new but it is the realisation of that which is

1. SBS. 1.1.2. p. 16
2. R. R. Pandey, Man and the Universe, pp. 151.
3. S. Taitt. upa. II.1; SBS. 1.1.1. (Brahmāvagatir hi puruṣārthah).
4. S. Kena. upa. II. 5.
5. Upadesashasri, XVIII, 4.
6. SBS. 1.1.4. (Brahmabhāvaśca Mokṣah)

one's very nature. *Śamkara* does not talk of a heaven which is apart from us but a heaven which is already with us but which we have forgotten for the time-being. Thus it does not involve the process of becoming *Brahman* but it is the realisation of being *Brahman*. Accordingly, in liberation there is no question of becoming something which does not already exist, but only of the attainment of the knowledge of what has existed from all eternity.⁷ That is why *Śamkara* very lucidly emphasises that liberation is not the fruit of *dharma* or *karma*. He observes : But this (*Mokṣa*) is eternal in the true sense, eternal without undergoing any change (*Kuṭastha nitya*), omnipresent as ether, free from all modifications, absolutely self-sufficient, not composed of parts, of self-luminous nature. That bodiless entity in fact, to which merit and demerit with their consequences and threefold time do not apply, is called liberation.⁸ This is the great contribution of Advaita Vedanta in the realm of the philosophical world. It establishes not only the unity of man with other men and other living beings but also with the supreme reality of the universe, viz. *Brahman*. *The Reality within and without is one and the same.* This supreme state of man is not a matter of philosophical speculations or faith only, it is something which can be tested, experimented and lived here and now. Lord Krṣṇa declares, One steadied in Yoga, with pure self and subdued spirit, with the sense-centres under control, and realising the oneness of his Self with the inner Self of all beings—he, even when doing actions, incurs no contamination⁹.

If the Vedic philosophy culminates in the Absolutism of *Śamkara* the Āgamic philosophy culminates in the Absolutism of *Abhinavagupta*, which is popularly known as Kasmira Saivism. In the galaxy of Indian geniuses after *Śamkara* the reputation of *Abhinavagupta* has been great. While the genius of *Śamkara* excels in philosophy and religion alone, the genius of *Abhinavagupta* excels in poetics and dramaturgy also in addition to philosophy and religion.

Kasmira Saivism has been referred to as the *Pratyabhijñā* philosophy by the *Sarvadarsanasamgrahakāra*, *Mādhaba*. But Kasmira Saivism includes a few more trends, besides, the *Pratyabhijñā* trend. There are clearly three trends, Viz. *Krama*, *Kaula* and *Pratyabhijñā*. The *Krama* sub-school emphasises the worship of *Śakti* and the means of worship adopted by this sub-school is *Śāktopāya*. The *Kaula* sub-school gives emphasis on will and accordingly the means adopted by this sub-school is *Śāmbhavopāya*. But in the *Pratyabhijñā* school there is neither the restriction of the object of worship or the means of worship, that is why the

7. The System of Vedanta, p. 401.

8. SBS, 1.1.4.

9. Bhagavadgita, 5-7

path adopted by this school is *Pratyabhijñopāya* or *anupāya*. *Abhinavagupta* synthesised in himself the different trends of *Kasmira Saivism* and gave a complete picture of the *Saiva* thought. Of course, my own attempt is mostly based on the *Pratyabhijñā* trend.

Abhinavagupta in the 35th *Ahnika* of his *Tantrāloka* gives a brief account of *Āgamic tradition*. *Kasmira Saivism* is mainly based on the sixtyfour monistic *Āgamas*, out of which many are not available at present. However, *Vasugupta* is supposed to be the propounder of this tradition and two works, *Śivasūtras* and *Spandakārikā* go in his name. He was supposed to be in the 8th century A. D. *Somānanda*, the disciple of *Vasugupta* is supposed to be the first systematiser of this school, who wrote *Śivadrṣṭi*. His disciple, *Utpaladeva*, wrote *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā*, *Śivs-Stotrāvalī* and *Siddhitrayī*.

The most famous name in this tradition, *Abhinavagupta*, the grand disciple of *Utpaladeva*, emerges sometime between the 10th and 11th Century A.D. who wrote his famous commentary, *Vimarśinī* on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā*, his renowned *magnum opus*, *Tantrāloka* as also *Tantrasāra* and *Paramārthasāra* and many other works. His disciple, *Kṣemarāja* presented the gist of this tradition in his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*. *Maheśvarānanda* sometime in the 13th Century A.D. wrote *Mahārthamañjari*, a beautiful treatise on the Karma tradition. Now we examine the *Śiva* Absolutism.

As opposed to the Advaitic absolute Brahman, which is *trikālabādhita-sat* the *Parama Śiva*, the Absolute of the *Kasmira Saivism* is a *Śiva-Śakti-Sāmarasya*, i.e. *sāmarasya* of *Bodha* and *Svātantrya*. It is of the nature of *prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*. While the Absolute of the Advaita Vedanta is free from the impurities and limitations, the Absolute of the K. Saivism is free to perform even the impossibles. It is the positive approach of Freedom as 'freedom of' as against the Advaitic approach of Freedom which is negative, as 'freedom from'. In the K. Saivism a greater significance is attached to the concept of freedom. Freedom, i.e. *Svātantrya* stands for the capacity to perform the impossible. The terms like *Svātantrya*, *Ahamtā*, *Sphurattā* represent the essential nature of *Śakti*, or *Vimarśa*. It is through the concept of *Vimarśa*, *Śakti*, *Svātantrya* that the K. Śaivism makes an attempt to bridge the gulf between subjectivity and objectivity, i.e., *Ahamtā* and *Idantā*, *Viśayitā* and *Viśayatā*. *Prakaśa* and *Vimarśa*, are not only united together, rather they are identified. Thus the Supreme Reality of K. Saivism is *Cit-Śakti*.¹⁰ On this ground the K. Saivism claims to be the only consistent form of Absolutism while the other forms of Absolutism are weak and inconsistent as they have a sort of allergy towards duality and manifoldness. The K. Saivism

10. Jñānam Kriyātmakam yo hi jānāti ca karoti ca sa jīvatītyucyate,
I.P.V. (pp. 43) (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, Vol. I)

claims to be the philosophy of affirmation and assimilation as against the philosophy of Advaita Vedanta which is a philosophy of negation and rejection. Thus the Absolute of K. Saivism is neither like the Advaitic Absolute which is only pure being (which is free from all impurities and limitations) nor like the Mādhyamika Absolute which is *catuskōtiwinirmukta*, not even like the Absolute of *Yogācāra* which is devoid of the power of objectification. Thus *Parama Śiva* is the supreme *Sāmarasya* of *Prakāśi* and *Vimarśi jñāna* and *Kriyā*, *Bodha* and *Svātantrya*, Being and Becoming, *Śiva* and *Śakti*. *Vimurśi* has also been named as *Parā Śakti*, *Parā Vāc*, *Svātantrya*, *Aiśvaryā*, *Kartṛtya*, *Sphurattā*, *Sāra*, *Hṛdaya Spanda*.¹¹ Descartes, the father of the Western modern Philosophy declared independence alone as the sole criterion of Substance. Spinoza corrected him by adding knowledge to the concept of Substance. But it was Leibnitz who declared that without force, independence knowledge would be meaningless. Thus he advanced the theory of Monadology. By accepting infinite number of independent Monads Leibnitz made a lot of mess in his Monadology but in principle he is to a large extent very much consistent so far as the definition of the Substances is concerned. Thus what could the Western Modern Philosophy achieve at its third stage the K. Saivism begins its definition of the *Parama Śiva* at its first stage in the form of *Cidrūpiṇī Śakti*. It is not a meagre achievement.¹²

The entire universe is the manifestation of *Parama Śiva*. *Parama Śiva* is transcendent (*Visvottīrṇa*) as well as immanent (*Viśvamaya*). Thus *Parama Śiva* is both manifest as well as unmanifest. As *Prakāśa* it is *Visvottīrṇa* and as *Vimarśa* it is *Viśvamaya*. Thus *Parama Śiva* alone is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. The ultimate causality belongs to *Parama Śiva* alone. It is maintained that the being of the insentient entirely depends on the sentient and thus knowledge and action are the very life of the sentient.¹³

The Saiva Absolutist maintains essential identity between the individual self and *Parama Śiva*. Due to ignorance the *jīvatman* conceives itself into the maniness of subject and object whereas in reality it is one and identical with *Parama Śiva*.¹⁴ The Advaitic concept of Self is pure Being (*Śudha Prakāśa*) but the Buddhist (*Yogācāra*) concept is just the opposite to it i.e. pure Becoming

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- 11. Jaideva Singh, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, p. 5 (Trans. Motilal Banarasidass,63)
 - 12. R. R. Pandey, The Concept of Creation in the K. Saivism, Prof. Baldeva Upadhyaya Felicitation Vol., p. 293; Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sans. Vidyapeeth, Vol. XXXVII—Dec. Parts 1-4
 - 13. I.P., I.L.3; 4. Its *Svatantrah Evaikah Prakaśah Paramārthatah*, *Sarvākāranirākārasvabhavaḥ Viraj* etc.
 - 14. P.S. Karika 25; *Purṇatā Pratyabhijñā*, 48.

(only *Kṣaṇika Vijñāna*). It is the Saiva Absolutist who provides a beautiful synthesis, between the two, i.e., it is both *Prakāśa* as well as *Vimarśa*, *Śiva* and *Śakti*.

Here the question arises, why does after all *Parama Śiva* appear as the individual soul (*Paśu or Jīva*)? Why does He undergo the bondage? It is due to the free will (*Svātantrya*) of the Lord that He undergoes the bondage, i.e. *āṇava* defilements.¹⁵ Because of ignorance the individual self is subject to the three fetters of defilement—*Āṇava*, *Māyā* and *Karma*. The Śaivite holds that the real self is never affected by the defilements as the ether is never defiled by the defilement of different jars. Thus under all diverse forms the Self remains one and the same as nothing is really different from the Self¹⁶.

Māyā Tattva has been described as the concealing power of *Parama Śiva*.¹⁷ From *Māyā* principle five *kañcukas* in the following order, *Kāla*, *Vidyā*, *Rāga*, *Kalā* and *Niyati* come out and they obscure and limit the powers of the Supreme Lord. Thus the real nature of the Lord is obscured, and as a result its omnipotence is replaced by *Kalā*, i.e. limited power, its omniscience by *Vidyā*, i.e. limited knowledge, its universal love by *Rāga*, i.e. particular objects of desire, its eternity by *Kāla*, i.e. temporality and its omnipresence by *Niyati*. Thus including *Māyā*, these are the six *kañcukas* (cloaks) of the individual soul.¹⁸

Under the association of three impurities, each separately and three groups consisting of two impurities each and then one group consisting of all the three impurities give rise to seven categories of individual souls respectively, *Śiva*, *Maheśvara* and *Mantreśvara*, *Vidyeśī*, *Vijñānākala*, *Pralayākala* and *Sakala*.¹⁹ Out of the seven categories of individual souls the first four belong to the state of pure creation. The *Vijñānākalaś* belong to the transitional state between the pure and impure creation. The *Sakalas* and the *Pralayākalas* on the other hand belong to the state of impure creation. The manifoldness of individual souls is unreal as it involves the logical fallacy of *annyonyāśraya*, since maniness of individual souls is due to the variety of insentient and the difference of insentient is due to sentient. Thus all subjects are one. It is one and the same self that shines as one's own Self as well as the Self of others.²⁰

- 15. P.S. Karika 16. 3. Ibid, p. 42
- 16. Ibid, p. 58 (Iti sa eka eva sarvāvasthāsu samvidanugamāt)
- 17. Tantrālokaṭikā, Vol. 3, p. 283 (Māyā hi svarūpagopanātmikā pārameśvari icchāśaktih)
- 18. P.S. Karika, 34
- 19. IPV, III. 2.10. Sharmā, K. S.
- 20. PH. p. 42 (Sri Parama Śivabhaṭṭaraka eva ittham nānāvaicitryasahasraiḥ Sphurati)

It is a difficult task to explain bondage in the absolutistic system like K. Saivism where it is the nature of the Lord, the freedom, Svātantrya of Parama Śiva that he accepts His own limitation. If bondage is the free divine will, then spiritual disciplines for the realisation of release lose significance. Abhinavagupta himself poses this problem : if the one Supreme Lord alone is the Self, what then is bondage, for liberation from which it is to be realised ? Who is there other than the Supreme Lord to be in the bondage ?²¹ While giving the solution to these problems Abhinavagupta maintains that trascendentally there is no bondage, yet the Supreme Self out of its free will assumes limitations and thus forgets its own perfect nature and undergoes bondage. Though under bondage, even in this stage he remains pure and perfect and this is why he is called Puruṣa, i.e. one who is ignorant about his perfection.²²

Thus bondage is the self-limitation of the supreme Lord. It is in his very nature to perform five-fold functions, universal creation, maintenance, destruction, self-concealment and self-revelation. They are always going on without any break.²³

Impurity or *Mala* is of three kinds, *Āṇava Mala*, *Kārmīya Mala*, and *Māyīya Mala*. As a matter of fact all the three impurities are *Māyīya*, i.e. as they are due to *Māyā*. The *Āṇava Mala* is the primal ignorance of the individual, as due to it he begins to imagine himself as imperfect. The *Āṇava Mala* leads to the *Karma Mala* as due to it the power of action is limited. The *Māyīya Mala* limits the power of Knowledge. Ignorance is of two types, *Bauddha* and *Puruṣa*. The *Bauddha ajñāna* may be removed by the intellectual knowledge (*Bauddha Jñāna*) aquired from the *Āgamas*, but the *Puruṣa ajñāna*, which grips the entire person (*Puruṣa*) cannot be removed by intellectual knowledge alone,²⁴ but by initiation (*Dikṣā*) into this path of *Sādhanā*.

Liberation is the revelation of the powers of the Self when the bond of ignorance is burst.²⁵ It is the awareness of ones own true nature. Like Śamkara Abhinavagupta too does not show a heaven which is apart from us but a heaven which is already with us which we have forgotten for the time being. Liberation is neither on this earth, nor in the underworld, nor somewhere in the heaven. It is

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- 21. IPV, IV. 1.2-3 (nanu yadyeka evāyam maheśvararūpa ātmā kasya bandhah? Īśvara vyatirakto hi anyo' sti?)
 - 22. IPV. IV. 1.3-4
 - 23. P. H., pp. 62-64, L. N. Sharma, Kasmira Saivism, p. 225.
 - 24. T. A., 1.24 (na hi Bauddhājñānamātra nivrttau mokṣo bhavet).
 - 25. PS. 60 (ajñānagrānthishibhidā svaśaktiyabhivyaktatā mokṣah).

whatever one realises when one has transcended the activity of thought.²⁶ After liberation the individual (*paśu*) realises its identity with *Parama śiva*, takes this entire universe as the manifestation of the glory of the Lord, even when determinate thoughts (*vikalpas*) arise in him.²⁷ Thus the liberation which is the recognition of identity between the individual (*paśu*) and the Lord (*Paśupati*) does not involve the process of becoming but is rather the process of the *recognition of being the Supreme Lord*. Thus to maintain that *pratyabhijñā* is the total spiritual transformation of the person²⁸ is debatable.

As the K. Saivism is the integral philosophy as such its ultimate aim as well as the methods prescribed for the recognition of the Supreme Lord which is the *Śiva-Śakti-Samarasya* are also integral. Thus it prescribes *Karma*, *Bhakti* and *Jñāna* which have technically been termed respectively *Aṇavopāya* or *Kriyopāya*, *Śaktopāya* or *Jñānopāya* and *Śāmbhavopāya* or *Icchopāya*. But the final means is the *Pratyabhijñopāya* or *Anupāya* by which the *Anutara* or the *Purnīhamtā* is realised. Here we leave the Tantric implications of the system which are esoteric and very technical.²⁹

The Advaita of Śamkara and the K. Saivism of Abhinavagupta do differ only in their approaches but the import of both is mainly one and the same, i.e. the entire universe is radiant with the light of the Supreme, *tasya bhāsā sarvamidam vibhāti, Vāsudevaḥ Saryamiti, sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ*. Shri Aurobindo is very optimistic that after supramental transformation, life here on this very earth would be divine. Laski is in agreement with Sri Aurobindo that without a spiritual culture an effective world-order is not possible.³⁰ Capra's remark is very meaningful. The survival of our whole civilization may depend on whether we can bring about such a change. It will depend, ultimately, on our ability to adopt some of the 'yin' attitudes of Eastern mysticism; to experience the wholeness of nature and the art of living with it in harmony.³¹ It is the attitude of Divinity towards the entire universe, cosmos that can only save us from the total destruction,

*Iti svatantra evaikah prakaśah paramārthataḥ sarvakaranirākarasvabhāvah sa virājate*³²

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- 26. *Tripurārahasya*, pp. 105.12.
 - 27. IPV, IV. 1.12 (sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ ityevam pari�ānataḥ, viśvāt-mano vikalpānām prasare, pi maheśatā.)
 - 28. K. Mishra, Significance of the Tantric Tradition, p. 27.
 - 29. Ibid, (This monograph is very useful on the Tantric Tradition)
 - 30. N. K. Devaraja, The Philosophy of Culture, p. 247.
 - 31. F. Capra, The Tao of Physics, p. 325.
 - 32. R. Jha, P. P., p. 5, Karika-36.

The following abbreviations have been used ;—

- I. P. Īśvara Pratyabhijñā
I. P. V. Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī
P. H. Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam
P. S. Paramārthasāra
SBS. Śāriraka-bhāsyā on the Brahmasūtras (Eng. Trans. by Thibaut)
T. A. Tantrāloka.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LALLA-VAKH WITH THE SŪTRAS OF VASUGUPTA IN THE LIGHT OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

KOSHELYA WALLI

Kashmir Śaivism has an important place in the history of Indian philosophy, nay, in International Philosophy. Its practical part of implementation has rendered it all the more dynamic in the present era. It is scientific.

Vasugupta's Śiva sūtras have their own significance in the Kashmir Śaiv^a philosophy, in as much as they are non-dualistic in character.

Lalleshwari was a Kashmiri mystic who lived in the valley in the 14th century. Her Vakhs are recited by the people of all faiths in Kashmir. She lived the essentials of Kashmir Śaivism right from the beginning. She says—I have come straight and straight shall I return. What can the non-straight do to me? I was acquainted with Him right from the beginning. Who can harm me, acquainted with and familiar to Him ?¹

Lalla lived in the faith that the Parama Śiva as the All Experiencer knew her. She was sure that the external impediments could not harm her, only strengthen her determination to meet the Lord. What is that Parama Śiva? That is the Self-Awareness which has absolute freedom of all knowledge and activity, is the Self or nature of Reality,² says Vasugupta.

Parama Śiva is the actual Home of an individual. An individual with an intense desire to be one with that Parama Śiva, thirsts for the Mercy of the Lord so as to be able to tread the Right Path and be able to have some positive effect.

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1. आयस ति स्योदुय तू गछ ति स्योदुय
स्यदिस होल म्य कर्यम् क्याह
बोह तस आसस आगरय व्यन्नय
व्यदिस त व्यंदिस कर्यम् क्याह ।
 2. 'चैतन्यम् आत्मा' —Śiva Sūtra of Vasugupta.

She says³—I am plying the boat in the ocean with an untwined thread. I wish my God to take me across. So far my hard work in this direction has gone in vain like that water which is absorbed by the earthen dish when poured in it. I intensely crave to go Home.

People cling to this world out of ignorance, Ignorance is bondage. Ignorance of one's real nature is bondage.⁴ Lalleshwari was free from this ignorance. She owned the rich experience of I-consciousness. Hence she did not feel the abuses of her husband. She said⁵—'He abused me thousands of times but I did not feel it. If I am a true devotee of Śamkara, how can the mirror of my mind get defiled with ashes and dust.'

The above utterance is an ample testimony to the fact that she would be in a position to differentiate her body from her Real Self. Vasugupta also says that during the three states of waking, dreaming and deep sleep, the miraculous experience of I-Consciousness of the fourth state abides permanently.⁶

According to Vasugupta, the enjoyer of I-Consciousness in waking, dreaming and deep sleep is verily the master of senses.⁷ The said characteristics of Veereśa are described by Lalla in her own life that she lived. She said—"Having attained the birth, I did not look for pomp and show. I did not develop attachment for greed and enjoyment. The balanced food to live was sufficient for me. I tolerated sorrow and sufferings but nurtured God within me.⁸ From these sentences, it is clear that she would not mind pleasure or pain. She would eat to live. She developed forbearance.

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- 3. आमि पन संदरस नावि छस लमान
कति बोजि दय म्योन म्यनि दियि तार ।
आम्यन टाक्यन पोज ज्ञान शमान
जुव छुम ब्रमान गर गछ हाँ ।
 - 4. 'ज्ञान बन्धः' —Vasugupta's Śiva Sūtra 1/2.
 - 5. आसा बोल पडिन्यम सासा
म्य मनिवासा खीद न ह्ये
बोह योद सहज शङ्कर बखुच आसा
मकरिस सासा मल क्याह प्यये ॥
 - 6. जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्त भेदे लुर्याभोग संभवः । V. S. S. 1/7.
 - 7. त्रितय भोक्ता वीरेशः । V. S. S. 1/11.
 - 8. जनम प्रोविथ वैभव न छोडुम ।
लूबन बूगन बरम न प्रथ ॥
सौमुय आहार स्यठाह जोनुम् ।
चोलुम दुःख वाव पोलुम दय ॥

According to Vasugupta, the stages of yoga constitute a surprising wonder.⁹ Lalla also says—For a moment, I suppressed the respiration. The lamp lit up and I realized myself. The light within me shone out. I seized it in darkness and took hold of it tightly.¹⁰ From the Śiva sūtras, we infer, that all knowledge obtained by direct contact with the external world is included in the waking state of consciousness. When one is not in direct contact with the external world, it is known as dreaming state of consciousness. Lack of awareness in any state is deep sleep.¹¹ These stages are directly or indirectly clear from the words of Lalla, who says—Behave as if you know not, see not, hear not. Be as it were a non-sentient block. Tell others what they want to hear from you. This is the habit of one who knows the Truth.¹² From the Śiva sūtras, we came to know that all the outer or inner phenomena is like the own body of a yogi.¹³

Lalla equally addresses to Śiva, says she—‘O’ Master, I never differentiated myself from others. I experienced all bodies the same (one). You are I, and I am you. Who are you ? Who am I ? To say in such terminology is doubtful.¹⁴

According to Vasugupta, the individual mind entering into the universal light of foundational consciousness sees the entire universe as saturated with that consciousness.¹⁵ Lalleshwari too emphasises the need to bring about the communion of the mind and the breath. She says—‘Idol is but a stone, so is the

9. विस्मयो योगभूमिका । V. S. S. 1/12.

10. दमाह दम कोरमस दमनहाले ।
प्रजल्योम दूफ तृ नन्येयम जाथ ।
अन्दर्युम प्रकाश न्यवर छोटुम
गटि रोटुम तृ करमस थफ ॥

11. ज्ञानं जाग्रत् ।
स्वप्नो विकल्पः
अविवेको माया सौपुस्म ॥

12. मूढो डीशिथ पेशिथ लाग जोर, कोले त अँनो श्रुतवनो श्रड्हष्टी आस ।
युस युथ दपी तय तस त्युथ बोलो तत्ववेदस छुय सुय अभ्यास ।

13. दृश्यं शरीरम् । V. S. S. 1/14.

14. नाथ, ना पान ना पर जाम
सुदीव बोसु म एको देह
चुय बो, बो चुय मिलो न जाना
च कुह बो कुह छु सन्देह ।

15. हृदये चित्तसङ्घट्टाददृश्यस्वापदर्शनम् V. S. S. 1/15

temple. Above and below, it is joined in one mass. O' ignorant Brahman, when you would offer worship.'¹⁶

According to Vasugupta, by incessant awareness of the Pure Principle—The Highest Śiva—a man becomes like one in whom the binding power existing in the limited self is absent.¹⁷ Lalla likewise says—By meditating on the Syllable ‘Aum’ I attained oneness with it by burning myself in the fire of hard labour. Giving up the six roads, I took the path of Truth. Thus I, the seeker, reached the Abode of Light.¹⁸

That universal awareness constitutes self-knowledge is the dictum of Śiva Sūtra.¹⁹ I read the only word ‘Aum’ throughout my life. I retained that in my heart. I intensely meditated on that silently. I was dross and thereby I got converted into pure gold’—says Lalla.²⁰

In accordance with the Sivasātras, a yogi feels the delight of continuously maintaining the awareness of knowership of both the subject and the object in the world.²¹ Lalleshwari, similarly, says—‘Śiva abides everywhere. Do not have any discrimination like—‘This is Hindu, This is Muslim. If you are wise, realize yourself.’ That is the friendship with your Friend of Friends.’²²

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| 16. | देव वटा देवरो वटा
हेरि बुन छुय एकवाट
पूज़ कस करख मूर्ख बट्ठा
कर मनस त पवनस सङ्घाट । | S. S. 1/16. |
| 17. | शुद्धतत्त्वसन्धानादापशुशक्तिः । | |
| 18. | ऊँकार यलि लयि औनुम
बुही कोरुम पनुन पान
शुवोत त्रोविथ सथमार्ग रोटुम्
त्यलि लल बौह वोच्स प्रकाशे स्थान । | |
| 19. | वितर्क आत्मज्ञानम् । | S. S. 1/17. |
| 20. | कुनुय अच्छुर उमरि पोरुम
सुय म्य रोटुम हृदयस मंज़ ।
सुय म्य लोत पोछ्य गोरुम त चोरुम ।
ओसस सरतल सपज़स सोन ॥ | |
| 21. | लोकानन्दः समाधिसुखम् | S. S. 1/18. |
| 22. | शिव छुय थलि थलि रोजान
मो जान ह्योन्द त मुसलमान
त्रुकुय छुख त पननुय पान परजान
सुय हा मालि छय साहिबस सीत्य जानी जान । | |

According to Vasugupta, the will power of a yogi when fully united with his power of meditation and one-pointedness, there can be the formation of a body that can develop the supernatural powers.²³ The main thing is to hold the reins of mind. Lalleshwari explains that the steed of the mind roams the sky, covering a hundred thousand miles in a moment. One, not knowing the way to hold it by reins may be beaten to death by *apāna*. Sitting in the right yogic posture, controlling one's breath, one's intelligence alone can manage the reins of the mind.²⁴

By being aware of *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*, the yogi conquers time and space, is able to separate the elements and join the elements,²⁵ says Vasugupta. He further remarks that when the 'Śuddha Vidyā' arises, the attainment of full control over the collectiveness of *Sakti* arises.²⁶ According to Lalleshwari, chant the Ajapā *Gāyatrī* with every breath of Hanisah. Give up the ego and be absorbed in Him. Whosoever abandoned his ego, verily became He. The lesson to be learnt is to efface the sense of separateness.²⁷ By becoming one with Him, He alone is there as Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Omniscient one.

According to Vasugupta, by uniting with the infinite reservoir of Divine Power, one has the experience of Supreme I-consciousness which is the generative source of all the mantras.²⁸ Lalleshwari tells us the way as to how to be one with that God of gods. According to her, he who deems day and night alike, he whose mind is free from duality, he alone has seen the Lord of the Chiefest of the gods.²⁹

23. शक्तिसन्धाने शरीरोत्पत्तिः । S. S. 1/19.

24. च्यत तुर्ग, गगन व्रमवोन ।
निमिशि अकि छन्दि यूजन लच्छ
यम्य न वर्गि यि रस्थि जोन ।
प्राण, अपान, फुटरनस परवच ॥
च्यतनि वर्गि व्यदि रटिथ जोन
प्राण अपान सन्दोरिथ परवच ।

25. भूतसन्धानभूतपृथक्त्वविश्वसङ्घट्टा: S. S. 1/20.

26. शुद्धविद्योदयाच्चक्रेशत्वसिद्धिः । S. S. 1/21.

27. अजपा गायत्री हंस हंस जपिथ
अहम त्राक्षिथ सुय अद रठ
यम्य त्रोव अहं सुय रुद पानय
बोह न आसुम छुय त्वपदीश ।

28. महाहृदानुसन्धानान्मन्त्रवीर्यानुभवः । S. S. 1/22.

29. पर त पान यम्य सोम मोन
यम्य ह्यवृय मोन यन क्योह राथ ।
यम्य सुय अद्वय मन सांपुन्
तम्य ऊद्धय सुर ग्वरनाथ ।

By intensive awareness or one's identity with the Highest Reality enshrined in a Mantra and thus becoming identical with that Reality, the mind itself becomes *mantra*.³⁰ Lalleshwari also says that by chanting the *Ajapā Gayatrī* with every breath as *Soham*, I silently tamed the ego and by forbearance followed the dictum of Guru.³¹

She also makes us understand that bath and meditation—what can these do ? Control the mind strictly. Watch the breath with full concentration and let the Sahasrāra be your pilgrimage.³² Vasugupta also says that the close application is effective.³³

According to Vasugupta the being of the perfect I-Consciousness inherent in the number of words whose essence consists in the knowledge of the highest non-dualism of the secret of mantra.³⁴

Lalleshwari explains that when she got used to watching her breath, there was no place for meditation. She saw everything in her body. The Highest Spirit had to yield to her devotion and there were no reservations then.³⁵

According to Vasugupta, when the mind is turned towards the light of Supreme Consciousness, that is the highest development. There is the disappearance of primal ignorance like a dream.³⁶ Lalla says that her mind was cleaned of impurities like a mirror of its dust and dirt, she recognised the Self in her. When

30. चित्तं मन्त्रः । S. S. 2/1.

31. गायत्री अजपा छल अकि वोजिम
सोहम सतची करमसं थफ ।
अहमस लौन, पोछ्य जठरय वोजिम
गवर कथ पोजिम चोजिम चख ।

32. स्नान त ध्यान क्याहं सना करी
चितस रठ त्रकरय वग
मनस त पवनस मिलवन करी,
सहजस मंज कर तीरथ स्नान ।

33. प्रयत्नः साधकः । S. S. 2/2.

34. विद्याशरीरसत्तामन्त्ररहस्यम् ॥ S. S. 2/3.

35. प्राणम सूती लय यलि करम
ध्यानस थोवनम न रोजनस शाय ।
कायस अन्दर सोरुय बुद्धुम
पायस पोवुम कडमस ग्राय ॥

36. गर्भे चित्तविकासो विशिष्टविद्यास्वप्नः । II/4.

she saw Him dwelling in her, she realized that He was everything and she was nothing.³⁷

A Self-realized teacher, says Vasugupta, is the means to help in understanding and living the truth.³⁸ Lalla also says that she retained the word of her Guru in her heart, body and mind, she bathed in the water of Ganga, and attained liberation in her life time. She was freed of the fear of death. She always thought of only One.³⁹ Śiva Sūtra says that one should plunge mentally into oneself.⁴⁰ Lalla explains in a detailed manner the process of diving deep into one's own self. She says—Waking when the morn was about to set, I made my heart sing. How I bore the pangs of my Lord's love ! I awake the ruby of myself. Meditating on Him, my body was sanctified.⁴¹ She further claims—By crossing the six forests came Shashikala oozing. I sacrificed my lower nature by meditating on breath. I roasted my heart with the fire of Divine Love. Thus Śiva was realized by me.⁴² The body becomes an oblation,⁴³ says Śiva sūtra.

According to Śiva Sūtra, a man of self-realisation is like Śiva.⁴⁴ Knowledge of the Self is food for soul⁴⁵—says Vasugupta.

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| 37. | मकरिस ज़म मल चौलुम मनस ।
अद म्य लवम थनस जान ॥
मु यलि ड्यूम निशि पानस ।
त्योरुय मुय बोह नो केह । |
| 38. | गुरुस्पायः । V. S. S. II/6. |
| 39. | ग्वर कथ हृदयस मंज् वाग रौटुम ।
गगंज़ल नावम तन त मन
स्वदीहि जीवन मुक्ती प्रोवम
तमह भय चौलुम पोलुम अख । |
| 40. | मनः स्वचित्तेन प्रविशेत् ॥ S. S. III/21. |
| 41. | पोत जूनि वथिय मौत बोलनोवुम्
दग ललनोवुम दयि संजि प्रहे
ललि ललि करान लाल वुजुनावुन
मीलिथ तस श्रोव्योम देह । |
| 42. | श्यवन चटिथ भशिकल वुजुम
प्रक्रथ हुज़म पवन सूती
लोलकि नार वालिज वुज़म
शङ्कर लोबुम तमिय सूती ॥ |
| 43. | शरीरं हविः । S. S. II/8. |
| 44. | शिवतुल्यो जायते । S. S. III. 25. |
| 45. | ज्ञानम् अन्नम् । S. S. II. 9. |

According to Vasugupta, mind-born knowledge is source of bondage.⁴⁸ Lalla says that true peace of mind can be had by shattering the bonds of Māyā. She explains it in detail. She says—I saw a wise man dying of hunger, emaciating like autumn leaves. I saw a foolish man beating his cook. Since then, I Lalla await the bondage to be shattered.⁴⁷

Śiva sūtra tells us that indiscrimination of Kalā etc. is māyā.⁴⁸ Lalla explains all this in a simplified manner. She says—The characteristics of mind is to be fickle, vacillating, the speciality of the citta is to go afar, the nature of a living being is to be hungry and thirsty. The Ātmā is known by being unaffected by anything.⁴⁹

Śiva sūtra explains that by an all pervasive conquest of delusive māyā, is there mastery of the natural, inherent knowledge of reality.⁵⁰ Lalla also tells us—By constant practice, the individualized limited self was dissolved into the unlimited self. The qualified being merged with the Ethereal Unqualified Being into one homogeneous whole. The void melted away. Nothing was left over except the Stainless, Pure, Parama Śiva. That is the lesson to you, O, learned man.⁵¹

In Śiva sūtra, it is said that one who is always awake, in him the world appears as his effulgence of light.⁵² Lalla also says that with the help of sound,

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| 46. ज्ञानं वन्धः । | S. S. III. 2. |
| 47. गाटुलाह अख वुद्धुम वृच्छि सीत्थ मरान
पन जन हरान पोहनि बावलाह
न्यपबोद अख वुद्धुम वाजःस मारान
तन लल बोह प्रारान छ्यन्यम ना प्राह । | |
| 48. कलादीनां तत्वानाम् अविवेको माया । | S. S. 3/3 |
| 49. मनस गुन छुय चञ्चल आसुन
चित्तस गुन छुय गच्छुन दूर
जीवस गुन छुय वृच्छि त्रेश आसुन
आत्मस गुन छुय न आसुन लीप । | |
| 50. मोहज्यादनन्तभोगात्सहजविद्याजयः ॥ | 3.7. |
| 51. अव्यासी स्वप्णकास्य लय व्यथू
गगनस सगुण म्यूल समि छटा
शून्य गोल अनामय मोतू
युहोय व्वपदीश छुय बटा । | |
| 52. जाप्रद्वितीयकरः । | S. S. III. 8. |

form, liquid and fragrance, she considered *Omkāra* as her own form and the Ultimate Element that she revered in her life.⁵³

According to Vasugupta, a man of self-realization is an actor.⁵⁴ Lalleshwari relates her own experience and says that she saw Him in everyone, shining in everyone. She experienced that everything was He, and, she Lalla was nothing.⁵⁵

According to Vasugupta, the place where the Self takes delight with the intention of exhibiting the world drama is termed as stage (रंग).⁵⁶ In other words, the inner soul constitutes the stage. Lalla says—Where do you wander in darkness ? Śiva is within you, Go nowhere. If you are wise, go within. Trust my word.⁵⁷ Śiva Sūtra says that senses when introverted are the spectators of the Cosmic Self. Lalla emphasises the need of restraining the sense organs to realize one's self.⁵⁸ She says—Who can hold the wind in one's clenched hand ? He alone, who crushes the five sense organs and tears them to pieces, can hold the Sun of Self in the midst of pitch darkness.⁵⁹

From Vasugupta's viewpoint, the self can be realized by the higher spiritual intelligence.⁶⁰

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53. ओङ्कार शरीर केवल जोनुम
शब्द रूप रस गच्छ सूती ह्यथ ।
आत्मस्वरूप मु पानय ओमुम
परम् तत्व धोरुम शेरस प्यठ ॥
54. नर्तक आत्मा । III. 9, S. S.
55. वुछान बो छस सोरिसिय अन्दर
वुछुम प्रजलान सारिन्य मंब्रज ।
रुजिथ बूजिथ वुछू हरस
घरह छु तसुन्दुय त बो कुसृ लल्ल ॥
56. रंगोऽन्तरात्मा S. S. III. 10.
57. कब छुख दिवान अनिनय बछ
त्रिकुय छुख तथ अन्दरिय अछ
शिव छुय अत्य तय कुन मो गछ
सहज कथि म्यानि करतो पछ ।
58. प्रेक्षकाणि इन्द्रियाणि । S. S. III. 11.
59. शिशिरस वुथ कुस रटे
कुस व्वके रटे वाव
युस पाछ इन्द्रिय चृयलिथ चटे ।
सुय रटे गटे रख ।
60. वीवशात्सत्वसिद्धिः । S. S. III. 12.

Lalla shows the way to develop the higher spiritual intelligence. She says—By eating the food got by truthful and honest means, my mind became steady. Consequently, therefore, I gained the strength and practised spiritual path. Reaching the source of that Divine Energy, I drank Divine Nectar. My mind got washed and I filled it with Divine Love.⁶¹ Śiva Sūtra says that a yogi of a high stature being self-realized attains freedom.⁶² Lalla explains the method by which she attained the freedom. She says—Having attained the birth, I performed actions (good.) I was dutiful. That alone is my satisfaction. I was full of love for that One whom I selected in my life and relied upon Him.⁶³

According to Vasugupta, a yogi of Self-realization should give full attention to the active Light of consciousness, the source of the world. Established in the highest power of Śakti, he is, with ease, steeped in the ocean of immortality.⁶⁴ Lalla tells us this state in her own life. She says—I entered the flower-garden of Śivas. There, I saw Śiva United with Śakti. I sacrifice myself for Śiva. Dead as I am to the world, what can the world do to me.⁶⁵

From the viewpoint of the Śiva-sūtra, the measure of consciousness effects the measure of creation.⁶⁶ According to Lalla, intense cold may freeze water into ice, may be into snow. Reflecting, you find water differentiated into three forms. But when the sun of cetana (Supreme Consciousness) dawns upon you these again

61. मनस ग्राय चज पञ्जकुय ख्योम
तवकुय बल गोम करमस क्रय ।
आगुर वातिथ अमृत जल चोम
च्छुवल्यह मन गोम भरमस प्रय ।
62. सिद्धः स्वतन्त्रभावः III. 13.
63. जन्म प्राविथ कर्म सौदुम
धर्म पोलुम् सुय छम सथ
नेत्रन अन्दर प्रेयम घोरुम
चोरुम त् मोनुम युहुय अख ।
64. बीजावधानम् S. S. III. 15. आसनस्थः सुखं हृदे निमज्जति S. S. III. 16.
65. लल्ल बो चायस शिव सज्जि कोसुमवारे
शिव त शक्ति म्य डचूठम तती
बो पारी, ईश्वर सन्दिस शेरस
बो यलि मरस म्य क्याह करे ।
66. स्वमात्रा निर्माणमापादयति ॥ S. S. III. 17.

dissolve into One Cosmic Substance. The Universe of animate and inanimate beings is seen as Śiva.⁶⁷

Vasugupta says that destruction of the knot of ignorance results in the cessation of birth.⁶⁸ In Lalla's opinion based upon her personal experience, those who realized the Consciousness-Bliss, the Effulgent Sun of All knowledge became liberated, even when alive. The unintelligent tied knots, by hundreds upon hundreds, to the vastly spread meshes of the net of the world.⁶⁹

According to Vasugupta, Maheshwari and others who have their area of operation in groups like 'क' etc. are the source of limited beings.⁷⁰ That Śakti of I-Consciousness of the creator of the world becomes a wearer of a garland of fifty letters. By means of the deities presiding over these groups, She exhibits in various ways wonder, joy, fear, attraction, aversion etc. and by concealing the unlimited independent nature of consciousness, she brings about limited, dependant embodiment. Certain dark forces in the world carry out their designs through words which have a tremendous influence on the minds of the people, hence the necessity on the part of the yogi to be always alert and not to fall a victim of sense pleasures.

Lalleshwari makes up understand that one should always rest one's mind on the path of immortality. Away from that it will get involved in evil ways. On the path of immortality, one need not entertain any doubt or fear. There should not be any deviation even to the extent of a stir of a baby in its mother's lap.⁷¹

According to Vasugupta, the Atomic State of Consciousness (fourth state) should be poured in an uninterrupted manner like an uninterrupted flow of oil in the three states of waking, dreaming and deep sleep. The yogi is to be alert and

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67. तरि सलिल खोतु तय तरे ।
ह्यमि च्य गय व्याने अव्योन व्यमर्शा
चेतनि रव वाति सव समे
शिवमय चृचाच्र शृङ्ग पश्या ।
68. विद्याऽविनाशे जन्मविनाशः । S. S. III. 18.
69. च्यदानन्दस ज्ञानप्रकाशस
यिमव च्यून तिम जीवन्ती मुक्त
व्यपमस ससार निस पाशस
अवोय गंडाह शथ शथ दित्य ।
70. कवर्गादिपु माहेश्वर्यच्छाः पशुमातरः ॥ S. S. III. 19.
71. च्यथ अमरपथि थोविजे
ति त्राविथ लगिथ जूरे
तति च नो शीक्यजि सूदार्यजे
द्वदशुर ति क्वल नं मूरे ।

not lose his hold on the fourth state so that it may permeate the three states in all the stages—initial, middle, the last.⁷²

Lalla also draws our attention to the fact that we should be always permeated with self-awareness saying that one is not satisfied even if enthroned, even if he renounces all power, one can't have satisfaction. True satisfaction is in being greedless. Without greed man will not die. True knowledge lies in dying while alive.⁷³

Vasugupta tells the means to saturate the waking, dreaming and deep sleep states with the fourth state by plunging into one's essential Self with an awareness of the inner I without a thought construct.⁷⁴ Lalla also reveals her own experience saying that the Real is not attained by mere self control and continence. The gateway to liberation is not opened by mere wishfulness. Even after getting dissolved in Him like salt in water, it is difficult to determine Reality.⁷⁵

According to Vasugupta, in the case of a Yogi who has enjoyed the delight of the transcendental consciousness at the initial and final stages of waking, dream etc., inferior stages of mind characteristic of the normal course of life arise in the intervening stage. In the intervening stage, there arise inferior states of mind.⁷⁶ Lalla warns against this intervening stage when she says—Who dies and who is killed ? He who is attached to household, giving up the name of God, he alone is dead and he alone is killed.⁷⁷

72. त्रिषु चतुर्थे तैलवद् आसेच्यम् । III. 20. S. S.

73. ह्यथ करिथ राजफेरिना
दिथ करिथ त्रसि ना मन
लूब बिना जीव मरिना
जीवन्तय मरि तय सुय छुय ज्ञान ।

74. मग्नः स्वचित्ते प्रविशेत् ।

75. सहजः शम त दम नो गच्छे
यछि नो प्रावरव मुक्ती द्वारं
सलिलंस लवण जन मीलिथ गच्छे
तोति छुय दुर्लभ सहज व्यचार ।

76. मध्येऽवरप्रसवः । S. S. III. 23.

77. कुस मरि तय कसू मारन
मरि कुस तय मारन कस
युस हर हर त्रोविथ गर गर करे
अद सुय मरि तय मारन तस ।

Vasugupta tells us that even when inferior states arise, if the yogi sprinkles the intervening stage with the nectar of the tightly caught fourth state, when the real I-consciousness is joined to the objects, the transcendental state of consciousness that had disappeared appears again.⁷⁸ He becomes like Śiva and remaining in the body is all his observance of a pious act.⁷⁹ Lalla's practical example gives us another expression. She says—He who has faith in the word of his teacher, controls the steed of the mind with the bridle of knowledge, controls senses and feels bliss. He never dies. He is not killed. He becomes one with Śiva.⁸⁰

According to Vasugupta, the muttering of a prayer is conversation for a yogi.⁸¹ Lalla also conversed only from the viewpoint of Śiva. She says—I listened to conversation. I conversed. Conversation gave me faith from all quarters. I listened to conversation from scriptures. Conversation showed me the path of Truth.⁸² From the view-point of Śivasūtra, a yogi of self realization disseminates the knowledge of the self as gift.⁸³ Lalla clarifies the true meaning of studies and knowledge. She says—O' dear one, people read books without discrimination like that parrot that speaks out 'Rāma, Rāma' in a cage. They read Gita just for a pretext. I have read Gita and am reading it (by living it).⁸⁴

Thus, Lalleshwari's Vakhs are a living testimony to the fact that she uttered the same after experimenting and experiencing them in the laboratory of her own personal life. She was not literate in the usual sense of the term. Her life is a running commentary on Vasugupta's Śiva-sūtras—this is clear from the above stated comparisons.

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| 78. मात्रास्वप्रत्ययसन्धाने नष्टस्य पुनरुत्थानम् । | S. S. III. 21. |
| 79. शरीरवृत्तिर्वत्म् । | S. S. III. 26, |
| 80. ग्वर शब्दस युस यच्छ त पछ भरे
ग्रन्थानह वग रटि चित्त तोरगस
इन्द्री सोंवरिथ आनन्द करे ।
अद कुस मरि तय मारन कस । | |
| 81. कथा जपः ॥ | S. S. III. 27. |
| 82. कथा वूजुम कथय करम
कथायि करम चुपायं सथ
शास्त्र किनी कथम वूजुम
कथायि हावम सतृच वथ । | |
| 83. दानम् आत्मज्ञानम् । | S. S. III. 28. |
| 84. अव्यचार्य पोथ्यन छिह्ने मालि परान
यिथ ततो परान राम पंजरस
गीतां परान तृ हीथा लवान
परम गीता त परान छ्स । | |

ABHĀVAVĀDA—A FORGOTTEN ŚAIVA DOCTRINE

M. S. G. DYCKOWSKI

The *Spandakārikā* is a short but important treatise written in Kashmir in the middle of the 9th century either by Vasugupta or his disciple Kallaṭabhaṭṭa.¹ It is the earliest Kashmiri Śaiva work of avowedly human origin and is traditionally considered to be a concise statement of the essential points of doctrine contained in the *Śivasūtras* revealed to Vasugupta.² Although the *Spandakārikā* does attempt to establish its doctrines on the basis of both reason (*pratipatti*) and experience (*upalabdhī*)³ it is not cast in the form of an apologetic written to counter possible opponent's views as was, for example, Somānanda's *Śivadrṣṭi* written soon after it. In one place however, the author is moved to state his case by setting it in contrast to those of others when he seeks to refute the nihilist view that Non-being is the ultimate liberated condition. What interests us here is who this opponent could have been and what his views were. To begin with let us examine the passage in question. Below is quoted *Spandakārikā* 12 and 13 along with parts of the commentary by Kallaṭabhaṭṭa :

“ ‘Non-being cannot become an object of contemplation, nor is there consciousness there, (moreover it is a mistake to believe that one has experienced non-being) in so far as one has the certainty that ‘that was’ by (subsequently) coming in contact with determinative discursivity.’ (12)

Vṛtti :

One should not contemplate non-being as other yogins teach (who say) :

“Non-being is to be contemplated until one identifies himself with it.”

1. For a summary of the controversy concerning the authorship of the *Spandakārikā*, see Rastogi ‘The Krama Tantricism of Kashmir’, Delhi 1979/p. 113-7.
2. See Sp. Kā. Vṛ. p. 40. Sp. Kā. vi. p. 165 Sp. Ś. Sū. Vā. p. 2 and S. Sū. vi. p. 1-2.
3. Sp. Kā. vi. p. 19.

In fact this (doctrine) is unsound (for two reasons, firstly) because it is wrong (to apply oneself) to the contemplation (*bhāvanā*) of Non-being as it is in fact nothing but a state of unconsciousness and also because later, (once it is over) and one is again affected by discursive thought (*abhiyogasamsparśa*) one recalls that : 'my state of emptiness has passed.' Nor is that one's own essential nature (*ātmasvabhāva*) in so far as the conscious nature is not remembered in the way one does a state of unconsciousness but is (in fact) experienced as the experiencing subject, being as it is ever manifest (*nityodita*).

"Therefore one should consider that to be created and artificial like the state of deep sleep. That principle is always apprehended and is not subject to recollection in this manner." (13)

Vṛtti :

Artificial and transitory is the state of (the yogin) who has attained a plane of yoga by contemplating non-existence just as it is at the level of deep sleep. Consciousness is one's own essential nature which is always present and so one should be always dedicated to that alone in accord with the teachings of the Master."

The first point to notice here is that the opponent is not directly named, all we know is that he is a yogin and his aim, according to the passage Kallaṭa quotes apparently drawn from scripture, is to become of the nature of Non-existence. Of the three commentators⁴ only Kṣemarāja chooses to identify the opponent here while Rājānaka Rāma avoids the problem altogether by simply saying that these verses are intended for those who may be misled by into thinking that because the Self is devoid of all the qualities of objectivity that the teaching is that 'Non-being' is the goal.⁵ Bhagavatotpala is more definite, although still vague in that he says that these verses are meant to refute the view of the partisans of the doctrine of voidness who maintain that the Non-being is the object of contemplation with which the yogin should become one.⁶ Kṣemarāja however clearly states that the opponents are three namely, the Śūnyavādin Buddhists, the followers of Akṣapāda and the Vedāntins who base their views on the Upaniṣadic dictum 'in the beginning there

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- 4. Apart from Kallaṭabhaṭṭa the commentaries of three other authors survive namely, the *Spandakārikāvivṛti* by Rājānaka Rāma, the *Spandapradipikā* by Bhagavatotpala, the *Spandanirṇaya* and *Spandasamdoha* by Kṣemarāja. It seems that only Kṣemarāja's commentary post-dates Abhinavagupta (c. 950-1025 AD).
 - 5. Sp. Kā. vi. p. 44.
 - 6. Sp. Pra. p. 101.

was non-being (*asat*).⁷ Certainly all these are possible opponents from the Kashmiri Śaiva point of view and Kṣemarāja does in fact equally characterize their highest state as being one of deep sleep when he says that “many philosophers like the Vedāntins, Naiyāyikas, the followers of the Sāṃkhya, the Buddhists and others have fallen into this great and uncrossable ocean of insentience in the form of the void.”⁸

We suggest however that it is possible that the original opponents did not belong to these groups but were in fact also Śaivites themselves. Although not a well known doctrine, nor it seems extensively elaborated in Śaiva circles, Non-being has at times figured as the supreme principle identified with the Emptiness (*śūnya*) of indeterminate consciousness. Thus according to the *Vijñānabhairava* :

“That which is not an object of knowledge, cannot be grasped and is the emptiness established in Non-being should all be contemplated (*bhāvyā*) : as being Bhairava, at the end of which (the yogin experiences) the arising of consciousness.”⁹

In the *Manthānabhairavatantra* the supreme Kaula reality which encompasses the union of Śiva and Śakti—Akula and Kula—is praised as “eternally manifest without master and devoid of any inherent being.”¹⁰ The *Jñānāmr̥tarasāyanā* quoted in Śivopadhyāya’s commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava* exalts ‘Non-being established in Being’ as ‘the supreme principle beyond (all) principles.’¹¹ Even Utpaladeva the well known exponent of the Pratyabhijñā who asserts that nothing can exist outside the Light of Śiva’s consciousness and that which hypothetically does so is merely non-existent (*abhāvamāṭra*)¹² seems aware that ‘non-being’ can be intuited in some way when he says : ‘even non-being which is (thus) apprehended is of the nature of consciousness alone !¹³

An important source for Śaiva nihilism is the *Svacchandabhairavatantra*, Śiva—The Supreme God and ultimate principle is generally in this work represented in positive terms, we do find however that in places when the Tantra attempts to express the transcendent a cosmic nature of the supreme reality, it finds no better way to do so than in terms of the absence of all phenomenal Being. Again, *Abhāva*—

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- 7. Chān. Up. 3/11/1. Kṣemarāja calls these Vedāntins ‘*abhāvabrahmavādins*’ : *asadēva idamāśit—ityabhāvabrahmavādinaḥ śūnyānubhāvamavagāhya sthitāḥ mādhyamikā api evameva* Pr. Hr. comm. Sū. 8.
 - 8. Sp. Nir. p. 76.
 - 9. V. B. v. 127.
 - 10. niḥsvabhāvamanātham ca vande kaulam sadoditam. MBT (Y)fl. 27b.
 - 11. tattvātītam param tattvamabhlāvam bhāvāśritam V. B. p- 80.
 - 13. Quoted by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on Ś. St. 12/13.

Non-being figures as a term in the SVT for the supreme reality equated with Śiva is understood as both transcendent Non-being and yet present at the same times in all things as their essential nature in the form of ‘pure Being’ (*sattāmātra*). Non-being is therefore to be understood as reality which is not merely phenomenally existent : reality is pure Being which is Non-being. In one place this point is made in terms of a contrast between the wisdom of logic and other worldly (*laukika*) philosophies which bind to the wheel of *samsāra* and Śivajñāna :

“All the goals achieved by following worldly and other doctrines are effortlessly attained when the knowledge of Śiva which comes into effect at the end of Atimārga arises. O goddess ! everyone does not achieve it for it is extremely pure and brings about union (*yoga*) in the Supreme Abode which is that of Non-being. Non-being is beyond contemplation and its domain is beyond the universe, free of the mind, intellect and the rest, it is devoid of reason and doctrine. It is the imperishable Lord, beyond perception and the other means of knowledge, beyond all reason and authority, free of bondage and Mantra, omniscient, omnipresent, tranquil, pure and free of accidents.”¹⁴

Non-being is again presented as the supreme state in another section in the SVT which deals with the progressive rise of consciousness through the phases of the syllable ‘OM’ in consonance with the perversions of the vital breath through the centres of the body, each presided over by a deity termed a ‘Kāraṇa’ or ‘cause’ representing an aspect of the universal cause of creation and destruction. The process is termed ‘the abandonment of the causes ‘because as the breath-consciousness rises from one to the other, the lower is abandoned for the higher. This rise can be represented schematically as follows.¹⁵

<i>Phases of OM</i>	<i>Kāraṇa</i>	<i>Location in the body</i>
A	Brahmā	Heart
U	Viṣṇu	Throat
M	Rudra	Centre of the palate
Bindu, Ardhacandra and Nirodhikā	Īśvara	Centre of the eyebrows
Nāda to Nādānta	Sadāśiva	From the forehead to the head.
Śakti, Vyāpini and Samanā up to Unmanā	Śiva	Centre of the head upwards.

The level of Samanā is projected symbolically onto the top knot (*Sikhā*) at the apex of the microcosmic body. Here the yogin experiences the ‘equality of

14. SVT 11/190-3.

15. SVT 4/262-6.

flavour' (*samarasa*) of all things for his consciousness is not directed at a specific object of awareness (*mantavya*) and his mind thus abides in a state of pure indeterminate awareness (*mananamātra*). In going beyond this level the yogin's consciousness becomes pure and by resting in the power Beyond Mind (*unmanā*) the nature of which is the undivided Light that illumines simultaneously the entire universe, he attains Śiva.¹⁶ In this way the yogin goes beyond even the level Beyond Mind and so abandons the six causes and merges into the seventh which is Paramaśiva beyond them. According to the SvT this is : "extremely subtle, the supreme state (*bhāva*) said to be Non-being (*abhāva*)."

Kṣemarāja comments : "The supreme state is the supreme Being (*sattā*) of Paramaśiva. It should be known to be extremely subtle and the universal cause which, because its nature consists of the cessation (*prakṣaya*) of all being is Non-being."¹⁷ Thus Unmanā in relation to this state is lower in so far as it is the reflective awareness of one's own nature that is directed in a subtle way (*kīmciidaunmukhya*) to its self-realization. It represents, in other words, the highest and subtlest limit of immanence as the universal Being (*mahāsattā*) which contains and is both being and non-being.¹⁸ At the same time the power of Unmanā is the direct means to the supreme state of Non-being. Thus while contemplation of the other lower phases in the development of OM bestow yogic powers (*siddhi*) of an increasing order of perfection it alone bestows liberation directly. Therefore the Tantra enjoins that the yogin should constantly contemplate the supreme and subtle Non-being by means of *Unmanā*.¹⁹ This is because Non-being is beyond all the senses and mind and is, according to Kṣemarāja, the pure knower which thus has no objectively distinguishable characteristics (*alakṣya*). The Tantra concludes :

"Non-being should be contemplated by means of Being having rendered Being without foundation. (In this way) one attains the plane of Non-being free of all limitation : this is the abandonment of the causes." Kṣemarāja comments : "The plane whose nature is Non-being is that on which no phenomenal entities (*bhāvāḥ*) exist. It should be contemplated by Being which is supreme Existence (*parasattā*) of the nature of consciousness. (In response to the query) 'surely the consciousness-principle is that which bestows being' ? (he replies by saying that this is to be done) 'having rendered Being without foundation ! 'Being' is that which exists (namely everything) from Sadāśiva to Earth; this is rendered without foundation

16. SvT II p. 166.

17. SvT 4/268b and commentary.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid. 4/277a.

and free of support in its tranquil (i.e. unmanifest) state by penetrating into the abode of power thus rendering it of the nature (of *Unmanā*).”²⁰

The same theme is again taken up a little further on when the Tantra comes to deal with the nature of the Voids. These are seven within which are distributed the phases of OM. As before six levels are to be transcended and merged into the seventh which is ‘supremely subtle and devoid of all states’,²¹ The lower Voids are impure because they are unstable; similarly the sixth Void which is that of *Unmanā*, although Śakti and as such the way to achieve the highest Void, is below it because it is the vibration of consciousness (*spanda*), and as such is in a state of subtle motion (*kiñciccalatva*)²² in relation to the supreme principle. The seventh Void is Non-being.²³

The SvT declares that “that which is not void is called the Void, while the Void is said to be Non-being. Non-being is taught to be that wherein existing things have ceased to exist. (It is) pure Being (*sattāmātra*), supremely tranquil : that (transcendental) place abides in a certain undefinable manner.”²⁴

Kṣemarāja is quick to point out that what is meant here by ‘Non-being’ is the principle of consciousness (*cittattva*) and that it is not ‘empty’ in the sense of being nothing at all but is called the Void because in it all objectivity ceases. There can be little doubt however that the Tantra is here extolling Non-being as the supreme principle which is subtle beyond all level of subtlety. It pervades the gross lower levels and in so doing itself becomes gross and subtle.²⁵ In short, Non-being is the pure Being which both transcends and constitutes all levels of existence, but although it is Non-being and here said to be ‘empty’ it should not be confused with a mere nothing.

Although the presentation of the supreme principle in such strongly apophatic terms is not common in the Śaivāgamas it is not exclusive to the SvT. Thus

20. SvT. II p. 178.

21. SvT 4/292a.

22. The expression ‘Kiñciccalatva’ in the text refers to Spanda—the vibration of consciousness. The term Spanda is derived from the root ‘*spadi*’ which is defined in this way in the *dhātupāṭha* which is traditionally quoted to define the meaning of the term Spanda. See e.g. Sp. Pra. p. 84.

23. Worth noting here is that in so far as *Unmanā* is equivalent to Spanda according to the SvT the supreme level which is immobile (*avicala*) and Non-being is beyond Spanda—a view which Spanda doctrine naturally rejects.

24. SvT. 4/292b-3.

25. Ibid., 4/294-5.

the *Śrītantrasadbhāva*, a work known and quoted by Kashmiri Śaiva authors²⁶ elaborates upon it further. It quotes wholesale the lengthy passage in the SvT from which we have drawn the above exposition and concludes the description of the Voids with the remark that this is the doctrine of Voidness (*śūnyavāda*).. It goes on to discuss the yogin who is ‘established in power’ (*śaktistha*) thus continuing its exposition of the rise of Kuṇḍalīnī. The fullness of Kuṇḍalīnī’s rise liberates from the ignorance that consciousness is exclusively located in the physical body and so leads to the realization of the all-pervasive nature of the Self, a state technically termed *Ātmavyāpti*. This state spontaneously leads to the realization of Śiva’s pervasive presence termed *Śivavyāpti* and the yogin established in Śakti thus becomes one who is established in his authentic nature (*svabhāvastha*). This is a state beyond all states and levels including the contemplation of emptiness (*śūnyabhāva*) as well as Śiva and Śakti,²⁷ achieved by abandoning all dichotomizing thought processes (*vikalpa*) including the notion of liberation. He who does not hanker after anything, including liberation, is liberated for the contrast felt to exist between bondage (*amokṣa*) and liberation is nothing but a thought construct.

The notion of duality (*dvaitabhāva*) causes limiting conditions to prosper, it is conceived spontaneously by the mind for thought (*kalpanā*) is its characteristic. In order to achieve liberation the yogin must abandon all being (*bhāva*) by forsaking the notion of existence for it is that which generates phenomenal being.²⁸ Thus the yogin is to abandon all sense of personal existence along with that of anything else :

“The notion of self-existence (*mamatva*) should in every circumstance be abandoned; one should consider (only) that ‘I am not.’ One achieves nothing until one is not devoted to the activity of non-duality, namely, (the awareness that) : ‘I am not nor does anything else exist.’”²⁹

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- 26. For the numerous quotations from the *Śrītantrasadbhāva* in Kashmiri Śaiva works refer to L. A. S. vol. I p. 52-5 and L. A. S. vol. II p. 61-4. Three MSS of this work have been located all of which are in Nepal and have been photographed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project. These are : NA MS no. 5/445 vi. Reel No. A 44/2 (186 folios); NA MS no. 1/363 vi. Reel. no. A44/1 (140 folios) and NA MS no. 5/1985 Reel No. A 188/22-A 189/1 (132 folios). NA MS No. 1/363 vi. is the one to which the folio numbers refer.
 - 27. Ibid. folio 15a.
 - 28. astityamiti ced bhāvastadā vardho na spṝṇśayaḥ ibid.
 - 29. mamatvam tyājya sarvatra nāhamasmīti bhāvayet
nāhamasmī na vānyośti advaita kriyārataḥ
yāvannavindate hyeva tāvattasya na kiñcana ibid folio 16b

Initiation, meditation, the recitation of Mantra or any other spiritual discipline cannot lead to the understanding of ultimate reality, which is free of all objectively distinguishable characteristic (*alakṣya*), their purpose is merely to initially still the fickle mind. In order to move out of the fettered condition of Being we must move beyond it into Non-being :

"This (spiritual discipline) which is an aggregate of thought-constructs is (O goddess !) the cause of Your awakening which is non-dual, free of thought, senses, mind and (all) distinguishing characteristics. How can that which is not (objectively) distinguishable have (any) characteristics ? How can that which is beyond mind possess a mind ? The Wise should (therefore) establish themselves in that which is free of mind (*amanas*). Non-being (*nāstikya*) abides eternally, thus abandon being.....Non-existence is liberation, the great Prosperity, (therefore) contemplate that all things are void.....(All things) are as perishable as a pot (and fleeting) as the sight of a lightning flash, therefore fix your mind on Non-existence (*nāstikya*) the nature of which is (universal) annihilation consisting of the abandonment of all things."³⁰

The aim is to realize the Equality (*samatva*) present in all things. This is done by first abandoning all existent things and states of being (*bhāva*); the mind thus freed of thought-constructs is established in Non-being (*abhāva*). This is not however the end of the path for then the yogin must also abandon Non-being and become established in the authentic Being which is his true nature (*svabhāva*); in this way the mind (*manobindu*) disappears instantly like a drop in a mass of water.³¹ Thus the yogin is to abandon attachment both to the world of thought

In the context of his exposition of Kaula ritual intercourse Abhinava gupta refers to an unnamed Āgamic source quoted by Jayaratha in full which says : "I am not nor does anything else exist except the powers'- he who contemplates this innate (*sahaja*) state of repose for even an instant becomes a Wanderer in the Sky of Consciousness (*Khecara*) and achieves union with the yoginī. "T. A. XIb p. 45. The same phrase : *nāhamasmi na canyo 'sti* is also found in NT 3/13.

30. etat saṃkalpasamghātām tava saṃbodhakāraṇam
advaitanirvikalpantu nirindriyamalakṣaṇam
alakṣasya kuto lakṣo amanasya kuto maṇah
amane pratyavasthānam kartavyam satataṁ budhaiḥ
nāstivam vartate nityamastivantu parityajet
nāstivam mokṣo mahāvardhaḥ sarvaśūnyeva bhāvayet
ghaṭavad bhaṅgurākāraṁ vidyuddarśanasannibham
sarvatyajyamayakṣaye nāstikye tu manah kuru

Śrītantrasadbhāva folio 16a

31. ibid. folio 15a

and sensations as well as to the tranquil (*sānta*) state of Non-being which is the supreme abode 'free of the subject who impels and the object of impulse and is beyond the contemplation of Non-being (*abhāvabhāvanātīta*).³²

The expression *abhāvabhāvanā* referring to a state of contemplative observation (*samādhi*) in which all sensory and mental activity ceases is very significant for our study. Kallaṭa expresses himself in the same way and the repetition of this form by all the other commentators on the *Spandakārikā* leaves us in no doubt that this is a technical term. Now although this contemplative state is not considered to be ultimate in the *Śrītantrasadbhāva* and in this sense represents, one could say, an advance on the SvT which prefers to characterize the transcendental aspect of pure Being as Non-being instead of taking the seemingly necessary step of going beyond both being and non-being as relative concepts, even so according to the *Śrītantrasadbhāva* the contemplation of Non-being does ultimately lead to the highest realization. The *Spandakārikā* and its commentators for their part deny that it is of any value at all. Thus Kṣemarāja maintains that whether being or non-being is taken as the support of meditation when contemplation reaches perfection they are both realized to be merely conceptual representations and so, he says, the contemplation of Non-being as the eradication of all things can never lead to the realization of the supreme reality (*paramārtha*).³³

Even so, perhaps, these authors would not have objected as much if it was in this alone that the doctrine of Non-being consisted. The earliest Spanda authors were more likely to have been objecting to the kind of doctrine taught in the *Jñānatilaka* to which we now turn. Although manuscripts of this work are rare and it does not seem to have been of any great importance, the *Jñānatilaka* is notable for its theistic nihilism. The sole exemplar of this text I have managed to trace is a Nepalese palm leaf manuscript written in a form of Newari script that is not younger than the 12th century thus setting the upper limit for the date of this text.³⁴ The strong emphasis it places on yoga—particularly attention to the

32. *abhāvabhāvanātītam codyacodokavarjitam* ibid. folio 18a

33. Sp. Nir.p. 71

34. There are a number of texts called *Jñānatilaka* at least two of which are Buddhist and Jaina works (see NCC VII p. 324). There are also a number of Hindu texts which go by this name one of which is set in the form of a dialogue between Nārada and Viṣṇu and is preserved in a Nepalese MS (See Nepal cat. I p. 180. This is NA MS no. 1/1340 NGMPP reel no. A 88/20 length 6 folios. Also reels no. A 90/8 and B 113/13), Another is a Tantra in which Umā and Maheśvara converse. The text which concerns us here is preserved in two fragments of Nepalese MS kept at the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Although numbered separately they certainly belong to the same MS. MS. No. 9991 consists

movement of the breath and control of the senses and mind coupled with the recitation of the Mantra *Om Namo Śivāya* justifies its characterization simply as a short tract on Śaiva yoga with no specific affiliations. A reference to the Siddhānta along with the Vedas and Vedānta as useless for those who are spiritually ignorant³⁵ may perhaps be taken as an indication that of the Śaivāgamic corpus, the Siddhānta is that to which this text is the most closely aligned even though it is certainly not dualist in tone.

We turn now to a brief exposition of the relevant portions of this text which concern the doctrine of Non-being.

In chapter V Śiva explains to Kārttikeya the doctrine of Non-being which He calls the Great Jewel (*mahāratna*) knowing which all people attain liberation and says :

“Those who possess the contemplation of Non-being (*abhāvabhāvanā*) and their consciousness is established in Non-being are, by realizing the principle (*tattva*) of Non-being, liberated : there can be no doubt about this. Those best of men who have realized the union (*samghāta*) which is attained by Non-being cross over Mahāmāyā, the ocean of phenomenal existence (*bhava*), though it is so hard to traverse. Nor are those great-souled ones who have entered the pure water of Non-being burnt by the terrible fire of transmigration though it be intense. Māyā, the snake of phenomenal existence (*bhava*), angry with long fangs, hard to overcome, whose form is crooked can do nothing to those who contemplate Non-being. Mahāmāyā the demon of samsāra whose tongue is greed is averse to those who are devoted to union with the Void.”³⁶

Śiva goes on to say that Non-being is the pure lamp and Great Jewel holding which man can wander confidently in the darkness of delusion. The vision of knowledge both superior and inferior becomes pure in one in whose mind shines the Sun of Non-being. The flame of the fire of *Abhāva* is most

of only three folios of palmleaf marked 2,9 and 10 and contains about thirty verses of the text. Folio 9B contains the colophon of the third chapter. MS no. 10742 is also written in Kuṭīla characters and the folios are marked 11-24. The text is set in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and his son Kārttikeya and extends from the middle of the fourth paṭala to the end of the eighth where it ends abruptly. The colophon of the seventh chapter calls the work *Kālajñānatilaka*. Another MS of this work may be preserved at the Manuscript library at Baroda and is numbered 3525 (see Tā. Sā. p. 220 and L.A.S. II p. 35). A text of this name is quoted in the *Śataratnasamgraha* p. 70, these verses have not been traced in this MS.

35. ibid. fl. 22b.

36. Ibid. fl. 13a.

terrible as it burns the forest of the darkness of ignorance which once it has been burnt down allows man to wander in this world freely (*svacchanda*). Those whose consciousness is established in Non-being do not fall into the frightening well of delusion whose waters are sorrow and pain. Safe in the fort the Non-being, knowing the field (*viṣaya*), of Non-being they are untouched by delusion. Japa and homa etc. are useless one should instead take refuge in the plane of Non-being. He achieves all things who is established on the plane of Non-being (*abhāvapāda*) and delights in savouring bliss.

All the universe is born of Non-being for it is none other than Śiva Himself beyond the qualities and stainless.³⁷ Śiva proclaims that :

“Non-being is the supreme God, Non-being the supreme Śiva, Non-being is the supreme knowledge, Non-being the supreme path, all being is Non-being, Non-being is all the gods, Non-being is eternal and all-pervasive.

“(All things) merge into Non-being and from Non-being arise again. What is the point of speaking much, O Mahāsena, there is nothing higher than Non-being.....liberation is in the hands of those who contemplate Non-being (*abhāvabhāvinām*). Those who have a support (*sālamba*) are never freed, therefore one should contemplate that which is free of support, namely, the stainless plane of the Void. The concentration (*dhāraṇā*) ‘with support’ is transitory, fickle and gross and so should be abandoned. He whose mind is established even for a moment in the state of emptiness is freed of Dharma and Adharma and is liberated from the body.....”³⁸

In chapter VI Śamkara goes on extolling Non-being. It is the endless, omnipresent Great Ocean of consciousness, the Tranquil (*sānta*), knowing which man is liberated. The yogin can see this omnipresent Jewel with the eye of knowledge (*vijñānalocana*), It has no beginning, middle or end. It is infinite and infinite is its splendour (*tejas*). It is the Self, the supreme Śiva, and teacher of the universe as well as its support (*ādhāra*). One who perceives this principle directly (*pratyakṣa*) is never burnt by the fire of time. In the body it is *sakalā* beyond it *niskalā*. It is a state of compactness (*ghanāvasthā*) and is all states; of the nature of the vital breath (*prāṇa*) it is splendour, stable (*dharana*) and pervasive. It can be seen when the yogin is free of thought-constructs (*nirvikalpa*) as the subject (*mātr*) and essence of consciousness (*vijñānasadbhāva*). Man is liberated when the mind (*citta*) is established in this omnipresent reality which is tranquil (*sānta*) and free of all being (*bhāva*). The mind that is unsupported is

37. abhāvāśivamityuktam guṇātītam nirañjanam. Ibid. folio 14a. Also abhāva śiva ityukta abhāvam paramam padam. Ibid. 14b.

38. fl. 14b.

absorbed in the absence of being, is liberated and enjoys eternal, unobstructed and uninterrupted Bliss (*sukha*).

In chapter VIII Śiva explains that the yogin should contemplate his own Self within the body as being in a state of emptiness (*śūnyāvasthā*) for once he has realised this in his own body he realizes that all this universe is empty (*śūnya*). Thus those whose minds are stable think nothing. The yogin should not direct his attention anywhere, whether above, below in front or behind. Depositing his own nature (*svarūpa*) on the lower plane and abandoning all existent things (*bhāvān*) he should think of nothing. He should observe that everything is merged in all things and having seen the Self of that which pervades everything he should think of nothing. In this way beholding the waveless (*nistarāṅga*) Self, meditation and the object of meditation comes to an end. Once one has heard and seen the omnipresent Śiva, the object of sight and hearing cease to exist. Entering the immobile place, the stainless abode of the Void, the yogin should think of naught. Just as in the middle of the ocean one sees nothing but water, also in the peaceful ocean of consciousness one sees nothing but consciousness within and outside all living beings. Although it is the nature of the mind to wander, once one has known this where can it go? Thus the mind of he who sees consciousness constantly within himself is well fixed.

The wise man who is intent on contemplating Non-being (*abhāva*) has no need of any other practice. He, the best of yogins, who is established on the plane of Non-being enjoys the Three Worlds along with Śiva. This is the knowledge of the state of emptiness (*śūnyāvasthā*). A yogin in this state is not affected by virtue or vice, he has no concern with what he should eat or what he should not, like the rays of the sun in the sky he never moves.

Concluding Remarks

The *Jñānatilaka*'s account of the doctrine of Non-being agrees well in many respects with that of the SvT and the other sources we have examined. The main points to note is the identification of the Supreme principle with Śiva Who is non-being. This is the state of emptiness (*śūnyāvasthā*) which the yogin attains when he has freed himself of all discursive thought. In order to realize this he must practise the contemplation of Non-being (*abhāvabhāvanā*). Although the *Jñānatilaka* identifies the liberated condition which results with a positive state of bliss and Non-being as pure pervasive consciousness it is quite understandable how this can be understood in negative terms. The *Spandakārikā* also stresses that all thought-constructs and notions (*pratyaya*) of a discursive order involving a personal referent ('I am happy' or 'I am sad' etc.) must be overcome to reveal one's own authentic nature (*svasvabhāva*). This state of realization however is a state of consciousness which although beyond all other states pervades them

and as one's own nature (*svabhāva*) is a unique personal state of being (*svasvabhāva*) endowed with both agency (*kartṛtva*) as well as cognizing subjectivity (*jñātrtva*) as its inherent quality (*akritṛmadharma*). It is this that is Śiva's nature and not the emptiness of the absence of Being.

Chān. Up.	:	Chāndogyopaniṣad
Pr. Hṛ.	:	Pratyabhijnāhṛdaya
V. B.	:	Vijnānabhairava
L. A. S.	:	Luptāgamasamṛgraha
Ś. Sū. vā.	:	Sivasūtravārtika
Ś. Sū. vi.	:	Sivasūtravimarsinī
SvT.	:	Svacchandatanṭra,

ON SOME ASPECTS OF TRIPURASUNDARI'S WORSHIP ACCORDING TO YOGINIHRDAYA : THE ROLE OF BHĀVANĀ

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The Yoginihrdaya (YH) with Amṛtānanda's Dipikā (Di) and Bhāskararāya's Setubandha was edited critically for the first time by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj in 1923-24 (2nd. ed. 1963), an edition which until the present day (December 1984) is the only one that can be put to a scholarly use.¹ Progress in research, with the availability of a number of manuscripts of which Gopinathji could not make use in the twenties make it however necessary and possible now to make a new critical edition. This we shall soon have—together with a scholarly study of the traipura literature—thanks to Prof. Vrajvallabh Dwivedi (who wrote a sanskrit *anuprāstāvika* to Gopinath Kaviraj's edition of YH in 1963 and published in 1968 an excellent critical edition of Nityāśodasikārnava (NSA). This should however not be taken as reflecting in any way on the value of Gopinathji's pioneering work in the field of Tripurā tradition, on which he was among the very first to write several scholarly studies. Indeed, anyone working on that tradition cannot but feel very much indebted to him. This debt I would like first to record here, with gratitude.

YH is a text in three chapters (*paṭala*). It is a separate and individual work : it is not the second part of a larger whole in eight chapters of which the Vāmakeśvarimatatantra (also called Nityāśodaśikārnava) would be the first part. The unity of the two texts—which was probably adduced from the words of YH's first śloka (*vāmakeśvaratantre* ‘*sminnajñatārthāḥ tvanekāśāḥ*)—was already believed in Bhāskararāya's time (17-18th century), since he wrote his Setubandha on NSA+YH as if they were one text. The notion however is not supported by more

1. All quotations in this paper refer to the text and pages of that edition (Saraswati Bhavana Granthamāla, Varanasi, 1963). The edition of YH of 1979, in the same collection, is merely a reprint of the preceding one, with a different paging but with all its faults and misprints.

ancient evidence.² Though it was still current in the twenties and even 25 years ago, as shown for instance by Gopinath Kaviraj's introductions to YH, it has since been conclusively proved, especially by Prof. V. V. Dwivedi,³ that the two texts are two different works. They however both originated, it seems, in Kashmir and are closely related to each other as the two basic and probably the two oldest texts still existing of the traipuradarśana. They are very close in style and vocabulary, identical in metaphysics, and they deal with the same subject, the worship of Tripurasundarī, which they tackle from two different points of view, the NŚA being more exoteric, the YH more esoteric.

TH's approach of the subject is especially interesting since it is not that of a mere manual of rituals. It deals with the cult properly so-called (*pūjā*) in its third *paṭala* only. The two first *paṭalas* are concerned with, first the śricakra, Tripurasundarī's ritual diagram, on and with which the *pūjā* is usually done, whereas the second *paṭala* deals with the śrividya,⁴ Tripurā's mantra, also used in the cult. YH's aim, in all three *paṭalas*, is not so much to describe a ritual as to prescribe ways whereby to attain a spiritual realization of the esoteric truths symbolised by (or concealed in) the śricakra and the śrividyā, as well as in their use and interaction during *pūjā*.

Only a full knowledge (*parijñāna*) of such Reality, says Amṛtānanda in the Di., can bring about the fusion of the adept with the Godhead, his identification with the supreme Śiva, the state YH calls *khecaratā* (*khecarah parasivah*, Di, p.11). a condition which results from the implosion of the individual consciousness into the supreme one, a state of fusion, however, which is not acosmic, but that of the fulness of tantric Jivanmukti.

The very name of the text, YH—the Heart of the Yoginī, that is, of the supreme Goddess Tripurasundarī—shows where the emphasis lies. This heart is the “great secret” *mahāguhyam yoginihṛdayam param*, I, 2) : it is the supreme aspect of the deity, since neither senses nor mind can reach it (*manovāgindriyatitativānam-*

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2. I shall refer here only to Amṛtānanda's Dipikā, which may date back to the 13th century, and only exceptionally to Bhāskararāya's Setubandha.
 3. See NŚA, introduction, p. 11.
 4. Gopinath Kaviraj, in the introduction to the 2nd edition of YH, writes that there were twelve different lines of devotion to Tripurasundarī, with twelve different forms of the śrividyā, of which two only would have survived. In fact, these two “surviving” traditions (Kāmarāja and Lopā-mudrā) are the only ones known to Śivānanda, who clearly states in his Rjuvimarśini on NŚA that only these two exist. I believe the twelve traditions to be a later development. They are mentioned in comparatively later texts, such as the Jñānārṇavatantra (chap. 14) or the Tripurā-tāpinī Upaniṣad.

hāguhyatvam, Di, p. 5). Very typical also is the fact that the three *paṭala* of the YH are named : *cakrasaṅketa*, *mantrasaṅketa* and *pūjāsaṅketa*. This, says the text (YH. I, 6), is the threefold *saṅketa* of the Goddess, *trividhaḥ tripuradevyaḥ sanketah*. “*Saṅketa*, writes Amṛtānanda (Di, p. 12), means agreement, convention, observance. Just as two lovers, having agreed, stay [together] in some [chosen] place, even so, [here] the two-Śiva and Śivāni i.e., Śiva and Śakti are present in cakra, mantra and pūja.” Bhāskararāya defines *saṅketa* as *rahasyam rūpam*, the secret aspect of the cakra, etc., and Amṛtānanda also (Di, p. 98) says that *saṅketa*, in the case of the *vidyā*, is its *gudhārtha pradarśanam*.

Śaṅketa is thus an explanation of the inner meaning (s) assigned to cakra, mantra and pūjā, and is also the conventional practice (*samaya*) taught by the tradition. But, more interestingly, as underlined by Amṛtānanda, in the above quotation, *saṅketa* is the agreement between Śiva and Śakti to meet and to be both present in *cakra*, *mantra* and *pūjā*, the three of which are the fields where the cosmic activity of the divine pair takes place. YH, indeed, explains how the constitutive *cakras* of the śrīcakra, as also the phonemes of the śrivid�ā, are none but the divine energies of Śiva and Śakti in their cosmic interplay. Such also is the pūjā, inasmuch as to perform it as prescribed in the third *paṭala* is to re-enact the cosmic play or the Goddess and of her āvaraṇadevatās, together with an identification of the worshipper with this play. The agreement, the productive common presence and union of Śiva and Śakti, is thus internalized by the adept who, understanding the inner meaning of the cakra, mantra and pūjā as he practices and meditates, realizes the presence (*saṅketa*) in these of Śiva and Śakti. He “meets” them there (*saṅketa*). He also does the prescribed ritual and meditations according to the rules (*samaya*, which, says Amṛtānanda, is equivalent to *saṅketa* and means observance) laid down by traditional convention (*saṅketa*). The word *saṅketa* is therefore pregnant with several converging meanings.⁵ The fact that the three chapters of YH are described as disquisitions on these three sorts of *saṅketa* underlines, I believe the central fact that the meaning and purpose of the whole text is to show this dynamic presence of the Goddess (with Śiva), and the necessity for the adept to realize it by means of the ritual practices handed down by tradition from the gods through the siddhas to the human masters (*divyasiddhamānnvaugha*).

The central place of spiritual realization in YH explains the importance given in it to *bhāvanā*, that is, to the creative power of intensely concentrated consciousness. *Bhāvanā*, both creates and presents to the mind’s eye a certain reality

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5. Concerning the role of the notion of *saṅketa* in the *traipurasampradāya*, we may note that one of the texts to which Amṛtānanda refers most often on matters of ritual is called *Saṅketapaddhati*. Unfortunately, no manuscript of that text has been found as yet. It is known only through these quotations.

(*bhāvanā* is producing, displaying), and brings about a mystic non-discursive realization of that reality by saturating, infusing, the mind with it. That consciousness should be credited with such creative power is not surprising in a tradition for whom consciousness is in essence energy, dynamism, power of self-awareness : *cit śakti*, *citkalā*, *cidvimarśaśakti*. Consciousness thus creates what it pictures or proposes to itself, what it projects on the screen of its own self : *cidātma-bhittau*, *svātmabhittau* (cf. YH, I, 56, Di, p. 70). Such is the case not only for the divine cosmic consciousness but also, *mutatis mutandis*, for the human one, which, at its highest level, identical with the supreme Self and whose process of awareness of the world is deemed to parallel that of the divine mind.

This intense activity of consciousness in *bhāvanā* not only produces mental forms, but also brings about an identification, a fusion, with the forms or representations thus elaborated. This is true on the cosmic plane where both the cosmic process and man's enslavement in that process can be compared to a kind of vast oblivion of the primeval Reality by identification with the diversity of forms produced by the divine Consciousness. This is also true on the human level.⁶

When *bhāvanā* is resorted to by an adept, its effectiveness is all the greater since the process of *bhāvanā* (like that of *japa*⁷) is usually not only intense but repetitive, thus saturating the mind with what it produces. Whether one can really attain by *bhāvanā* the deeper recesses of one's soul and eventually contemplate, or be merged into, the Godhead, or whether this only induces a trance-like state by hypnotical auto-suggestion accompanied by a feeling of omnipotence which brings one back, with a belief in magical efficacy, to the narcissistic dreams of childhood, is not for me to decide. But that *bhāvana* does induce "altered states of consciousness", and that this practice plays a fundamental role in such texts as YH and Di, is sure. *Bhāvanā*, *bhāvayet*, *bhāvaniya*⁸ : such terms occur a number of times in YH and are found quite frequently in the Di whenever Amṛtānanda expounds or explains the spiritual paractices the sādhaka is to follow.

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- 6. Hence the importance of remembrance, *smarana*, *smṛti*, especially in Trika, and of recognition, *pratyabhijñā*. The traipuradarśana is in all likelihood "post-pratyabhijñā".
 - 7. See further eown, note 16.
 - 8. Or the terms *vibhāvanā*, *vibhāvita*, *vibhāvayet*, which however occur perhaps more when precise items (deities, cakras, etc.,) are to be visualized, through all these terms are often taken by Amṛtānanda as synonymous. See for instance YH, II, 50-41 and Di, p. 138 where *vibhāvitam* and *smṛtam* are used to the same purpose (to realize the *guṇa* of *rūpa* and of *rasa*) and which Amṛtānanda comments : *smṛtir he bhāvana* (p. 138).

This occurs mainly in the two first *pāṭalas*. First in the *cakrasaṅketa*, where the mental practices for realising the cosmic pattern and dynamism of the śrīcakra imply not only an intellectual understanding of what the cakra stands for (or, better, of what he is, since śrīcakra as well as śrividya are much more than symbols in the usual western uses of the word : they *are* the very reality they represent.) It implies also an inner realization of those patterns and dynamism brought about by an intense creative meditation (*bhāvanā*) during which the different parts of the śrīcakra, with the deities and energies abiding there, are seen and experienced as present in the cakras of the subtle body of the adept.

Mental processes of the same kind are prescribed in the second *pāṭala*, *mantrasaṅketanirūpaṇyam*, where the cosmic co-presence of Śiva and Śakti is to be realised in the śrividya. The method for such a realization is that of the so-called six “meanings” (*artha*).⁹ This makes it necessary for the sādhaka to realize the presence in the śrividya of all the cosmic divisions and divine entities of the system—all of them aspects or forms of Śiva and Śakti—so that the śrividya is understood as being as much of a dynamic and redemptive structure as the śrīcakra. Here also the different parts and aspects of the śrividya are to be understood and experienced as present in the sādhaka’s body through processes of tantric yoga where visualizations of all these parts and aspects, as well as of those of the centers of the subtle body, are necessary—and are brought about by *bhāvanā*. The adept thus creates mentally a diagrammatic and phonic cosmic and theophanic pattern, a pattern which is both visual and auditive (if one say ‘auditive’ when *anāhatanāda* is concerned) which displays itself in the universe as well as in himself—or rather that displays itself both as an internalised pantheon and cosmos and as a cosmicized and divinized interiority, since the various phonic, cosmic and divine elements of the śrividya (with the cosmos and pantheon to which they are identical) are to be considered as present in the various centers of the subtle body.

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9. Ślokas 15 to 80 (out of 85 in all) of the second *patala* expound the sixfold (*sadvidhāḥ*) meaning (*artha*) of the śrividya, that is, six different ways of understanding the meaning of the vidya, both by revealing different symbolic senses of the vidya and by using different spiritual methods to gain insight into these meanings, the highest of which (to be obtained by *bhāvanā*, says Amṛtānanda) is : *vyomātīte pare tattve prakāśānanda vigrahe / viśottirne viśvāmaye tattve svātmaniyojanam* || (YH, II, 74).

Jayaratha, in his Vivaraṇa on Vāmakeśvaraīmatatantra (V, 25-33) tries, not very successfully, to bring the six *artha* in line with the four *upāya* as expounded in Tantrāloka. In an unpublished Kubjikā text, the Kulamūlaratnapañcakāvatāra, the six *artha* are associated with the six *adhvan* as well as with the six cakras of the body, which is also quite arbitrary.

The third *pāṭala*, described as *pūjāsaṅketanirūpaṇam*, is also in many respects a description of exercises in *bhāvanā*.

This *pūjā*, says YH, III, 2, is of a threefold type : it can be *parā*, *parāparā* or *aparā* a classification not uncommon in tantric texts and referring to the greater or lesser degree of subtlety, greater or lesser spiritual aspect, of the cultic process. The spiritual aspect of *pūjā* is however always present in all cases and whatever the tradition concerned, inasmuch as *antaryāga*, a mental *pūjā*, is one of the preliminary parts of all tantric *pūjā*. Also because all ritual acts such for instance as *japa* or *nyāsa* are essentially mental operations. All the *upacāras*, in fact, can be (and have sometimes been described as being) largely mental, since there is no worship without some mental concentration, without a movement of the spirit toward the deity being worshipped. All this is something very general, but it is especially emphasised in YH (and in the Di) due to their esotericising approach, due to the fact that for them the main point in any *pūjā* is always to realize by *bhāvanā* the ultimate non-duality.

Though YH, III, describes in some details¹⁰ the *aparapūjā* only, its description makes it abundantly clear how important *bhāvanā* is to the whole process. It would be interesting to look into this, but this cannot be done within the compass of this article. I shall therefore only mention here what is said (in ślokas 3 to 7) about the *parāpūjā*.

This is described in śl. 3 as *advaitabhāvasthā* and *sarvaprasaragocarā*. By this we are to understand, according to Amṛtānanda (Di, p. 192), that in such a *pūjā* there happens an expansion of non-duality manifested by the fact that the mind of the worshipper fuses into the highest consciousness (*cillaryalakṣaṇādvaitaprathā parā pūjā*). This is so because the movements of the senses all converge toward the same goal, that is, the complete absorption into absolute Consciousness. Amṛtānanda quotes in this connection two stanzas from Vijnānabhairava which explain how the adept can use all external elements of ritual worship, or more generally all sense objects, as means or as incentives to fuse into the realization of the non-dual Ultimate.¹¹ This possibility of using the senses so as to transcend

10. Not in all details since, as said before, YH is not a manual of ritual.

11. Vijnānabhairava, 72 :

jagdhīpānakṛtollāsarasāsvādavijṛmbhānat |
bhāvayed bharitāvasthām mahānandas tatobhavet ||

Such as utilisation of the senses for liberation in life is in conformity with the tantric view, which is : not to sacrifice this world to the goal of liberation and especially not to renounce *kāma*, but on the contrary to use it for the attainment of this very goal which is not that of forsaking all worldly joys, but of enjoying the world by dominating it through a transcending of all dualities.

them, to use the physical, concrete, aspect of pūjā so as to realize the supreme Godhead, is emphasized in the last words of ślokas 4-7 which describe the *parāpūjā*. This is how they run :

“Having mentally considered the *gurupādukā*, which gladdens and fills the universe by pouring on it the supreme amṛta, as being in the *vāgbhava* which abides in the forest of the great lotus, (the adept) is inebriated by the nectar of the spiritual realization of the supreme non-duality. His mind’s eye is intent on following the movement taking place in the heart. His mind being turned inwards and disregarding the discourse of *vikalpa*. (he participates in) the immeasurable beauty (which appears when) all contraction is destroyed by the shining forth of Consciousness”.¹²

Like many other passages of YH, which often compresses a long and complex meaning into a short and cryptic sentence, these ślokas are rather obscure. Amṛtānanda, however, makes it clear that a *bhāvanā* is to take place by which the adept shall visualize and meditate the *gurupādukā*, that is, the supreme Śiva, in the supreme “triangular” Energy wherein abide the four *vāc* (*parā* etc. hence the name *vāgbhava* : *vāco bhavantyasmād iti vāgbhavam trikonam*)—that is, Śiva united with Śakti—as being in the thousand-petalled lotus of the brahmaraṇḍhra. The sādhaka then experiences the divine essence, the amṛta, issuing from Śiva’s union, as filling him with agitation and drunkenness (he is *ghūrṇita*),¹³ a condition of joy and effervescence which is in fact the realization of the supreme non-duality : This *bhāvanā* without duality of the supreme Śiva, writes the Dī, is a complete absorption (*samāveśa*) in “I am This” (*saivāham asmi*), “this” being the amṛta, the inebriating essence of the supreme Śiva.”¹⁴

While this is going on, the adept must remain immutably intent upon the movement which takes place in his heart (*dahara* : the inner space as defined by the

12.

mahāpadmavanāntasthe vāgbhave gurupādukām |
āpāyitajagadrūpyām paramārtavarṣiṇīm || 3 ||
sañcintya paramādvaitabhāvanāmṛtaghūrṇitah
daharāntarasamsarpannād ālokanatatparaḥ || 4 ||
vikalparūpasamsjalpavimukho 'ntarmukhaḥ sadā |
citkalollāsadalitasāṅkocastvatisundaraḥ || 7 ||
indriyaprīyanadravyair vihitasyātmapūjanah |

13. According to Abhinavagupta (Tantrāloka, V 105), this state appears when a yogin, in *āṇavopāya*, fuses into the highest Reality, realises his identity with the universe.

14. Here are Amṛtānanda’s words : *paramaśiva tenādvaitabhāvanā saivāhamāsmīti samāveśarūpā saivāmṛtam ityabhivyajyate, madahetutvāt.* |

Upaniṣad).¹⁵ This movement, says the Di, is the primordial inner *anāhatanāda*. The sādhaka, concentrating on that inner vibration, must turn away from any sort of discourse (*samjalpa*) or discursive, conceptual, duality (*vikalpa*). It may be worth noting here that this concentration on *anāhatanāda* is called by Amṛtānanda a *japa*—which, he says, consists in collecting one's thoughts and turning them intently on to the inner *nāda*—āntaram nāda-n anusandhānalakṣaṇam *japam* (p. 196). The *japa* which is only the uttering of words or letters, he says, is to be shunned, since words & letters belong to the realm of *vikalpa*, whereas *japa*, for him, is akin to *dhyāna*, excluding all conceptual constructs. He quotes in this respect Yogasūtra, III, 2 : *pratyāyaikatānatā dhyānam* and śloka 146 of Vijñānbhairava which defines *dhyāna* as *niścalatā buddhir nirākārā nirāśrayā* : unswerving mind, without any image, without support. Thus *japa* appears as being nearer to *bhāvanā* than to any ordinary type of religious recitation or uttering.¹⁶

Thus, says Amṛtānanda, the adept will be able to realize the non-duality of the supreme Śiva : *paramaśivādvaitabhāvanāparah*. For him all duality disappears : no “contraction” (*saṅkoca*), that is on limitation or division in consciousness is there any more. All this is washed away by the surging wave of the pure Ocean of Consciousness. This, says he, is how one is to imagine the total plenitude of the supreme I (*paripūrṇahambhāvah*)¹⁷. It is immeasurably beautiful because it is the condition of one who is “inseparably united with the supreme Śiva, object of supreme love, supremely beautiful, abiding in the splendor of the energy of supreme consciousness called Mahātripurasundari.¹⁸

There follows, after śloka 7, a line which may look rather an anti-climax coming as it does after the prescriptions we've just seen : *indriya-*

15. See Chandogyopaniṣad, 8.1, 11.

16. In fact, when later on in the description of *aparapīṭā* (YH, III, 170-190) a *japa* is prescribed, this *japa* is not a mere muttering or uttering of the śrīvidyā, but a very complex *bhāvanā* based on it.

17. *Aham*, in such cases, is the Self as identical with the Absolute as it is defined in Utpaladeva's Ajaḍapramātrśiddhi, 22 : *prakāśasyātmaviśrāntir ahambhāvo hi kirtitah*.

18. Di, p. 196 : *mahātripurasundarīnāmadheyaparacitkalollāsāspadaparamasundaraparamapremāspadaparmaśivāhhinnah*.

One may note here the term *pāramapremāspada* applied to the Śiva. It is used eight times in Di, though it is not a usual expression in Śiva texts from Kashmir. It is applied to the ātman-brahman by Mandana Miśra in his Brahmasiddhi, a work which, precisely, Amṛtānanda quotes once in the Di.

prīṇānadravyair vihitasvātmapūjanah, “the pūjā prescribed to one’s own Self¹⁹) [is to be done] with substances pleasing to the senses”. This can be taken as applying generally to the *aparapūjā* the description of which begins on the next line, and such is indeed Bhāskarāya’s interpretation (p. 197-8). Amṛtānanda however connects these words with the preceeding lines, taking them explicitely as applying to *parāpūjā*. This, he says, consists in attaining perfect and unitive fusion with the Supreme thanks to the great bliss born from the pleasurable experience of sense-objects such as sounds, etc.” (*indriyāṇि śrotrādini, teṣāmu prīṇānāni dravyāṇi viśiṣṭasabdasparśarūparasagandhāḥ tair vihitam svātmadadevatāyāḥ pūjanam yena tathāvidhaḥ*), a view in support of which he quotes §1. 72 Vijñānabhairava.²⁰

In fact, there seems to be no such sensuous elements in the *parāpūjā* as we have just seen it. In saying this however Amṛtānanda surely wishes to stress the fact that this is a practice of a very high order, as the parā pūjā. More specifically, he underlines thus the necessity of using always all items of the ritual practice not only as introducing to the realization of the esoteric content and meaning of the cakra, the mantra and the pūjā, but also as means whereby to attain fusion with the godhead. What is always to be achieved is not simply the rather formal ritual identification of the worshipper with the deity worshipped which takes place in the first part of all tantric pūjās (according to the saying *nādevo devam arcayet*—a saying which precisely Bhāskarāya quotes a propos of this line). It is the deep and total identification on the *sādhaka* with the godhead—*samāveśa, samarsikarana, sāmarasya*—: the fusion of his limited self into the boundless Consciousness that is Mahātripurasundarī.

This systematic underscoring both of the attainment of esoteric knowledge and of union with the godhead is a fundamental trait of YH and of its commentary by Amṛtānanda.

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- 19. The Godeess being considered identical with the Self is sometimes called *ātmadevatā*.
 - 20. Several tantric texts (for instance Abhinavagupta’s *Parātrīśikalaghuvartī*) insist on the role of the beauty of the cult as an incentive to, or as a means for, mystical experience.

PHILOSOPHY OF ŚAKTISM

B. N. PANDIT

The academic development of both Śaivism and Śaktism has its roots in Agamic scriptures called Tantras. The theistic absolutism of monistic character is the main metaphysical principle of the Tantric monism and is also the inner-most secret of the higher theological pursuit of the Tantrism. Higher Tantric philosophy sees the only basic source of all phenomena in the infinite, all perfect and pure absolute consciousness having perfect Godhead as its essential and basic nature. Such pure consciousness is an absolutely monistic reality without having any internal variety or *Svagatabheda*, as propounded by philosophers like Rāmānuja. Besides, it is neither conditioned by time, nor by space, nor by any particular appearance, all of which are just some outward manifestations of its own divine powers. All phenomena, that appear anywhere, enjoy their basic existence within such absolute consciousness, the divine power of which (consciousness) is their internal form. Such divine and infinite consciousness is playful by its basic nature. Its divine playfulness keeps on vibrating inwardly and outwardly. The ideas of inwardness and outwardness do not mean here any concept of space with respect to either the absolute consciousness or its playful activity. The subjective self-awareness, shining as pure 'I', is said to be inwardness and an objective awareness, appearing as 'this', is meant by outwardness. Such double-edged awareness, illuminating I-ness and this-ness, is appearing in the multifarious forms of 'this-ness' and its such static aspect is termed as its Śivahood. The natural playfulness of such pure consciousness manifests the divine activities of cosmic creation, preservation and dissolution of the objective phenomenon, as well as the self-oblivion and self-recognition on the part of the subjective phenomenal beings. Such playful aspect of the absolute consciousness is termed as its Śaktihood. The absolute consciousness is thus both Śiva and Śakti.

If the absolute consciousness were shorn of its playful Śaktihood, as propounded by Advaita Vedāntins, it would lose all charm and would come down to the position of insentient *śūnya* as pointed out by Abhinavagupta (T-A 3-100). Rāmānuja calls such Vedāntins as *Pracchanaa* Bauddhas or crypto-Buddhists. Śaktihood is thus the most essential aspect of the absolute reality. In fact it is its

Śakti aspect on account of which it is accepted as Almighty God. As has been said above, the noumenal aspect of God does not undergo any change or transformation, as apprehended by Vedāntins, even while the playful phenomenal aspect of this fivefold Godhead is being constantly manifested outwardly by him, because all such manifestations take place in the manner of a reflection. The divine powers of the absolute consciousness become reflected outwardly within the brilliance of the psychic luminosity of its pure consciousness. Right appears as left and left as right in a reflection. A person facing east sees his reflection in a mirror as facing west. The divine powers of the absolute consciousness shine always as infinite and all containing ‘I’, but their reflections appear as “this” and that is the secret of the phenomenality of all phenomena.

The monistic absolute consciousness, while thought over and spoken of by philosophers in its noumenal aspect, is termed as Śiva and the same absolute reality, while discussed in its phenomenal aspect, is termed as Śakti. The absolute reality is to be understood well and realised actually in both of its aspects. Then and then alone can the knowledge of an aspirant become perfect and only such perfect knowledge of the truth can yield the highest fruits of life. It is thus clear that the two terms, Śiva and Śakti, have been coined and two concepts of Śivahood and Śaktihood have been formed with respect to the only existent absolute reality by spiritual philosophers for the purpose of clear understanding of the highest truth about it and also for the sake of contemplative meditation on it. Therefore Śiva and Śakti are not at all any mutually different entities, nor is any of them different from Paramaśiva, the monistic Absolute of the Tantric Śaivism.

Śaivism and Śaktism have both been discussed as one and the same school of thought in the main Āgamas of the monistic Śaivism of Tantric character. Later authors of some philosophic treatises and religio-philosophic hymns have afterwards expressed greater devotion to the Śakti aspect of the Absolute and are being therefore talked about as Śaktas. Some of the later Āgamic and mythological works have, likewise, adopted such views and are therefore counted as works on Śaktism. But, if examined in the light of theoretical principles of philosophy and practical doctrines of theology, both Śaivism and Śaktism come out to be one and the same school of thought.

Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna is one of such authors who is spoken of as a Śākta. In his *Tattvagarbha stotra* eulogising the absolute reality, he addresses it as ‘Ambike’ and ‘Śive’ both words being used as feminine in gender, and calls it ‘*Parā Ambā*’, the universal Mother Goddess. He describes Śiva, Sadāśiva, Īśvara etc. as different modes or states of Parā-Ambā. Somānanda, the builder of the philosophy of Śaiva monism, criticises such mode of Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna. While doing so, he says that the difference between him and such authors of Śaktism lies only in

the use of the name given to the absolute reality, which, in his opinion, should be Śiva in masculine gender and not Ambā etc. in feminine. Thus says he :

“Tathā tadvyapadeśaścedvyapadeśah Sivātmakah.” Utpaladeva while commenting on *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, refers to Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna as a “Svayūthya”, a thinker belonging to his own group, the group of Śaivas, because he was the chief disciple of Bhaṭṭa Kallata, a prominent teacher of Śaiva monism.

Abhinavagupta, while eulogising *Kāli*, the absolute divine power of God, in his *Kramastotra*, appears to be a typical Śākta, though towards the close of the hymn he says that he has thus eulogised Śiva, because he took Kālī as the divine power of Śiva, the Absolute God. Two verses from some other hymn composed by him have been quoted in his commentary on *Bhagavadgītā* (G.S.P. 156). These verses also show him as a typical Śākta. That is because he had tasted the charms of both the transcendental and universal aspects of the real self. Somānanda says in clear terms that Śiva is Śakti and Sakti is Śiva though, in the light of the grammatical significance of the two words, he prefers the word Śiva, denoting a substantial entity, to the word Śakti, denoting simply the essential nature of such entity (S. D. II. 2,3 and 7). It is thus a matter of mere use of a particular name given to the absolute reality on account of which different teachers and authors of Tantric philosophy of the absolute monism are being taken either as Śaivas or as Śāktas. Such use of the different names of the absolute, made by them, depends on the intensity of their respective devotional faith in either of the two main aspects of the absolute.

In fact the Śakti aspect of the Ābsolute God appears to be much more charming than His Siva aspect, because His godhead shines for us with a greater brilliance in the former rather than in the latter. The absolute reality, shorn of its Godhead would mean a dreadful and tasteless nihilism for us. All charm in the Almighty God lies in His being capable and inclined to manifest His Godhead through His five divine activities of cosmic creation etc. The *Brahmavāda* of *Upaniṣads* would come very close to the *Śūnyavāda* of Budhism if Brahman were shorn of its natural inclination toward divine activities aimed at phenomenal evolution, as pointed out by Abhinavagupta in his *Parātrīśikā-vivarāṇa* (P. 221). Such evolution is therefore due to the essential nature of Brahman and such nature is His Godhead or Śakti. It is not due to any contact with any entity other than Brahman. Māyā, the source of unconscious phenomena, is not thus an *upādhi* but a prominent aspect of Śakti, the natural Godhead of Brahman, the great God. Not God, but His Godhead is known as *Tripurasundarī*, the most beautiful entity in the three domains of unity, diversity and diversely appearing unity. Śakti alone is Lalitā, the personification of all sweet tenderness. All theological conceptions, about Śakti are so immensely full of aesthetic beauty in their expression that aspirants with highly developed faculties of heart feel

greater delight in contemplation on Śaktihood of the Lord and consequently appear as Śāktas. But aspirants, having a higher development in the faculties of head, prefer pure philosophic knowledge and practice in higher Yoga resulting in the realization of self bliss. Such devotees of Lord Śiva are taken as Śaivas. It is on such account that teachers like Somānanda and Utpaladeva are taken as Śaivas while those like Bhaṭṭapradhyumna are taken as Śāktas. Great Siddhas like Abhinavagupta, who were equally advanced in the development of the faculties of both, head and heart, appear as both Śaivas and Śāktas.

Śaivism adopts Śāktism in its theological practice. The practical path of monistic Śaivism leads to the realization of the real nature of the Self. A practitioner becomes fully satisfied on realising himself as none other than God Himself. His belief in the truth of his identity with God becomes firm only when he feels actually that he is really capable of knowing and doing whatever he likes to know and do. He has thus to realize his three divine powers known as *Icchā*, *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* which are included among the primary powers of Śiva. Realization of Śakti is thus the means to build a firm belief in one being Śiva. An aspirant can really recognize himself as Śiva only when he realizes the divine powers of Śiva in him. Śakti has therefore been spoken of as the face of Śiva because it helps in recognizing one's own self as Śiva. Thus says *Vijñānabhairava* : “*Śaivī mukham ihocaye*” (V. Bh 20). The Trika system of practical Śaivism recognizes the whole phenomenon as consisting of the trinity of Śiva, Śakti and Nara, the finite being along with his insentient environment. Śiva comes down to the position of Nara through his extrovertive movement on the outward path of His Śakti. Nara has to ascend to the position of Śivahood by the means of his introvertive march through the inward path of Śakti. Śakti serves Śiva in descending to the position of phenomenal existence and the same Śakti serves a finite being to ascend to the position of Śiva. Thus says *Spandakārikā* about such fact—

Seyam Kriyātmikā Śaktih Śivasya Paśu-vartini,
Bandhayitrī svamārgasthā Jñatā Siddhyupapādikā (S. K. 48)

All deities right from Sadāśiva to petty Grāmadevatās, who are worshipped by Śaiva aspirants in the practice of Śaiva theology are the outward manifestations of the different Śaktis of Śiva and their worship is thus the worship of Śakti. Śāktism is thus an integral part of Śaivism. It is on such account that many Śaktas of the present age count Śaiva works like *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta and *Spandakārika* of Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa as works on Śāktism. Most of the *Mantras* used in the theology of Śaivism are Śākta in their character and so is the worship Śrīcakra, the Tantric diagram representing the whole system of the hierarchy of Tantric deities. The highly sophisticated Tantric *Sādhanā* by means of five *Makāras* is essentially Śāktic in character and so are all the rituals connected with dīkṣā and other theological performances of monistic Śaivism discussed in

detail in *Tantrāloka* Śāktism and Śaivism cannot thus be at all separated mutually. Both of them move together hand in hand.

Most of the teachers of Śāktism devoted themselves only to the propagation and practice of Tāntric theology yielding worldly, heavenly and spiritual aims of life. They did not at all try to work out a philosophy of their own. Instead they accepted the philosophic principle of Śaiva monism which served their purpose quite sufficiently. The whole system of the Śākta theology is finally aimed at the attainment of *Śivasāyujya*, an inseparable union-cum-unity with Śiva. Both Śaivism and Śāktism are thus mutually complementary aspects of one and the same philosophy of Tantric Monism.

There are just a few points on account of which some works by Tantric teachers and practitioners are being taken as works on Śāktism. One of such points of distinction is the importance given by such Śākta practitioners to the aesthetic beauty in the expression of certain theological doctrines of Tantrism. The other one is their motherly conception about the Absolute. In Tantric philosophy Śiva is the original creator of the whole phenomenal existence. He creates it out of his Śakti and Śakti lends Him co-operation and participation in such act of cosmic creation. Such principle of abstract philosophy tempted some sentimental theologians to think metaphorically and to take Śiva and Śakti as the fatherly and motherly aspects of God. Such tendency developed further and the devotees started to take them as an actually married divine couple and that gave a chance to sentimental and emotional writers of theology and other artists to present them vividly as such and in this way developed an aesthetically rich descriptive poetry regarding Śiva and Śakti in the field of religion, theology and secular art. *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa is one of the best examples of such aesthetic richness of secular poetic art leaning towards religio-theological tradition. Similarly rich aesthetic beauty in the description of the Mother Goddess Śakti can be seen in religio-philosophic poems of some great yogins. *Saundaryalaharī* of Śankarāchārya is a rich example of such poetic art. Sage Durvāsas showers immense aesthetic beauty, through the medium of a wonderfully sweet poetry, on the description of the divine couple in his *Lalitā-stava-ratna* which describes both *Kāmeśvara* Śiva and his counter part, *Lalitā*, the Mother Goddess Śakti. Immensely beautiful stone art in ancient temples at places like Khajuraho, Jagannathpuri, Bhuvaneśvara etc. is other important example of highly developed aesthetics in such Tantric theology.

Some abstract philosophic concepts are very often personified and brought down to human level. These are then described in human terms by the imaginative and sentimental devotees. Tantric worshippers of Śakti carried such tradition to its climax and that made Śāktism very interesting system of theology. Such aesthetic character of the works of Śāktas is an important mark of distinction which gives them the name Śāktism.

One more mark of such distinction is the use of a peculiar type of terminology. Absolute consciousness, the only metaphysical truth accepted in Tantric monism, is known as Parama-Śiva among Śaivas, while the Śākta writers prefer the use of the term Parā Samvit, the transcendental consciousness. Another name given by some of Tantric writers to it is *Kalātīta* tattva. Kalā in Tantrism is that divine art of the absolute reality which results in the manifestation of the five divine activities of cosmic creation etc. and *Kalātīta* is thus the transcendental pure consciousness shining beyond the concept of *Kalā*. It is the same absolute reality as the *Parmaśiva* of Śaiva monism and the *Para-brahman* of the Upanisads. Parāsamvit, according to Śākta writers, keep; itself always charged with the spiritual stir of Godhead termed as Kalā which is ever playful in its nature. Such divine and playful stir *Parā-samvit*, the pure infinite and potent consciousness, is always taking up the form of a strong will towards outward manifestation. Such will is known as *Icchā*. It is not a desire for anything not attained, nor is it any stir for the fulfilment of any want, but a strong, playful and unrestricible will to manifest the divine nature (of the godhead) of the Parāsamvit outwardly as well. *Kalātīta* charged with such divine will to manifest itself outwardly, is termed in Śāktism as *Vindu*. It is different from *Bindu*. The term *Vindu* suggests the powerful charge of the divine will mentioned above. Scholars devoted to Tantric monism see a suggestion towards such principle of independent theistic will in a *Sūtra* of Pāṇini uttering the word ‘*Vinduh*’ with the word ‘*icchuḥ*’ in one and the same sutra and such sutra in the *Aṣṭādhyāyi Sūtra Pāṭha* of Pāṇini is “*Vinduḥ icchuḥ*” (III-ii-169).

Such Tāntric thinkers feel that Pāṇini, a great devotee of Śiva, suggests here the fact that *Vindu* is *icchu*. They mean to say that Pāṇini suggests that the transcendental truth, when charged with *icchā* or divine will is termed as *Vindu*. The term is derived from the root *vid* jñāne, suggesting self-luminosity and self-awareness of the absolute pure consciousness. *Vindu* in Śāktism is thus the self-luminous pure and potent consciousness charged with the divine will to manifest outwardly its nature of Godhead. It is thus the same principle as that of the Śivatattva of Śaiva monism. Abhinavagupta explains it thus :—

उदितायां क्रियाशक्तौ सोमसूर्याग्निधामनि ।
अविभागः प्रकाशो यः स विन्दुः परमो हि नः ॥

(तं आ०, III-111)

Uditāyām Kriyā śaktau soma-sūryāgni-dhāmani;
Avibhāgah prakāśo yaḥ sa vinduḥ paramo hi naḥ. (T. A. III-111)

Kalā is the essential nature of *Kalātīta* called also as *Parāsamvit*. That is to say that it is Godhead which is the divine nature of God. When *Parāsamvit* appears as *Vindu*, *Kalā* also shines in it and appears as a strong extrovertive stir

termed as *icchā* with which *Vindu* remains ever-charged. *Kalā*, appearing as such extrovertive stir, manifests *Vindu* in two forms known in Śaktism as *Nāda* and *Bindu*. *Nāda* is the primary result of the stir of *Kalā* in *Vindu*. *Vindu* is pure consciousness, alone shining as infinite and potent I-ness. No trace of this-ness appears in *Vindu*. But when it comes down outwardly to the position of *Nāda*, it starts to bear a faint reflection of this-ness that shines very slightly in the brilliant luminosity of I-ness and the self-consciousness of *Nāda* takes the form of "I am this"; I-ness being the subjective element and this-ness the objective one. That is the position of *Sadāśivatattva* of Śaivism.

The name *Nāda* given to it is not an arbitrary usage. The word *Nāda* means sound in its ordinary use. Sound is generally an outward expression of the inward awareness of some idea, emotion, sensation, feeling etc. *Nāda* being basically an awareness and sound is an external form of an internal awareness. The element of this-ness is always shining inside *Vindu* in the form of its self-awareness glittering as infinite "I". The same element starts to shine as "this" at the stage of *Nāda*. Which is thus the outward expression of the inward self-awareness and is therefore termed as such. *Nāda* is thus the first flutter of outward creation by *Vindu*.

Nāda evolves further into *Bindu*. *Bindu* is not the same entity as *Vindu*. The term *Bindu* is derived from the root *Bidiravayave*, meaning bifurcation of one into many. Such a phenomenon becomes clearly manifest at the stage of the manifestation of *Īśvaratattva* of Śaivism, where diversity shines predominantly and pushes unity to back ground by robbing it of the prominence it enjoyed at the stage of *Nāda*. The self-awareness at the stage of *Bindu* takes the form of "This is myself." This-ness, shining here predominantly, takes the position of subject and pushes I-ness to the position of predicate. The bifurcation of unity into diversity becomes clear at such state of self-awareness and is therefore termed as the stage of *Bindu*. It is such awareness that bifurcates clearly the basic unity and differentiates distinctly the manifestable from the manifestor. Both *Nāda* and *Bindu* are two outward manifestations of the *Kalā* of *Parā-samvit* descended to the position of the divine power of *Vindu*. *Vindu* and *Bindu* are many times confused mutually because the sound 'Va' is often confused with the sound 'ba.' In fact one and the same divinely potent pure consciousness, standing itself in the position of cause and effect, (or source and evolute), is termed respectively as *Vindu* and *Bindu*. These are thus the causal and consequent aspects of pure consciousness. *Vindu* is the *Prakāśa* aspect of *Parā-samvit*. It is its *Śivahood* and *Nāda* is its Śaktihood, the *Vimarṣa* aspect. *Prakāśa* is *jñāna* above relativity and *Vimarṣa* is such *Kriyā*. *Prakāśa* is the psychic Lustre of consciousness and *Vimarṣa* is its activity of being conscious. That shines as its *kalā* and manifests *Nāda* and *Bindu*. *Bindu* attains predominance in mundane transactions in which *Nāda* has to depend on it. We speak of only that which shines in our awareness. That is the position of *Nāda* and *Bindu* in the field of *Māyā*. That is how Śaktism explains

the monistic metaphysical truth and its essential nature. It is thus in perfect agreement with Śaiva monism so far as its metaphysics and ontology are concerned, though there is some difference between the two in the matter of the use of philosophic terminology. Even such Śākta terms are used in Śaivism in the aspect of its theology.

The universe, according to Indian philosophy, consists of names and forms. These have their origin in the Nāda and Bindu of Śaktism. Nāda is awareness that appears as sound in its extroversion and is thus the source of all names formed of sounds. In the Yoga practices of Śaktism, Śakti is visualized as Bindu, a brilliantly shining dot in the centre between one's two eyebrows. Brilliance is the basis of the appearance of all forms in the universe. Only such a form is seen as a form which shines in light. Light appears thus as all forms. The source of light visualized by Śāktas is Bindu. The whole phenomenal existence is therefore recognized as *Nādabindumaya*, as described by Śaiva Nāgārjuna in his *Paramār-cana-trīṁśikā*—“*Nādabindu-māyā-bhāva-saṅcayam*.” (P. Tr. 16). Many Śākta yogins have had visions of the basic source of all phenomena in the form of sound and light, “*Jyotirmayī vāñmayī*.” Nāda and Bindu are thus the primary results of the outward *Spanda* of *Kalā*. Such finer results of *Kalā* appear at the stage of *Vidyā*, the stage of unity in diversity. Further outward vibratory movement of *Kalā*, taking the form of perfect diversity appears as Māyā, the impure element that covers the pure consciousness, hides its divinity, purity, infinity etc; and present it as *puruṣa*, or the finite being. It binds consciousness with the five limiting elements of *Kalā*, *Kāla*, *Niyati* etc. Besides, it shines itself as the unbifurcated form of all mental and physical phenomenal elements in their finer aspect. Afterwards it grows into *prakṛti*, the subtle form of all such phenomena. *Prakṛti* evolves into thirteen instrumental and ten objective elements of the Sāmkhya and those serve as the components of all worlds, all bodies of finite beings and all the objects of their senses and organs. All this is the outward manifestation of the *Kalā* of the Parā-samvit brought about by Her playful and independent will in the manner of an outward reflection in the view of Śaktism which is thus in perfect agreement with most of the cosmogonical, ontological and metaphysical principles of monistic Śaivism, though these are expressed through the use of a different terminology.

Śaktism does not at all accept Māyā as an *upādhi* or outward associate element making the pure consciousness or Samvit appear falsely as Īśvara, Jīva and the insentient existence, as maintained by Advaita Vedanta of Śankara. Śaktism proclaims it to be an outward manifestation of the *Kalā* of Parā-samvit which has the absolute Godhead as its basic and essential nature. Parā-samvit, vibrating outwardly in accordance with its free and playful will, takes itself the form of all phenomena, including Māyā and its evolutes. It shines itself in the form of all

tattvas right from Nāda to prithvī in the manner of a reflection. The phenomenal existence is thus Parā-samvit itself. The universe, being basically such samvit, is real. It is not the son of a barren woman. Being the manifestation of the Kalā of Parāsamvit, it is to be taken as real. That is the realism propounded by Śaktism which agrees perfectly with Śaiva monism in the details of the principle of its cosmogony.

As for the cosmology of Śaivism and Śaktism, both have nearly a total agreement in it. The system, of the divine hierarchy of higher and lower deities of male and female sexes, running the whole universe as a cosmos in accordance with the divine will of the Absolute consciousness, is almost one and the same in both of them. The only difference is in the emphasis on the authority of male and female deities. Śaivism gives importance to male deities and Śaktism gives it to their female counter-parts.

A highly important topic in Śaktism, on which many Śākta works lay great emphasis, is the contemplative meditation on the philosophic significance of Praṇava, that is, Omkara. Praṇava has been accepted by several schools of Indian philosophy as the name of the highest reality. According to both Śaiva monism and Śaktism, such reality manifests itself in numerous forms and aspects. It is generally to be realized in its twelve gradually higher aspects by a Yogin who proceeds by steps towards perfect self-realization. Thus says Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka :—

“Śrayed bhrū-bindu-nādānta-Śakti-sopāna-Mālikām.” (T-A. V-57)

“A Yogin may take the support of the steps of the ladder consisting of Bindu, Nāda, Nādānta and Śaktis.” All such higher and lower steps, as counted by Śāktas and Śaivas, are taken as digits of Praṇava which are twelve in number and in their ascending order those are :—

1. Akāra, 2. Ukāra, 3. Makāra, 4. Bindu, 5. Ardha-candra, 6. Nirodhī,
7. Nāda, 8. Nādānta, 9. Kuṇḍalī-Śakti, 10. Vyāpinī Śakti 11. Samanā Śakti
and 12. Unmanā. The Vedānta philosophy knows only the initial three of such
digits of Praṇava, but Śāktas and Śaivas have explored twelve of them. They have
not discussed the first three of them in detail as these are well known to students
of Indian philosophy. Their discussion starts generally from Bindu. Some authors
have not analysed them so minutely and have taken Ardhacandra and Nirodhī as
some finer aspects of Bindu. In the same way Nādānta has been taken as a higher
aspect of Nāda in some works. But generally the number of the digits of Omkāra,
known as praṇava Kalās, has been accepted as twelve as mentioned above.

The exact philosophic significance of subtler theology has been kept a secret
by Śākta authors. They have not clarified it. Therefore Śaktism does not throw
clear light on the important topic of the Kalās of Praṇava. But, as has been

mentioned above many times, monistic Śaivism accepts Śaktism as its own practical aspect. Śaiva authors were sufficiently broad-minded in throwing some light even on the topics of highly secret nature. Therefore they have discussed the topic of the higher digits of Praṇava in their works on the practical side of Śaiva monism. The philosophic and the theological significance of the digits from Bindu to *Unmanā* have been clarified by more than one author of monistic Śaivism, though the topic is basically an important item of Śaktism. Such works are :—

- 1—Svacchanda Tantra.
- 2—Netra Tantra.
- 3—Triśirobhairava.
- 4—Commentaries of Kṣemarāja and Śivopādhyāya on Vijñānbhairava.

Svacchanda Tantra mentions simply the names of such digits of Praṇava and adds three statements in this respect. It says :

- (a) The position absolutely free from all misery (of finitude and ideation) lies beyond the twelfth digit called *unmanā*.
- (b) Such digits of Praṇava can be realised by a Yogin inside the movement of his vital breath (SV. T 255-57).
- (c) The whole field upto the end of Samanā is an endless web of bondage (Ibid IV 432).

Netra Tantra, describing such digits of Praṇava from the philosophic point of view with regard to the process of cosmic creation, throws light on them in a descending order :

It works out such minute analysis of the stages and sub-stages in such creation which is not generally calculated in the main philosophic works of either Śaivism or Śaktism. The sum and substance of the concerned passage of that Tantra is given below :

1. *Unmanā* is the highest, subtle and divine power of the absolute consciousness shining at the stage of Śiva (the Bindu of Śaktism).
2. The initial flutter of Spanda, Shaking up the mere tranquil existence of *Unmanā*, is termed as Samanā-Śakti.
3. The same flutter of Spanda, embracing the whole concept of time and space, along with their varieties, known as the six paths of outward expansion, is termed as Vyāpini-Śakti.
4. The divine power, which embraces into itself the whole phenomenal existence, and emits it out, time and again, is termed as *Kuṇḍalī* Śakti.

5. Nādānta is that aspect of the next digit, called Nāda, which stands very close to *Kuṇḍalī-Śakti*.
6. Sphoṭa, the pure universal self-awareness, free from all mental ideation, is known as Nāda. It emanates out of Śiva and, proceeding in full speed, fills the whole phenomenal existence with the divine subtle-sound of its self-awareness. It is the position of Sadāśiva.
7. Nirodhī is the position between *Sadāśiva* and *Īśvara*. It stops ideation formed of word-images from penetrating above and does not allow any deities of lower status to take up the position of the Absolute God.
8. Such a step in the process of phenomenal evolution at which the nectar of Śivahood, showering on the head of *Īśvara*, empowers him to conduct cosmic creation, is termed as Ardhacandra. It is the source of creation and the place of absorption of the cosmic existence.
9. That divine power in which an aspirant finds uncountable millions of *mantras* (the secrets of cosmic existence) is termed as Bindu. It is the *Īśvara* tattva of Saivism.
10. Rudra, the super-god presiding over the cosmic absorption, is termed as makāra of Praṇava.
11. Viṣṇu the super-god governing and managing the act of preservation of the universe, is ukāra,
12. Brahmā, the creator of gross existence is Akāra.

The superior digits of Praṇava, from Bindu to Unmanā, have been discussed in *Tantrāloka* and Viveka commentary on it in accordance with the scriptural work named *Triśirobhairava Agama*, the concerned passages of which have been preserved by Jayaratha in the form of quotations in his commentary (T. A. V. vol II, P. 180). Such delineation of the topic follows the process of practical realization of the philosophic truth suggested by such terms and experienced by Yogins in their gradual process of realization of the higher aspects of the real self. Such delineation has been made in an ascending order. The lowermost three digits have been left untouched because of their being already well known. Ardhacandra and Nirodhī have been accepted as finer aspects of Bindu and have not therefore been described separately. The number of digits discussed actually is thus only seven. The sum and substance of such delineation is given below :

1. Bindu is the position of *Īśvara*. It is defined in the Agama as *Kṣepa* meaning emitting out or throwing out through the act of outward manifestation. Bindu is the name given to such step of success in Śiva-Yoga at which a practitioner realizes that he is himself the creator of the entire phenomenon therefore it has been said to be *Kṣepa*. “*Svātmano bhedanam*

- ‘Kṣepah’” (T-Ā-II-74). Ardhacandra and Nirodhi, being finer aspects of Bindu, have not been defined separately in the Āgama.
2. Nāda is the Sadāśiva state and has been defined in the Āgama as *Ākrāntiḥ*, suggesting a sort of mounting over the phenomenal existence and seeing it as non-different from self-consciousness. It is a sort of inward absorption of objectivity. The subjective awareness of I-ness rises over the head of objective awareness of this-ness at the stage of Nāda.
 3. Nādānta is that state of self-realisation in which the awarness of objectivity becomes merged into that of subjectivity and the pure subjective consciousness is aroused. It has therefore been defined as *cid-ubdhava*, the rousing up of pure consciousness.
 4. The pure self-consciousness, realizing its divine potency, and being termed as *Kuṇḍali Śakti*, is called in the Āgama as *ciddīpanam*, meaning the state of kindling up of the infinite and pure consciousness which attains brilliance at such step of self realization.
 5. Vyāpini, according to the Āgama, is the state of stabilization of the above mentioned brightening of the pure self consciousness and has been called there as *cit-sthāpanam*. The high brilliance of self consciousness becomes stable at such step of self-realization.
 6. Samanā is the state of perfect and direct realization of the pure and divinely potent self-consciousness and is therefore defined as *Samvitti of cit*. A Yogin comes face to face with such brilliant consciousness through his intuition of such step.
 7. Unmanā has been defined there as *cipatti*, that is such psychic state in which a practitioner of Yoga feels that he has actually become the brilliant, infinite and divinely potent pure consciousness.

Kṣemarāja, while explaining the same topic in his commentary on *Vijñānbhairava*, does also take such digits of *Pranava* as steps in the process of perfection of a Śiva-Yogin in the realization of the finer aspects of his self. He, taking hints from such Āgamas and *Tantrāloka*, explains the digits from Bindu to *Unmanā* in an ascending order in his own way and tries to clarify the topic further as follows :

1. *Bindu* is that self-consciousness which feels the whole objective existence as being identical with it.
2. When a yogin moves up from such position towards that of *Nāda*, he attains initially such a position at which the awareness of objectivity starts to fade and that is the position of *Ardhacandra* represented by an arch suggestive of the residual impression of the “crookedness” of objectivity through its curvature.

3. At the next higher step of self-realization, where such "crookedness" also vanishes, the self-awareness of the Yogi attains straightness represented and suggested by *Nirodhi*, written as a small vertical line 'I'. Such position of self-consciousness is termed as *Nirodhi* because it stops imperfect Yogins from entering into the position of *Nāda*, on one hand, and, on the other hand, it checks the awareness of clear diversity from penetrating above.
4. *Nāda* is the position of *Sadāśiva*. It is infinite and pure self-consciousness bearing just a faint tinge of the reflection of objectivity. The self-consciousness at such position is aware of itself as "I am this."
5. When even the faint word-image of this-ness fades away, the pure self-awareness of the yogin becomes still finer and such position is known as *Nādānta*.
6. When at the next higher step of self-realization the objective word images get completely dissolved and the pure self-awareness becomes immensely blissful, the yogin attains the position of the divine power termed as *Kundalī Śakti*.
7. That very divine power is termed as *Vyāpinī Śakti* in the higher aspect of all-inclusive self-awareness.
8. At the next higher step in self-realisation, when all positive and negative objectivity subsides completely, the divine power is called *Samanā Śakti*. Here the Yogi discovers himself as none other than the pure consciousness alone.
9. Beyond that shines *Unmanā* the one compact whole of all divine powers (V-Bh, P5).

A Śiva Yogi discovers his divine powers to create, to preserve and to absorb the gross objective phenomena at his free will at such three initial steps in the process of self realization which have been taken as the three initial digits of Praṇava, but have been left undiscussed in all the works mentioned above.

There is some difference between Śāktas and Śaivas in their respective approach to the absolute reality and that, as well as some other points of mutual difference are being discussed in the next few paragraphs —

As has already been said, Śiva and Śakti represent the fatherly and motherly aspects of the Ultimate reality. A fatherly attitude expects strict discipline and ideal good conduct, while a motherly attitude takes into sympathetic consideration the petty weaknesses of beings as well and does not ignore the impact of such weakness on their thinking, behaviour, attitude, conduct etc. The fatherly attitude of the Absolute helps idealistic and disciplined aspirants, possessing sharp intelli-

gence, and carries them to success in their efforts for higher spiritual attainments through knowledge and Yoga. It ignores people hankering after petty enjoyments of worldly and heavenly pleasures. But the motherly attitude of the same Absolute, taking into sympathetic consideration even the human weaknesses of the devotees, helps them even in the achievements of worldly and heavenly enjoyments and leads them gradually towards the higher spiritual aims of life through a path of sublimation of emotions and instincts. It does not insist either on forcible suppression of emotions and instincts or on strict control of mind or even on any starvation of senses and organs. Thus says Dharmāchārya, a great Śākta Yogi, in his *Pañcastavī*:

“Yāce na Kañcana na Kañcana vañcayāmi
Seve na Kañcana nirasta-samasta-dainyāḥ;
Ślakṣṇāṁ vase madhuram admi bhaje varastrīṁ,
Devi hṛdi sphurati me Kila Kāmadhenuḥ.”

(P. S. III. 19)

“Having shed off all pitiable wretchedness, I neither beg, nor deceive, nor serve any one and yet I wear fine and soft clothing, eat sweet dishes and enjoy a beautiful spouse. The Mother Goddess, shining in my heart, fulfils all my desires.”

Such path of sublimation of emotions, though advocated theoretically by Śaiva teachers as well, was mostly appreciated and actually adopted in practice by the practitioners of Śaktism. All the people of this world of mortals do not possess equal capacities and merits. Most of us remain generally depressed under the burden of worldly problems and are deminated by passions and desires for worldly attainments. We require such a path of *Bhukti* through which we can slowly and steadily proceed towards the path that can lead us gradually to *mukti*. Such a path was mostly liked, prescribed and actually followed with success by the devotees of the Mother Goddess Śakti.

Only one path of salvation can never suit all beings of the world. Therefore Śaktism prescribes hundreds of religio-theological paths of worship of hundreds of female Tantric deities. Such a system leads aspirants to a gradual spiritual emancipation and each of them can choose the path suited to him.

The teachers of Śaktism discovered an elaborate system of divine administration of the universe run by divine authorities governing, directing and controlling the activities of each and every being in the universe and most of such authorities are female Tantric deities of higher and lower official status and authority. Such deities have been recognised in Śaiva monism as well, but the system of their elaborate worship was developed well by Śākta teachers. Śaiva teachers worked out the monistic philosophy as taught in Tantric scriptures. They expressed and

explained it fully by means of logical arguments for the purpose of clear understanding of its theoretical aspect. Śākta teachers, on the other hand, devoted themselves mostly to the development of the practical path of *sādhanā* with its immense variety in accordance with the different aims and objects desired by worldly beings. Besides, they brought to light the status and nature of all the Tantric deities in the whole complex hierarchy of divine administration. Both Śaivism and Śāktism are thus two mutually complementary aspects of one and the same philosophy of Tāntric monism.

One of the most important items of Śākta theology is the worship of the previously mentioned Śricakra. It is a complex diagram composed of mutually crossing nine triangles, surrounded by three circles and three boundary lines with gaps on all the four sides and a dot exactly in the centre. The complex crossing of the lines of triangles creates several circles of many smaller triangles surrounding one another. The whole diagram is a geometrical symbol of the whole universe governed by deities of different status at different levels of its administration. It is thus a geometrical picture of the whole hierarchy of deities working in the divine administration. The symbolism contained in it has been brought to light in certain philosophic works and hymns of some Śākta practitioners and the most important works of such type are *Kāmakalā-Vilāsa*, *Mātrkā-Cakraviveka* and *Lalitā-stavaratna*. A detailed information about such works is to be given in the last portion of this paper. The worship of Śricakra was not only performed by Śāktas and Śaivas, but also by some great practical Vedantins like Śaṅkarāchārya. That is borne out by his important work, *Saundarya-laharī*.

The highest type of Tāntric monism was discovered, realized and developed academically by the practitioners of two main systems of Tāntric Sādhanā and those are the Trika and the Kula systems. Trika system was started by sage Durvāsas and carried ahead by a long line of fifteen disciples under the names Tryambakāditya. They lived and roamed about in the areas near the Kailasa mountain. The sixteenth teacher in the line was Sangamāditya who came to Kashmir and settled there permanently. His descendants and disciples in the line developed the Tantric/philosophy of Saiva monism in Kashmir and such school of thought is known at present as Kashmir Śaivism. It remained rather confined to the valley of Kashmir.

Kula system of Tantric *Sādhanā* was given a start by Macchanda-nātha, known also as Matsyendra nātha in Assam. That system of Tantric *Sādhanā* took the shape of Śāktism. It did not bother to develop the theoretical philosophy of the system but propagated both sophisticated and simple methods of Tantric *sādhanā*. It spread throughout the length and breadth of the whole subcontinent and penetrated beyond the Himalayas as well. The practical teachings of the system, dealing mostly with the worship of the divine powers in the form of female Tantric

deities, gave rise to a vast theological literature which is counted in Śāktism. The monistic Śaiva practitioners recognised its validity and incorporated many of its elements in their own *sādhanā* of the Trika system which gives more importance to the practice in higher Yoga and pure knowledge. Śāktism, on the other hand, devoted itself more to ritual worship, suited to common people.

The sophisticated finer Tantric *sādhanā* was imparted by Tantric teachers to just a few devotees of higher merit. Such *sādhanā* was generally kept a secret in order to save it from falling into unworthy hands who would misuse it. The higher philosophic and theological elements of Trika and Kula systems were knit together by some great teachers of Tantric Śaivism. The important example of such integration of these two systems is *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta. He can therefore be taken as both, a Śaiva and Śakta teacher. His most prominent preceptor, named Śambunātha, the master of the *Jālandhara-Piṭha* of Śāktism at Kāngṛā (H. P.), was the highest authority on both Trika and Kula systems. It is thus difficult to separate works on Śaivism and Śāktism from each other. As has been already discussed, some works on Tantric monism bear apparently a colour of Śāktism and are therefore taken like that. Such works can be classified into six groups as given below :—

1. Scriptural works containing Śākta Tantras like:—

- (I) *Kulāraṇava Tantra*
- (II) *Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra*.
- (III) *Tantra-rāja Tantra* etc.

These works deal with the Śākta *upāsanā* performed through *mantras*, special Tantric performances etc. and prescribe methods of the worship of the Mother Goddess in her different forms under different names for the purpose of different aims.

2. Mythological works such as :—

(I) *Tripurā-rahasya*—It is a lengthy work. Its first part deals with the mythological accounts of different Tantric deities, most of whom belong to female sex. Second part teaches the philosophy of Tantric monism through the method of allegorical poetry. In such respect it follows the method of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and teaches philosophy through the method of poetry, narrating stories of past events based on poetic imagination. It is one of the best works on the philosophy of Śāktism. The third part of the work has been lost.

(II) *Durgā-saptaśati*—It relates the mythological accounts of the heroic deeds of goddess Durgā appearing in several divine forms and is still very popular with the devotees of the Mother Goddess, especially in the eastern states.

(III) Devī-Bhāgavata—It is a long mythological poetic work dealing with philosophy, theology, mythology and religion of Śāktism in sufficient details.

3. Philosophical works like :

(I) Māṭrkā-cakra-viveka by Svatantrānanda-nātha composed throughout in *Vasantatilakā* metre. It throws light on many mystic topics of Tantrism. Its style is of its own kind and does not follow the prevalent style of any works on philosophy. Its method of discussing philosophic topics also is its own. It discusses the topics of Śricakra, its philosophic significance, its relation with *Māṭrkā* and some mysterious methods of Śākta sādhanā. It bears a commentary in Sanskrit by a scholarly monk, but the commentator having been a Vedāntin, has not been able to do full justice to all the principles and doctrines contained in it. Still it is of help in studying it though the real essence of the topics discussed in it can be understood correctly only through self experience attained through a successful practice in Tāntric sādhanā.

(II) Mahārtha-mañjari with *Parimala*, both by Maheśvarānanda of Cola country in far south. Mahārtha mañjari is composed in beautiful Āryā (metre) couplets in Mahārāṣṭra Apabhraṃṣa language. The author composed detailed commentary on it in Sanskrit. The work deals mainly with the philosophy of Tāntric monism and bears a Śākta colour. Higher Tāntric theology has also been discussed in brief in this work. As a philosophic work on Śāktism, it is the best book available at present. The commentary named *Parimala* follows the style and method of Abhinavagupta. It is a store-house of quotations and references giving much historical information.

(III) Kāma-Kalā Vilāsa of Puṇyānanda Nātha deals with the philosophic and theological significance of Śricakra and different *sub-cakras* contained in it. It is highly popular with Śāktas throughout the whole sub-continent. It bears a commentary by Amṛtānanda Nātha. Commentaries on it in Tamil and Hindi also are available.

(IV) Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā :

Yoginī-hṛdaya is a portion of some Śākta Tantra known as *Vāmakeśvara*, *Tantra*. Amṛtānanda Nātha wrote the commentary named *Dīpikā* on it. The work deals with some mysterious topics of Śākta Sādhanā. In addition, it is a literary treasure containing quotations from many works of past writers and gives historical information about many things which would otherwise have remained very doubtful.

(V) Yogini-hṛdaya-Setu-bandha. It is another commentary on the above mentioned Tantric text and was composed by Bhāskararāya of Cola country in the 18th century.

- (VI) Saubhāgya-Bhāskara by Bhāskararāya is a detailed commentary on a mythological hymn named *Lalitā-sahasranāmam*. It is another store-house of information about Śāktism and throws clear light on many knots in its philosophy and theology.
- (VII) Varivasyā-rahasya by the same author deals with some higher methods of Tantric theology and is of a great merit.

4. Philosophical hymns :

- (i) Tripurā-mahimnastotram by sage Durvāsa eulogies mother Goddess Śaktī in the form of Tripurā, the divine power governing the three planes of unity, diversity and diversely appearing unity. Sage Durvāsas has been one of the earliest teachers of Śāktism. The hymn throws light on many philosophic and theological topics of Śākta-monism, discusses in detail the worship of the Mother Goddess with the help of three Bija-mantras known as *Vāgbija*, *Kāmarāja-bija* and *Śaktibija*. Some of its verses, dealing with mystic *mantras* of Tantric theology, are unintelligible. It refers to Śrīcakra and other topics of Śāktism. The hymn has been explained by Nityānanda an ancient Śākta aspirant.

(ii) Lalitā-Stava-ratnam by sage Durvāsas :

It is a beautiful description of the detailed hierarchy of Tantric deities conducting divine administration in this universe and has been expressed through the medium of wonderfully charming poetry. The *avadhūta* sage turns into a wonderful romantic poet while composing the hymn concerned. The hymn is very charming on account of its wonderful beauty of both sound and sense. It throws light on the philosophic and theological significance of Śrīcakra which has been metaphorically depicted as the Sumeru mountain, the abode of all the important Tantric deities. It is, in short, a poetic depiction of most of the different sub-cakras in the diagram named Śrī-yantra.

(iii) Subhagodaya-stuti by Gauḍa-pāda.

It is partly available in print and proves that the prominent ancient teachers of Advaita Vedanta were Śāktas in their practice.

(iv) Saundarya-laharī by Śankarāchārya :

It is a long hymn eulogising Mother Goddess and at the same time throwing light on many topics of Śāktism, e.g. *Pañcadaśī mantra*, Śrīcakra, *Kānakalā* etc. While *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya* represents the head of the great philosopher, Saundarya-Laharī represents his heart. The former presents his logical thinking useful in debates and discussions with antagonists and the latter presents his real philosophic experiences directing aspirants towards the exact reality that is aimed at. The

hymn proves it beyond doubt that Śankarachārya was a practitioner of Tantric Śāktism.

(v) Pañcastavī by Dharmāchārya :

It is a collection of five beautiful hymns sung in the praise of Mother Goddess. It resembles *Saundaryalaharī* in its style, content, philosophic thought and theological views. It is very popular with Śākta devotees in Kashmir.

(vi) Taṭṭvagarbha-Stotra by Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna :

Only a few of its stanzas are available at present in some works on Śaivism given there as quotations.

(vii) Kramastotra by Siddhanātha alias Sambhunātha :

It was a very popular hymn sung by Śāktas at several Śaktipīṭhas and was commented upon by Abhinavagupta. Both the hymn and the commentary have been lost. Jayaratha has quoted fourteen verses from the hymn in his commentary on Tantrāloka. The hymn eulogises *Parāśakti* as Kālī, the absolute Godhead of God in her twelve aspects in accordance with the theological system named *Karmā-naya*, discovered by Śivānandanātha, a great Śākta Yогin. The system was practised by philosophers like Somānanda and Abhinavagupta and had become very popular in Kashmir by the time of Jayaratha (12th Century)

(viii) Kramastotra by Abhinavagupta :

It follows the Kramastotra of Siddhanātha in its content and style and helps in understanding the philosophic content of the original stotra under such name.

(ix) Cidgagana-Candrikā by Śrivatsa :

(Wrongly ascribed to Kālidāsa)

It is one of the most beautiful Śākta poems and contains four hymn eulogizing the Mother Goddess and composed throughout in *Rathoddhatā* metre. It throws light on many secret sādhanās of Śāktism and is a beautiful specimen of emotional poetry. The poet in a stanza of the fourth hymn, addresses mother Kālī and tells her that he has become her 'dāsa' or servant, "Kālī Dāsa-padavīm tavāśritah". Scribes and editors took the two words 'Kālī' and 'dāsa' as one compound word and mistook it for the name of the poet. The colophon says that the poem was written by Kālidāsa and the editors of its two editions do also say so. But the poet says himself in the concluding anustubha verse that the poem was composed by Srivatsa. That was in fact the real name of the poet. The word Kālidāsa in the colophon is either due to some miscalculation of some scribes or the poet did himself write it like that on account of his taking himself as a *dāsa* of Kālī, the absolute Godhead of God, eulogized at length in the poem. The poem is not fully intelligible because of its defective editing. The text appears to be

incorrect at many places. The second edition bears Sanskrit commentary which also is full of defects. The commentator happened to be a logician and did not know the philosophy or theology of Śaktism. Two lines in the verse no. 126 of the last hymn (G. No. 305) in the work appears to have been lost. The editor of the first edition takes the two lines of each succeeding verse as the two last lines of the preceding one and in the commentator the second edition goes on explaining the verse like that. The greatest wonder in it is the combining of the last two lines of the final *Rathoddhatā* verse with the concluding *anuṣṭubha* and forming them into one single stanza. It is not easy to come to any definite conclusion with regard to the accuracy of the text. Some of the verses can be corrected easily but the case is not the same with many other among them.

(x) *Pañcaśatī* by Mūka :

It is a long poem eulogising the Mother Goddess by means of beautiful poetry. It appeared in print in the *Kāvyamālā* series. It is available with Tamil commentary as well and must have been popular with Śāktas in the south. It is not sufficiently known in the north. It was composed as eulogy to the Mother Goddess worshipped at Kāñci Kāmakoṭi Piṭha of Śaṅkarāchārya.

(xi) *Mahānubhava Śaktistava* by Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava :

It is a small hymn eulogizing the Mother Goddess Śakti in the form of her five primary aspects of cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā as discussed in Śaiva monism.

(xii) *Mandākrāntā-stotra*—by the same author :

It is a long beautiful hymn eulogising *Parā-Śakti* through verses in *Mandākrāntā* metre. It throws light on the result of the worship of the Mother Goddess with the help of three *Bijamantras* mentioned above. The work is, on one hand, a beautiful and charming piece of poetry and, on the other hand, it presents descriptions of many topics of the philosophy and theology of Śaktism.

(xiii) *Saṅkrānti Pañcadaśi*—by the same author :

It is a small poem describing Goddess Durgā appearing in the form of such a political revolution which can establish such a socio-political set up in which people can become able to pursue all the four aims of life with success.

(5) Upaniṣadic works belonging to mediæval age :

- (i) *Tripuropaniṣad*.
- (ii) *Bahovṛcopaniṣad*.
- (iii) *Tripurātāpaniyopaniṣad*.
- (iv) *Devyupaniṣad*.
- (v) *Bhāvanopanisad* etc.

Such Upaniṣads throw light on the principles of Tantric monism under the typical-Śākta terminology. Such principles have already been discussed in some previous paragraphs. Other Śākta Upaniṣads of still later age deal with the worship of certain female deities like Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī and even human deities like Sītā :

(6) Miscellaneous works of sufficient importance based on the works mentioned above such as :

(i) Devi-rahasyam a voluminous work dealing in detail with the worship of many Tāntric female deities popularly worshipped in Kashmir. It claims to be a portion of *Rudrayāmala Tantra*.

(ii) Saptvimśati-Rahasyam which throws light on the special Śākta method of the worship of the Mother Goddess Sakti in accordance with Tāntric ritual.

(iii) Tārārahasyam dealing with minute details of the Tāntric worship of Tārā, the goddess that carries her devotees to the other bank of the ocean of all difficulties and miseries of worldly and spiritual character.

(iv) Piṭhā-Nirṇayah (or Mahāpiṭha-Nirūpaṇam), a mythological work giving a long list of Śākta shrines in India along with their approximate geographical location and the names of deities worshipped in them.

7. Later Tāntric and mythological works like :

- (i) Prāṇatoṣinī Tantra
- (ii) Bṛhannīla Tantra
- (iii) Mahānīla Tantra
- (iv) Bṛhaddharma
- (v) Kālikā Purāṇam.

These are the important available works on Śāktism. Many works on Śaivism, dealing with Śākta type of theology, can be counted in Śāktism as well. But the works under typical Śākta stamp are the above mentioned ones only. Works of minor importance can however be added to each of the above mentioned seven groups of works on Śāktism.

The seeds of Śāktism are seen by some historians in the prehistoric civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. It spread its roots deep in the Indus valley civilization of pre-Aryan and pre-Vedic Indians and continued to flow on, along with the tradition of prehistoric Śaivism, as a current parallel to that of the religion of Vedic Hinduism. Hinduism, during its long history, has been bearing outwardly as Vedic garb and colour, but from within its soul has been Śaiva Śākta in nature and character. The particular system of pure Śākta theology was given a start

by sage Agastya and his wife Lopāmudrā in the hoary past. It was learnt, practised and propagated by great sages like Dattātreya, Durvāsas and Paraśurāma. It was successfully practised by some ancient heroes of Asura clans of Aryans in India. But was rather misused by them at several occasions. Its right use was made by some royal sages of the Solar and Lunar dynasties. Lord Kṛṣṇa practised it successfully and worked it out in all of his various worldly activities. His elder brother Balarāma was a typical practitioner of the highly sophisticated theology of Śāktism. The tradition of such theology continued among Hindus throughout their long history. But, since the typical Śāktism was considered to be a secret system of theology it was not generally made public.

With the advance of the age of Kali, many Śākta practitioners turned towards black magic and other types of misuse of Śākta theology. Such misuse is prevalent even now in certain small sections of human society in many countries of the world. Such misuse of Śāktism earned a very bad name for it and still worse name for the whole Tāntrism in India and many civilized people lost interest in its deep study and academic development. It has, however, remained a fact that no good book on the philosophy of Śāktism was ever written even in the ancient times by any Śākta writer. No light has been thrown on its philosophic principles through a logical method. Even its theology has not been presented so far in a systematised manner and style. Both its philosophy and theology lie scattered in Tantras and other works on Śāktism. *Tripurā-Rahasya* does however express the main philosophic principles through an allegorical method. *Mahārtha-Mañjari-Parimala* deals with some of the principles of Śāktism in a philosophic method. But even such works do not discuss the philosophy of Śāktism in sufficient detail. Most of the works available on the subject deal with certain topics of its theology without a philosophic systematization. Research scholars of the present age have written some good books on the subject. Such research works provide sufficient information regarding many topics of Śāktism but even then the readers of such works do not become able to visualize any clear picture of its philosophy or any definite structure of its theology because even such works do not draw any definite outline of the system in which such topics of philosophy and theology could be put at proper positions and places. Somānanda provided an out-line of the whole system of the philosophy of Śaiva monism. Utpaladeva painted its clear picture with all necessary details. Abhinavagupta systematized the great ocean of Tantric theology of Śaiva monism. But any work of such type on Śāktism did not appear up to the present age. Let us hope that some scholarly practitioner, possessing a philosophic insight, may fill some time such lacuna as—

“Kāla hyayam niravadhir vipulā ca pr̥thvī”
The earth is vast and time is infinite

SHAKTISM AND MODERN PHYSICS : PRESCIENCE OR COINCIDENCE ?

L. M. FINN

Gopinath Kaviraj was a distinguished advocate of Shākta Tantric knowledge at a time when scholars neglected Tantric scripture whether Hindu or Buddhist. The widespread depreciation of their contents stemmed from a mixture of prudery and excessive rationalism in an age that considered any interest in the mystical or the occult to be the sign of a regressive mentality. Fortunately attitudes have changed.

Physicists have already noted the convergence between the world views of post-classical physics and that of the Eastern religions, but when they have written about it in such popular books as the *Tao of Physics* and the *Dancing Wu Li Masters*, they have naturally placed more emphasis on the physics than on the oriental philosophy. This article takes the view of the orientalist and draws attention to certain specific aspects of the Shākta Tantric description of reality which acquire fresh relevance in the light of advanced physics. G. Kaviraj would undoubtedly be gratified by the surprising degree to which ancient Shākta beliefs seem to anticipate recent developments in theoretical physics.

Tantrism in general, and Shākta Tantrism in particular, represent a relatively late phase in the evolution of Hinduism for their philosophies were formalized as recently as the 8th to the 11th centuries AD. Therefore, before dealing with the specific aspects of Shaktism with which we are especially concerned, it is worth commenting upon several beliefs which Shāktism shares with the earlier phases of Hinduism and which also present a "modern" outlook.

With respect to current physics, the most important Hindu insight is the one upon which physicists have already remarked : the age-old Hindu conviction that the universe is fundamentally One and "all in all". The concept of an underlying unity is still one that western minds find difficult to accept, although it is clear that physicists are now compelled to talk in terms of a "violation of separability" and the fact that "objects constitute an indivisible whole". This

fundamental oneness of nature is *the* radical standpoint of most Indian religions and it is a view with which modern physics significantly concurs.

Another respect in which Hinduism has been far-seeing is in its cosmological timescale. At a time when the West naively assumed that the world was a mere four to six thousand years old, the Hindus had long believed that a night and a day in Brahmā's hundred year life cycle of universes is a period of 8,640,000,000 years. Although the Hindu cosmology has traditionally expressed itself in mythological terms instead of scientifically, the message of an unimaginably long period of evolution is effectively the same in Hinduism as it now is in Western cosmology.

A third area in which a commonly held Hindu belief harmonises with recent theory in particle physics is in the concept of the *gunas*. Hindus believe that the constituents of matter are the three *gunas* or "qualities" called "goodness" (*sattva*), "passion" (*rajas*) and "darkness" (*tamas*). The idea is suggestive of the modern theory of matter in which there are six quarks called "up, down, strange, charm, top and bottom". The heavier and more durable particles of matter are made up of three quarks in combination. It would be too facile to conclude that *gunas* equal quarks, they do not and cannot since each is in a different conceptual framework. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Hinduism arrived at a tripartite division of matter which also happens to be characterized in terms of quality or "flavour". ("Flavour" is the word which physicists use to describe quarks.) Furthermore, both physics and Hinduism colour code their quarks and *gunas*, although the physicists arbitrarily choose red, green and blue as the chief colours and the Hindus, red, black and white.

Coincidental as the descriptions between quarks and *gūṇas* may be, such a pleasing accord between theoretical physics and some of the early tenets of Hinduism can be even more strongly reinforced by the remarkable affinities between Tantric Shaktism and modern physics.

Of course, these affinities are found chiefly in the philosophical texts of Shaktism with which the ordinary Shākta worshipper may be largely unfamiliar, just as the average man in the street is unlikely to be aware of the latest developments in theoretical physics. For the sake of those who are presumed to be less up-to-date with modern physical theory than with Shākta philosophy, the illustrations from physics will be presented in the following order and the numbered paragraphs correspond with them :

1. The equivalence between energy and matter
2. The sub-atomic quantum reality
3. The relativity of space and time
4. The polarized constituents of the universe as represented by positive-negative particles and matter-anti-matter

5. The cosmological singularity of the point
6. The geometric and asymmetrically symmetric structure of the universe
7. The image of the electron
8. The Heisenberg principle
9. The Anthropic Cosmological principle

1. Foremost in Shākta Tantrism is the idea of the totality of the universe as the Goddess who is nothing but *shakti* or purest Energy. *Shakti* is sheer dynamism in opposition to static quiescence, and in the view of the Shāktas, the universe consists of nothing but permutations of this one essential energy personalized as the Goddess and her manifestations. Matter amounts to the “*ghanībhūta*” or “condensed” energy of the Goddess. Physics too has reached the conclusion that underlying the apparent substantiality of matter there exists nothing but permutations of energy, a position summed up in Einstein’s equation relating mass to energy.

Both from the Hindu philosophic viewpoint and that of modern physics, “there is no substantive physical world” in the sense of an irreducible entity or stuff of matter. Fundamentally there is no residue; there is no-thing. As the Shāktas and others have plainly declared the universe is *shunya* or void of anything.

In the 19th century the physical world view was predominantly mechanistic. Small things built up into more powerful large units. It was not expected that the inverse could be true, i. e. that the constituents of the universe could be simultaneously less and less “material” and more and more energetic. In modern physics the boundaries between matter and energy have now obviously disappeared; in Shaktism they never existed. The Goddess whom the Shāktas worship is in essence “divine” energy masquerading in the apparently varied “substance” of the universe.

2. The closer physicists examine the manifestations of energy the more ephemeral they become, to the point where the quantum reality of the universe becomes a veritable dance of discrete subatomic particles or “quanta” that come into and out of existence virtually at random. This dance is reminiscent of the Goddess described in the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* as “swaying in the vast wave of *kula kalās*”. *Kalā* has the meaning of a “small part of anything”, and with its added philosophical connotation of “limited activity”, the notion of *kalā* is brought into line with the physicist’s description of a quantum as “a piece of action”. Like the quantum world which is described as a “sparkling realm of continual creation, transformation and annihilation”, the Goddess is similarly forever engaged in the pure joy of manifesting, sustaining and dissolving the universe. The

quantum "frolic of convoluted nothingness" approximates to the "*līlā*" of the Goddess—a cosmic dance which, like the quantum "frolic", is also characterised by spontaneity and the absence of strict causal relationships.

3. The movement away from a rigidly causal or mechanistic view of the universe is further emphasized in physics by the relativity of space and time. Space and time were once as close to absolutes as any concepts could be, but Einstein's generally accepted theories of relativity upset the foundations of these old certainties. Physicists have come to accept that in the final analysis space and time are mental constructs; it is a position endorsed by the Hindus since earliest times. In Shaktism, space and time are specifically designated as the "twin paths of creative manifestation" and like all the other data of experience, they are the created objects of perception and are equally relative.

4. The concept of the twin paths of manifestation also denotes the fact that experience often comes in the form of opposites linked by a third unifying term. In Shaktism the most fundamental concept of opposition is that of "Shiva and Shakti", but there are other pairs of opposites such as *Prakāsha-Vimarsha*, *pramātr-prameya*, *vācyā* and *vācāka*, most of which have the third linking concept. Shiva-Shakti and *Prakāsha-Vimarsha* are joined in *samarasya* or "blissful union", *pramātr* and *prameya* by *pramāṇa* and *vācyavācāka* by *vāc*. The Shākta classification of experience in terms of a dialectic plus a third median term is conceptually paralleled in particle physics. Most subatomic positive particles have their negative counterparts and the interaction between particles is mediated by "vector" particles. Again, there is no question here of identity between the various concepts of Shaktism and the particles of physics, but rather of compatibility in the way that each describes what they perceive as the constituents of reality. For example, in the state of Shiva (static quiescence) and Shakti (kinetic energy) separation, the universe exists; in the state of union the universe is annihilated. According to physics, the universe would also vanish if an equal quantity of theoretical anti-matter were joined to matter.

5. A more striking example of the congruity of Shākta perception with advanced theories in physics lies in the concept of the *bindu*. In Shaktism the *bindu* is the infinitely potent point from which all creation emerges. It represents the supreme unmanifest form of the Goddess which is a state of sheer potency in which nothing exists but from which all things come. The universe evolves from the *bindu* as the result of an associated "stirring" called "*spandana*" or "*sphurana*" which amplifies to the point of a creative outburst. In the language of physics the *bindu* would correspond to the idea of a "cosmological singularity" which is a succinct restatement of the current theory in physics that "the entire universe was initially a dimensionless point." The concept of a super-energetic dimensionless

point is common to both physics and Shaktism, and the additional Shākta idea of the "stirring" within the *bindu* hints at the cosmologist's conclusion that the state of "nothing" is unstable."

The *bindu* is additionally described in the Tantric literature as *ucchūna* of *ghanibhūta* which means that prior to the creative outburst, the dimensionless point becomes "swollen" or "grossified". The concept of the *ucchūna bindu* points to the current theory of an "inflated false vacuum state" out of which matter subsequently "condenses" in a virtually spontaneous manner. By taking into account the fact that the *bindu* comprises suprasensible levels or dimensions of being analogous to the physicist's ten or eleven dimensional universe, there are grounds for acknowledging that basic affinities exist between some of the Shākta philosopher's and some of the physicist's radical world views.

6. Furthermore, the *bindu* is at the centre of the Shriyantra which is Shaktism's most famous aniconic form of the Goddess. *Yantras* are diagrammatic representations of the deity which are basically geometric in form. The most famous of these is the Shriyantra composed of a central *bindu* or point surrounded by nine interlaced triangles. Four of these triangles are upward "masculine" triangles and five are downward "feminine" triangles. Out of this inherent asymmetry there emerges a complex geometric figure of near perfect balance and symmetry. The diagram actually constitutes the "body" of the Goddess, i.e. it is a graphic expression of the forces that in their polarities constitute the Goddess as the universe. The triangles symbolize the forces of creative opposition emerging from the cosmological singularity of the *bindu*. The Shriyantra (also known as the Shricakra) has been a sacred object of worship for over a thousand years, but it gains added pertinence when physicists say that "all the forces of nature are nothing more than hidden geometry at work." The physicists further conjecture that the universe has always possessed an overall symmetry and uniformity combined with just enough irregularity and asymmetry to produce a bias in favour of creation. In its non-scientific way the Shricakra admirably expresses the same cosmological ideas.

7. In another respect the Shriyantra also prefigures an important aspect of particle physics. In physics a bare electron is said to be shrouded by virtual particles that form a "screen" of electric charge mediating between the infinitely energetic electron and any other particle. In Shaktism, the *bindu* is said to represent not only the Goddess at the centre of the manifested universe, but also the Goddess surrounded by her "*avarana* deities" positioned in the surrounding triangles. These *avarana* or "veiling" deities are forces that screen the Goddess from direct encounter and which also mediate her energy from one form to another. The mental images of an energetic electron with its screen of virtual particles, and that of the Goddess as the *bindu* surrounded by her veiling and mediating deities are surprisingly similar.

Making such comparisons between age-old Shākta beliefs and modern physical theories ought to serve the purposes of both physics and religion. In the light of physics many of the radical beliefs of Hinduism are intellectually vindicated and acquire renewed relevance. In Hinduism, Buddhism and even Taoism, the physicists might find some satisfying corroboration of some of their own theoretical speculations and perhaps a measure of intellectual stimulus. Of course, physics has its own path of investigation into the nature of reality—as does religion. However, although the scientific method by which physicists arrive at their conclusions is well known, how did the Hindu seers of old come to be so perspicacious about the nature of reality without cloud chambers and particle accelerators? The answer must lie in yogic meditation.

To many people yogic meditation is tantamount to fantasy and could not of itself yield any true knowledge about the nature of reality. Consequently, any concurrence between physical theories and religious insights is sheer coincidence. Generally speaking the testimony of the yogi is discredited, whereas that of the physicist passes unchallenged since modern man is culturally conditioned to accept the evidence of the physicist as the truth. The yogi or mystic is usually suspect. In fact both kinds of testimony are beyond the verification of the vast majority of people. Of course, the physicist will properly contend that his ideas are either technologically viable, or are open to the verification of anyone who cares to undergo the long training involved in becoming an advanced physicist. This is indeed true. But it also applies to the testimony of advanced yogis. The person prepared to submit to the years of arduous discipline implicit in the mystic path will develop the yogi's penetrating insights and powers. In both cases personal verification is the fruit of long and dedicated effort.

The path of the yogi lies in the exploration of his own consciousness. In most Hindu and Buddhist schools, consciousness is the key to the understanding of reality. The central importance of consciousness makes sense if one believes—as the Shākta school of Hindu Tantrism does—that consciousness is both collective and co-extensive with the universe. According to the Shāktas, the Goddess is conscious—even self-conscious—energy, therefore the whole universe as the manifestation of the Goddess is similarly pervaded by consciousness or *citi*.

8. In the already famous Heisenberg uncertainty principle of physics, there is an explicit recognition that the observer and his consciousness are a constituent factor in quantum interactions. It is a position summed up both in the Hindu idea of “field and knower of the field” and in the pithy Shākta formulation of “*pramātr-prāmāna-prameya*”, i.e. the “measurer, the act of measuring and what is measured”—indicating that any so-called reality is a threefold experience with consciousness as the link and only real “substance.” Therefore when—after delving into the heart of matter—the physicist declares that “quantum mechanics corre-

lates experience", he has reached the standpoint of the Shākta philosopher who views reality in terms of an experience of illusory differentiation which is imposed on the "object" of experience by the experiencer. The whole of reality is sustained by the consciousness which is necessary to experience it, and the physicist who says that "physics is the study of the structure of consciousness" has not gone too far in the opinion of informed Shāktas.

9. Through his consciousness man becomes an indispensable factor in the "what" of experience. The difficulty of disengaging the self from the universe (or the part from the whole) leads to the Tantric, and Shākta Tantric, conclusion that there exists a basic identity between the human microcosm and the macrocosm. A parallel principle called the "anthropic cosmological principle" is currently influencing theoretical physics and it asserts that "the new physics (is)... based not upon absolute truth but upon us." The shift in emphasis in theoretical physics from the observed to the observer is akin to the Tantric concept of the identity of macrocosm and microcosm and is also compatible with the ancient Hindu view that man or *puruṣa* is at the metaphoric centre of the universe.

Many physicists might not agree with the radical theories of physics just recently expressed. But what the physicist should more generally recognize is that he asks the sort of questions and gives the sort of answers that his own senses and brain will permit. The brain and the five senses with which man is endowed determine his perceptions and therefore his model of the universe. But there is nothing absolute about five instead of six or seven senses. With one or two additional faculties of perception, the questions which the physicist would ask and the answers he would give, would be dramatically different. Or else endowed with a higher intelligence, or perhaps a different brain structure with which to coordinate the data of perception, man's understanding of the cosmos might be based on non-causal relationships that would provide as fitting a description of "reality" as the causally based laws of physics. With respect to quantum interactions, the "laws" of physics are already only tenuously causal.

Moreover, the language of physics long ago passed beyond the realm of normal comprehension into the almost meta-physical and abstract logic of mathematics, with the result that the world view of the physicist has now become as surreal and paradoxical as that of any religion. What makes the fundamental difference between physics and religion is the fact that religion imbues its "forces" with personality—as can be seen from the way that the Shāktas regard Energy as the Goddess. The emphasis on personality derives from the emphasis on consciousness, and this is particularly evident in religions like Hinduism.

Physics has not altogether come round to the Shākta view that the forces of nature are allied to consciousness, but what the physicist *has* recognized in the last

fifty years is that his own consciousness is an integral part of the interactions of the fundamental particles of matter. It is a position closer to the oriental viewpoint than was ever thought possible. Given the other notable rapprochements with respect to the underlying unity of nature, the void, the *bindu*, the relativity of space and time as the twin paths of manifestation, the similarity of the *kalā* concept to that of the quantum, and of Shakti as energy, it would be fair to say that physics and the cult of Shākta Tantrism differ not so much in their formulations as in their methods. Both have always sought the true nature of reality.

The information and quotations that relate to physics have been taken from one or other of the following sources :

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THE GODDESS MAHĀKĀLĪ AND HER DIFFERENT FORMS

A. N. JANI

The Supreme power which is active and invisible behind this universe is recognised as *Brahman* (lit. the Vast, the Great) in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. It is characterised as attributeless (*nirguṇa*), formless (*nirākāra*) unmanifest (*avyakta*) etc. It cannot be described by the speech nor can even be comprehended by the mind (*avāñmanasagocara*). The *śruti* therefore prefers to describe It only negatively by the process of eliminating It from all the comprehensible things (*atadvyāvṛtyā*) in the form : ‘(it is) not this,’ (it is) not this’ (*nēti*, *nēti*).

When this impersonal and attributeless Power wants to create the universe, It, in order to be personal and attribute-endowed thinks of Its power called *Prakṛti*¹. This *Prakṛti* is constituted of three constituents, viz *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Originally they remain in a state of equilibrium. The *Prakṛti* in this state remains unmanifest (*avyākṛtā*). At the time of creation the equilibrium is disturbed and the three constituents get mixed up with one another in such a way that each one of them preponderates over the other two. This can be elucidated as under :—

(1) Preponderance of *rajas* (*rajaḥpradhāna*), i.e. *rajas*—50%, *sattva* and *tamas* 25% each.

(2) Preponderance of *sattva* (*sattvapradhāna*), i.e. *Sattva*—50%, and *rajas* and *tamas* 25% each.

(3) Preponderance of *tamas* (*tamaḥpradhāna*), i.e. *Tamas*—50%, and *sattva* and *rajas* 25% each.²

1. The Sāṅkyas believe that the *Puruṣa* (Spirit) and the *Prakṛti* are two independent and beginningless entities, while the Śāktas and the Vedantins believe that *Prakṛti* being a power of *Brahman* is identical with It.

2. Cf. रजस्तमश्चाभिभूय सत्वं भवति भारत ।

रजः सत्वं तमश्चैव तमः सत्वं रजस्तथा ॥ १० ॥ (गीता १४।१०)

त्रिगुणा तामसी देवी सात्त्विकी यात्रिधोदिता ।

सा शर्वा चण्डिका दुर्गा भद्रा भगवतीयर्थे ॥ १ ॥ (वै. रहस्यम् १)

The attributeless impersonal *Brahman* now appears as personal under the above three states. The first one (*rajaḥpradhāna*) is called *Brahmā* (the creator). The second one (*sattvapradhāna*) is designated as *Viṣṇu* (the sustainer) and the third one (*tamaḥpradhāna*) is named as *Rudra* or *Śiva* (the destroyer). Thus the original one Power gets three different appellations as per three different functions relegated to It. In the *śākta* tradition these appellations are given after the names of the female counterparts of these three gods. Thus *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra* are called *Mahāsaravati*, *Mahālakṣmi* and *Mahākālī* respectively.

The account of creation as given in the *Prākṛtikarahasya*³ however slightly differs from the one given above. According to it there was in the beginning *Mahālakṣmi*, the Lord of everything, constituted of three constituents (*trigūḍha*).⁴ Seeing that there was void (*śūnya*) She filled it up by Her lustre.⁵ She took another feminine form made up of *tamās* alone.⁶ She gave ten appellations to this form suggesting Her ten different functions⁷ :

(1) *Mahāmāyā* (the great Illusion that deludes every one); (2) *Mahākālī* (the great Time that cuts life gradually); (3) *Mahāmārī* (the great killer in the form of an epidemic). (4) *Kṣudhā* (Hunger—that kills); (5) *Trṣṭā* (thirst—that kills); (6) *Nidrā* (Sleep—that kills one temporarily); (7) *Trṣṇā* (the greed—that ruins one); (8) *Ekavīrā* (the only Heroine—that destroys every thing); (9) *Kālarātri* (the black night i.e. the last night of a *kalpa* in which the universe is dissolved) and (10) *Duratyayā* (difficult to overcome—as none can escape from Her clutches).

Thus *Mahākālī* the female counterpart of *Mahākāla* (*Śiva*) is the great destructive Force.

The same *rahasya* describes Her Form thus : She was as black as pounded collyrium. Her face was marked by big tusks; She had big eyes and thin waist. In Her four hands she wielded sword, drinking bowl, (blood-dripping) head and a

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- 3. This is one of the three *rahasyas* appended to the *Durgāsaptaśatī* of the *Mārkanḍeya-purāṇa*.
 - 4. She is the same as *avyākṛta Prakṛti* described above. She is known as *Sarvā*, *Caṇḍikā*, *Durgā*, *Bhadrā* and *Bhagavatī*.
 - 5. शून्यं तदखिलं स्वेन पूर्यामास तेजसा ॥ (प्राधा० रहस्यम् ६)
 - 6. शून्यं तदखिलं लोकं विलोक्य परमेश्वरी ।
बभार परमं रूपं तमसा केवलेन हि ॥ (प्राधा० रह० ७)
 - 7. महामाया महाकाली महामारी क्षुधा तृष्णा ।
निद्रा तृष्णा चैकवीरा कालरात्रिर्दर्त्यया ॥ (प्राधा० रह० १२)

shield. She wore a garland of trunks on the body and a garland of skulls on the head.⁸

This is the primal form of Mahākālī. She takes many different forms for destroying the evil forces.

The Durgā-saptaśatī describes several forms of this Goddess. It is divided into three *caritas* (adventures). Mahākālī is the deity of the first *carita*. Here Her Nidrā and Mahāmāyā forms play important role in the slaughter of demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha at the hands of Viṣṇu. When Viṣṇu was in deep slumber at the end of a *kalpa*, two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha born from the wax of His ears run to devour Brahmā. The latter being frightened prays to the Goddess Yoganidrā to relieve Viṣṇu from Her clutches. The propitiated Tāmasī Goddess (Mahākālī) leaves Viṣṇu and appears before Brahmā. The awakened Viṣṇu combats barehanded with the demons for five thousand years, but to no avail. Ultimately the demons deluded by Mahāmāyā ask Viṣṇu to choose a boon from them. Viṣṇu chooses their death by Him. The deluded demons realise their blunder; but true to their promise they cleverly ask Viṣṇu to kill them in a place not drenched by water; as they saw that at that time every thing was flooded with water. Viṣṇu put their heads on His loins and chucked off their heads with His discus.

Thus here Mahākālī plays an indirect role in the slaying of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, firstly by freeing Viṣṇu from Her clutches and secondly by deluding the demons.

A detailed description of Her form is supplied in the Vaikṛtika-rahasya of the Durgāsaptaśatī as under :

Mahākālī, the Yoganidrā of Viṣṇu, constituted of tamoguṇa and whom Brahmā prayed for the slaughter of Madhu and Kaiṭabha had ten faces, ten hands and ten feet. Lustrous like collyrium She had thirty big eyes. Though looking terrific due to long and big tusks, She is the bestower of beauty, luck, lustre and affluence. She wields conch, discus, mace, bow, arrows, sword, trident, *bhuśuṇḍi*, *parigha* and blood-dripping head in Her hands. This Mahākālī, the

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8. सा भिन्नाऽजनसङ्काशा दंष्ट्राद्वितवरानना ।
विशाललोचन नारी बभूव तनुमध्यमा ॥
खडगपात्रशिरः स्तेटरलंकृतचतुर्भूजा ।
कबन्धहारं शिरसा विभ्राणा हि शिरःस्तज्म् ॥ (प्राधा० रह० ८, ९)

Māyā of Viṣṇu, difficult to overcome, when propitiated, brings the whole world of movables and immovables under the control of Her worshipper.⁹

This is the *daśavaktrā* (ten-faced) form of Mahākālī.

The Tantrasāra-tantra describes Her Pañcavaktrā (five-faced) form called Smaśāna Bhairavī or Smaśāna Kālī, thus :

“The terrific Goddess Kālikā with five faces and fifteen eyes, wielding śakti trident, bow, arrows, sword, shield, *vara* and *abhaya* in her eight hands, and decorated with many ornaments should be invoked on a black pitcher filled with black water”¹⁰

This form is propitiated to annihilate the enemies.

The fourth form of Mahākālī living in the Himalayas is given in the Durgā-saptaśati. The Gods who were oppressed and expatriated by the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha remembered the promise of help in distress by the Goddess and went to the Himalayas. When they were praying to Her with the famous *Devīsūkta*, Pārvatī going for bath in the Ganges asked them—To whom are you praying ?

9. योगनिद्राहरेस्ता महाकाली तमोगुणा ।
 मधुकैभनाशाथं यां तुष्टावाम्बुजासनः ॥
 दशवक्त्रा दशभुजा दशपादाञ्जनप्रभा ।
 विशालया राजमाना त्रिशल्लोचनमालया ॥
 स्फुरद्दशनदंस्त्रा सा भीमरूपापि भूमिप ।
 रूपसौभाग्यकान्तीनां सा प्रतिष्ठा महाश्रियः ॥
 खड्गबाणगदाशूलचक्रशङ्खभुशुण्डभृत् ।
 परिघं कार्मिकं शीर्षं निश्च्योतद्वुधिरं दधी ॥
 एषा सा वैष्णवीमाया महाकाली दुरत्यया ।
 आराधिता वशीकृता पूजार्क्तुश्चराचरम् ॥ (वै० रहस्यम् २-६)
 cf also Her traditional *dhyāna* :—

खड्गं चक्रगदेषु चापपरिघाञ्छूलं भुशुण्डिं शिरः
 शङ्खं संदधतीं करैस्त्रिनयनां सर्वाङ्गभूषणवृताम् ।
 नीलाश्मद्युतिमास्यपाददशकां सेवे महाकालिकां
 यामस्तौत्स्वपिते हरौ कमलजोहन्तुं मधुं कैटभम् ॥ (दु० स० शतो)

10. कृष्णतोयैश्च सम्पूर्णे कृष्णकुम्भेऽथ कालिकाम् ॥
 पञ्चवक्त्रां महारौद्रीं प्रतिवक्त्रत्रिलोचनाम् ।
 शक्तिशूलघनुर्बाणखड्गखेटवराभयान् ॥
 दक्षादक्षभुजैर्देवीं विभ्राणां भूरिभूषणाम् ।
 ध्यात्वैवं साधकः साध्यं साधयेन्मनसेप्सितम् ॥

Tantrasāratantra quoted in the Sabda-kalpadruma, p. 115.

Suddenly Śivā came out of Her body and replied—"They are praying to me". The Goddess Śivā or Ambikā became known as Kauśikī because she came out of the Kośa (body) of Pārvatī. After the emergence of Kauśikī, Pārvatī turned black and became known as Kālikā living in the Himalayas.¹¹

This Kālikā living in the Himalayas incarnates to devour the demons oppressing the sages. On account of Her terrific form she is known as Bhīmā.¹² A complete description of Her form is found in the *Mūrtirahasya* of the Durgā-saptaśatī : She has black complexion, plump breasts and big eyes and is resplendent with tusks and teeth. In Her four hands She wields sword, drum, (*damaru*), head and a bowl."

She is also called Ekavīrā and Kālarātri and when praised She fulfils all the desires of Her devotees.¹³

This is the fifth form called Bhīmā or Ugrakālikā.

Her most dreadful Cāmuṇḍā form is also described in detail in the Durgā-saptaśatī.

When the army of demons headed by Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa came to the Himalayas to kidnap forcibly the beautiful Goddess Ambikā, Her face turned collyrium-black due to excessive anger. From Her forehead with broken eyebrows sprang forth ghastly-faced Kālī, wielding sword, *pāśa* (noose) and *khaṭvāṅga*. She

11. एवं स्त्रादियुक्तानां देवानां तत्र पार्वती ।
 स्नान्तुमभ्याययो तोये जाह्व्या नृपनन्दन ॥
 साब्रवीत्तान् सुरान् सुभ्रूभवद्धिः स्तूयतेऽत्रका ।
 शरीरकोशतश्चास्याः समुद्भूताब्रवीच्छिवा ॥
 स्तोत्रं ममैत् क्रियते शुभदैत्यनिराकृतैः ।
 देवैः समेतैः समरे निशुम्भेन पराजितैः ॥
 शरीरकोशाद्यतस्याः पार्वत्या निःसृताम्बिका ।
 कौशिकीति समस्तेषु ततो लोकेषु गीयते ॥
 तस्यां विनिर्णातायां तु कृष्णाभूत्सापि पार्वती ।
 कालिकेति समाख्याता हिमाचलकृताश्रया ॥ (दु० स० शती ५. ८४-८८)

12. पुनश्चाहं यदा भीमं रूपं कृत्वा हिमाच्चले ।
 रक्षांसि भक्षयिष्यामि मुनीनां त्राणकारणात् ॥
 तदा मां मुनयः सर्वे स्तोष्यन्त्यानन्मूर्तयः ।
 भीमादेवीति विख्यातं तन्मे नाम भविष्यति ॥ (दु० स० शती ११.५० (d-५२ ab)

13. भीमापि नीलवर्णा सा दंष्ट्रादशनभासुरा ।
 विशाललोचना नारी वृत्तपीनपयोधरा ॥
 चन्द्रहासं च डमरुं शिरः पात्रं च विभ्रती ।
 एकवीरा कालरात्रिः सैवोक्ता कामदास्तुता ॥ (मू० रहस्य १८, १९)

donned leopard-hide and skullgarland. She was looking most terrific with Her very big mouth, lolling tongue and red and sunken eyes. She had no flesh in her body and was filling the sky with loud roarings.¹⁴

The vastness of Her mouth is suggested by the description of Her catching the elephants with guards in front and back, by one hand and putting them in Her mouth. She chewed the horses with the warrior and the chariot with the charioteer. The thousands of discuses discharged by Muṇḍa appeared in Her mouth like a number of disks of the sun amid black clouds. She cut off the heads of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa with the sword and presented them to Ambikā (also called Caṇḍikā), who gave Her a new appellation Cāmuṇḍā to commemorate Her annihilation of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. This horrid and all-devouring form of Mahākāli is the same as the form of Kāla shown by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the eleventh chapter of the Gītā.¹⁵ Mahākāli is thus female counterpart of this voracious Kāla, the God of death and destruction.

Her another form as Raktadantikā or Rakta Cāmuṇḍā is described as one of the incarnations in the Mūrtirahasya of the Durga saptasati.

This form was taken to destroy the demons called Vaipracittas. On account of Her chewing them, Her teeth became red like pomegranate flower. Hence the name Raktadantikā.

The Mūrtirahasya describes this form in detail : She is all red : Her complexion, garment, ornaments, weapons, eyes, hair, sharp nails, tongue and teeth are red. She appears extremely terrific. Her breasts are long, plump, beautiful and harsh. She feeds Her devotees with these wish-fulfilling breasts. She wields sword, bowl, pestle and plough in Her four hands. She is called Rakta-Cāmuṇḍā and Yogeśvaridevī.¹⁶

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14. ततः कोपं चकारोच्चैरम्बिका तानरीन् प्रति ।
कोपेन चास्या वदनं मधीवर्णमभूत्तदा ॥
भ्रुकुटीकुटिलात्तस्या ललटफलकादद्रुतम् ।
कालीकरालवदना विनिष्क्रान्तासि पासिनी ॥
विचित्रखट्टवाङ्गधरा नरमालविभूषणा ।
द्वीपिचर्मपरीधाना शुक्रमांसातिमैरवा ॥
अतिविस्तारवदना जिह्वाललनभीषणा ।
निमग्नारक्तनयना नादापूरितदिङ्मुखा ॥ (दु० स० शती ७. ५-८)
15. Cf. Gītā, 11. 23-30.
16. या रक्तदन्तिका नाम देवी प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।
तस्याः स्वरूपं वक्ष्यामि शृणु सर्वभयापहम् ॥
रक्ताम्बरा रक्तवर्णा रक्तसर्वाङ्गभूषणा ।
रक्तायुधा रक्तनेत्रा रक्तकेशातिभीषणा ॥

The Tārā Cāmuṇḍā form of Mahākālī is described in the Kālikāpurāṇa as follows :—

She is as black as the petals of a blue lotus (*nilotpalā*) and wields *khatvāṅga* and sword in the upper and lower right hands; and shield and noose in the upper and lower left hands respectively. She dons tiger-hide and skull-garland. She is very tall, emaciated, very horrible due to long teeth, lolling tongue, red and sunken eyes and terribly loud cries. She mounts upon a trunk. Her ears and mouth are also very big.¹⁷

रक्ततीक्ष्णन खारक्तदशना रक्तदन्तिका ।
 पर्ति नारीवानुरक्ता देवी भक्तं भजेज्जनम् ॥
 वसुधेव विशालं सा सुमेरुगलस्तनी ।
 दीर्घै लम्बावतिस्थूलौ तावतीव मनोहरौ ॥
 कर्कशावतिकान्तौ तौ सर्वानन्दपयोनिधी ।
 भक्तान् सम्पाययेदेवी सर्वकामदुघी स्तनौ ॥
 खङ्गं पात्रं च मुसलं लाङ्गलं च विभर्ति सा ।
 आख्याता रक्तचामुण्डा देवी योगेश्वरीति च ॥ (मू० रहस्य, ४.९)

17. देव्या ललाटनिष्क्रान्ता या कालीति च विश्रुता ।
 तस्यास्तन्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि कामदं शृणु भैरव ! ॥
 समाप्तिसहितो दन्त्यः प्रान्त्यस्तस्मात् पुरःसरः ।
 पष्टस्वराग्निविन्दिन्दुसहितः सादिरेव च ॥
 कालीतन्त्रमिति प्रोक्तं धर्मकामार्थदायकम् ।
 एतन्मूर्ति प्रवक्ष्यामि वत्सैकाग्रमनाः शृणु ॥
 नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा चतुर्बहुसमन्विता ।
 खट्टवाङ्गं चन्द्रहासञ्च विभ्रती दक्षिणे करे ॥
 वामे चर्मं च पाशञ्च ऊर्ध्वधोभागतः पुनः ।
 दधती मुण्डमालञ्च व्याघ्रचर्मवराम्बवा ॥
 कृशाङ्गौ दीर्घदण्टा च अतिदीर्घातिभीषणा ।
 लोलजिह्वा निम्नरक्तनयना नादभैरवा ॥
 कबन्धवाहना पीनविस्तारथ्रवणानना ।
 एषा ताराह्वया देवी चामुण्डेति च कथ्यते ॥
 एतस्या योगिनीश्वाष्टौ पूजयेच्चित्तयेदपि ।
 त्रिपुराभीषणा चण्डी कर्त्ती हन्त्री विधातृका ॥
 करालाशूलिनी चेति अष्टौ ताः परिकीर्तिताः ।
 एषातिकामदा देवी जाङ्घहानिकरी सदा ॥
 एतस्याः सदृशी काञ्चित् कामदा नहि विद्यते । (कालिकापुराण० ६१ ९-९-ab)

According to the Mūrtirahasya, even Śākambhari (who produces vegetables from her body during the hundred years' drought) who is called Śatākṣī (because She looks compassionately at the sages with hundred eyes) and Durgā (because She kills demon Durga)¹⁸ is identified with other forms of the Goddess such as Umā, Gaurī, Sati, Caṇḍī, Kālikā and Pārvatī.¹⁹ This is a benevolent form of Kālikā.

Mahākālī's another form is named as Bhrāmari as She destroys the demon Aruṇa, by incarnating in the form of swarms of bees.²⁰ This is described in the Mūrtirahasya thus—"She is of variegated complexion, with variegated ornaments and unguent. She wields variegated bees in Her hand. She is called Mahāmārī. She is difficult to be looked at due to Her dazzling lustre."²¹ This is thus Mahāmārī form of Kālikā.

But the most terrific form of Mahākālī is called Smasāna Kālī or Dakṣinā-kālikā which is popular in eastern part of India such as Bengal, Bihar etc. This form is described in Kālatantra. Dakṣinā Kālikā is terrible with her terrific mouth. She is of black complexion like that of a cloud. She is naked. She is besmeared with blood dripping from the skull-garland in her neck. She looks horrible by a pair of carcases in Her ears. Her tusks and face are horrific. Her breasts are corpu-

18. भूयश्च शतवार्पिक्यामनावृष्ट्यामनम्भमि ।
मुनिभिः संस्तुता भूमो संभविष्याम्ययोनिजा ॥
ततः शतेन नेत्राणां निरीक्षायामि यन्मुनीन् ।
कीर्तयिष्यन्ति मनुजाः शताक्षीमिति मां ततः ॥
ततोऽहमखिलं लोकमात्मदेहसमुद्भूवैः ।
भरिष्यामि सुराः शाकैरावृष्टेः प्राणधारकैः ॥
शाकम्भरीति विख्यातं तदा यास्याम्यहं भुवि ॥
तत्रैव च वधिष्यामि दुर्गमारुणं महासुरम् ॥
दुर्गा देवीति विख्यातं तन्मे नाम भविष्यति । (दु० स० शती ११.४६-५०ab)
19. शाकम्भरी शताक्षी सा सैव दुर्गा प्रकीर्तिता ॥
विशोका दुष्टदमनो शमनो दुरितापदाम् ।
उमागौरी सती चण्डी कालिका सा च पार्वती ॥ (म० रहस्य, १५-cd १५)
20. यदारुणास्त्रैलोक्ये महाबाधां करिष्यति ॥
तदाहं भ्रामरं रूपं कृत्वाऽसंख्येषट्पदम् ।
त्रैलोक्यस्य हितार्थाय वधिष्यामि महासुरम् ॥
भ्रामरीति च मां लोकास्तदा स्तोष्यन्ति सर्वतः । (दु० स० श० ११.५३ cd-५४ ab)
21. तेजोमण्डलदुर्घर्षा भ्रामरी चित्रकान्तिभूत् ।
चित्रानुलेपना देवी चित्राभरणभूषिता ॥
चित्रभ्रमरपाणिः सा महामारीति गीयते । (म० रहस्य, २०-२१ ab)

lent and prominent. Her girdle is made up of the hands of corpses. She is laughing and producing terrible sound, Her face is glittering with streams of blood dripping from both the corners of Her mouth. Her three eyes are shining like rising red Sun. Her dishevelled hair is hanging loose. She is standing upon the heart of the corpse of Śiva. She is surrounded on all sides by ghastly female jackals. She is fond of inverted sexual intercourse with Mahākāla, with her face glittering with joy and smiling. She wields sword and blood-dripping head in Her upper and lower left hands and *abhaya* and *vara* in right upper and lower hands respectively.²² This form is worshipped in Calcutta. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa also adored this form in the Dakṣiṇeśvara temple in Calcutta.

One benevolent form of Kālikā is found in the Kālikāpurāṇa ascribed to the Uttarakhanda of the Padmapurāṇa.²³ This is a caste-purāṇa giving an account of *kāmsyakāras*²⁴ (braziers) whose family-deity is Kālikā who is benevolent to them in all respects. They, who live as a community, worship Her idol, which wields invariably sword and shield in Her upper two arms. In one of Her lower arms

22. करालवदनां घोरां मुक्तकेशीं चतुर्भुजाम् ।
 कालिकां दक्षिणां दिव्यां मुण्डमालाविभूषिताम् ॥
 सद्यच्छिन्नशिरः खडगबामाधोर्वकराम्बुजाम् ।
 अभयं वरदश्वैव दक्षिणोर्वर्वाधिः पाणिकाम् ॥
 महामेद्यप्रभां श्यामां तथा चैव दिग्म्बरीम् ।
 कण्ठाविसन्त्तमुण्डालीगलद्रुधिरच्छिचताम् ॥
 कर्णवितंसतानीत शवयुग्मभयानकाम् ।
 घोरदंष्ट्रां करालास्यां पीनोन्नतपयोधराम् ॥
 शवानां करसङ्घातैः कृतकाञ्चीं हसन्मुखीम् ।
 सृक्षवद्यगलद्रक्तधाराविष्फुरिताननाम् ॥
 घोररावां महारोद्रीं इमशानालयवासिनीम् ।
 बालाकमण्डलाकार लोचनत्रितयान्विताम् ॥
 दन्तुरां दक्षिणव्यापि मुक्ता लम्बिकचोच्चयाम् ।
 शवरूपमहादेव हृदयोपरि संस्थिताम् ॥
 शिवाभिर्घोररावाभिश्वतुदिक्षु समच्चिताम् ।
 महाकालेन च समं विपरीतरतानुराम् ॥
 सुखप्रसन्नवदनां स्मेरानन सरोरुहाम् ।
 एवं सञ्चिन्तयेत् कालीं सर्वकामार्थसिद्धिदाम् ॥

Kālatantra, quoted in Tantrasāratantra (Vide Śabda Kalpadruma, p.114)

23. Edited—A. N. Jani : Kālikāpurāṇa with text, Gujarati translation and introduction in Gujarati, Baroda, 1972.

24. They are called Kamsāras (Gujarati), Kānsāris (Bengali), Tāmbaṭ (Marathi) and ṭhaṭheras (U. P. and Rajasthan).

there is invariably a child, while the other has either a drinking bowl or *varada*. In some cases these are rosary and *kamandalu* in the lower hands. She is mounted upon a lion or a *vyāla*. Under Her feet there are invariably three heads.²⁵

The benign form of Kālikā is called Bhadrakāli. The Prapañcasāra attributed to Śaṅkarācārya describes Her as follows :—

She is terrific with white tusks, three eyes and erect hair. She is black like a cloud, and the small bells are tinkling in Her girdle. She wields skull, axe, *damaru* and trident in Her hands.²⁶

The allegory of Mahākālī form :

The word Kāla has several meanings such as black, time and death. The word Kāla in Kālikā and Mahākālī seems to refer to Her black complexion which is the chief feature of Her form. The Matsya purāṇa records that Satī the first wife of Śiva was reborn as a daughter of Himālaya. She was therefore called Haimavatī or Girijā or Pārvatī. Her complexion was dark. Once Śiva jocularly addressed Her as Kāli (the black one). She getting annoyed went to the Himalayas for penance. Brahmā granted Her white complexion. She was consequently known as Gaurī (the white one).²⁷

But in fact Her black colour is a symbol of Her form constituted of *tamoguṇa* which is represented by dark colour.

She is also the deity of Time. It is a matter of experience for all of us that, with the passing of time one gets worn out, withered or decayed and ultimately meets death. In other words Time scissors the thread of human life bit by bit at every moment.²⁸ This destructive aspect of Time which ultimately leads to death

25. For the pictures vide Kalikapurana. According to the story four brazier brothers go for trade to the South. They have a clash with the local king who treacherously captures them and kills three of them under the feet of elephant at gates in three directions. The youngest one however is saved by Kālikā who subjugates the king and takes the youngest one in Her lap. The heads of the other three brothers are given shelter under Her feet.

26. सुरौद्रसितदंतिका त्रिनयनौर्ध्वकेशोल्वणा
कपालपरशूल्लसड्डमरुक्तिशूलाकुला ।
घनाघननिभा रणद्रुचिरकिञ्चिणीमालिका
भवद्विभवसिद्धये भवतु भद्रकाली चिरम् ॥ (प्रपञ्चसार, ३२.९)

27. Matsyapurāṇa, 154. 1-3.

28. This is represented by a scissor in the hand of Kālikā in some paintings.
Cf. also—

कलाकाष्ठादिरूपेण परिणामप्रदायिनि ।
विश्वस्योपरतौ शक्तो नारायणि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ (दु० स० श० ११.९)

is personified as Kāla or Mahākāla—the God of death and destruction. Mahākālī represents the feminine counterpart of this Mahākāla.

The Mahānirvāṇa-tantra explains the allegory thus—

“You are the higher Prakṛti of Parabrahma. You create this universe beginning with *mahat* and ending with the five elements. Brahma, the Supreme cause, is only instrumental. At Its will you the highest Yoginī create, preserve and finally destroy this world of movables and immovables. Śiva is called Mahākāla because he carries off all creatures. As you carry off even Mahākāla you are called īdyā Kālikā. Īdyā because you are the first Being and Kālī, because you are Kāla (destroyer).

The meditation is two-fold : formless and endowed with form. The former is beyond the reach of speech and mind. I described your gross form to fix the mind upon it, for attaining the desired end and for entering into the subtle meditation. The form of the formless Kālikā is imagined as per Her qualities and actions.

The colours such as white, yellow etc. merge into the black one. Similarly all beings enter into Kālī. Therefore the colour of this attributeless and formless *Kīla-śakti* (Time-power) is imagined to be black.

The moon on the forehead of this eternal, imperishable, auspicious power of Time indicates Her immortality.

She is imagined as having three eyes because by the three eternal powers of the Sun, the moon and the fire (lightning), She keeps watch over the entire temporal world.²⁹

29. त्वं परा प्रकृतिः साक्षात् ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः ।
महत्तत्त्वादि भूतान्तं त्वया सृष्टमिदं जगत् ॥
निमित्तमात्रं तद्ब्रह्म सर्वकारणकारणम् ।
तस्येच्छामात्रमालम्ब्य त्वं महायोगिनी परा ॥
करोषि यासि हंस्यन्ते जगदेतच्चराचरम् ।
कलनात् सर्वभूतानां महाकालः प्रकीर्तिः ॥
महाकालस्य कलनात् त्वमाद्या कालिकापरा ।
कालत्वादिभूतत्वादाद्या कालीति गीयसे ॥
ध्यानन्तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं स्वरूपारूपमेदतः ॥
स्वरूपं तव यद्ध्यानमवाङ्मनसः गोचरम् ॥
मनसो धारणार्थाय शीघ्रस्वाभीष्टसिद्धये ।
सूक्ष्मध्यानप्रबोधाय स्थूलध्यानं वदामि ते ॥
अरूपायाः कालिकायाः कालमातुर्महाद्युतेः ।
गुणक्रियानुसारेण क्रियते रूपकल्पना ॥

According to Monier Williams the three eyes represent perpetual revolution of ages, and successive extinction and generation of races of mankind.³⁰

All these symbols suggest that Mahākālī, the female counterpart of Mahākāla is the deity of Time, Death and Destruction. Though dreadful to evil elements She is most benign as Mother to Her devotees.

उपासकानां कार्याय पुरैव कथितं प्रिये ।
गुणक्रियानुसारेण रूपं देव्याः प्रकल्पितम् ॥
श्वेतपीतादिको वर्णो यथा कृष्णे विलीयते ।
प्रविशन्ति तथा काल्यां सर्वभूतानि शैलजे ॥
अतस्तस्याः कालशक्ते निर्गुणायानिराकृतेः ॥
हितायाः प्रासयोगानां वर्णः कृष्णो निरूपितः ॥
नित्यायाः कालरूपायां अव्ययायाः शिवात्मनः ।
अमृतत्वात् ललाटेऽस्याः शशिचिह्नं निरूपितम् ॥
शशिसूर्यादिभिर्नित्यैरखिलं कलिकं जगत् ।
सम्पश्यति यतस्तस्मात् कल्पितं नयनत्रयम् ॥

(Mahānirvāṇatantra as quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma. pp. 114-15).

30. Monier Williams : "Religious Thought and life in India" pp, 85, 266 etc. explaining allegory of Śiva.

[P. S. All the references to the Durga-saptaśatī are from the Gita Press, Gorakhpur edn—34th reprint].

RELIGION AND SOCIETY WITH A FOCUS ON TANTRĀ

UPENDRA KUMAR DAS

The term religion has been defined by different scholars differently according to their own angle of vision. From these definitions, it is extremely difficult to determine what religion ultimately stands for. But still a workable understanding of the concept of religion is possible.

So, first of all, let us make an attempt to understand what religion means, whether the term religion has been used in the sense of *dharma* of the Sanskrit vocabulary or in the sense in which it is used in the English vocabulary. The question arises because *dharma* means something more than what is meant by religion. We propose to use the term religion in the sense of *dharma*.

It is apparent that religion, under discussion, means a particular religion as determined by a particular denomination, viz. Hindu religion, Buddhist religion, Christian religion, Islamic religion etc. It is to be noted in this context that what is called Hindu religion these days was not so named in the scriptures, the Vedas and the Tantras. In the scriptures it is generally spoken of as '*sanātana dharma*' (eternal religion), so termed because of the eternity of the ultimate reality it aims at. But in later times, the epithet Hindu *dharma* has been extensively used and has come to stay. So, in this discourse we would also use Hindu religion in the sense of Hindu *dharma*.

It is regrettable that barring specialists even educated Hindus of these days have no clear conception of their professed religion. At best, they have some vague notions which are mostly inadequate and even misleading.

Hindu religion encompasses in its orbit diverse religious beliefs and practices of people from the lowest to the topmost rung of society. These beliefs and practices pertain to supernatural features as well as features relating to profound and permanent values of life. This involves conception of the ultimate reality, objective and subjective, aimed at by religion and philosophy, which are so interspersed in Hindu religion that it is extremely difficult for a layman to separate one from the

other. The highest concept of Hindu religion is correlated with the most profound concept of philosophy involved.

Hindu religion is unity in diversity. Its main characteristic is synthesis. It has many ramifications, of which, each important one has its own school of philosophy.

Similar is the relation between Hindu religion and society. The fact that the society is designated by the same determinant as used for religion is a clear proof of their close relationship. Moreover, Hindu society is governed by 'smṛtiśāstra' known as 'dharmashāstra' (Code of ethical and religious behaviour). This again corroborates the aforesaid contention. In short, Hindu society as envisaged in the śāstras is basically religious.

We have stated that Hindu religion is based on the Vedas and the Tantras. Both are regarded as '*apauruṣeya*' i.e. not created by any human agency. Both are '*śruti*', the scriptures of ultimate authority, which, under no circumstances, are to be tampered with.

According to *Harita*, '*śruti*' is of two kinds—Vedic and Tantric. The Vedas and the Tantras are not mutually exclusive. Some Tantric scholars even trace the origin of Tantra in the Atharvaveda. According to some scholars Tantra is Veda, the fifth Veda. But majority of Tantric scholars do not subscribe to this view. They consider Tantras to be different from the Vedas; although some Tantras are in the same strain as the Vedas and are regarded as Vedic; while others are non-Vedic.

The ultimate objective of the Vedas and the Tantras being the same, there is no fundamental difference between the two. But though the goal is the same yet the approach to it and the ways and means of reaching it are dissimilar. It may again be noted here that Vedic and Tantric practices also are not mutually exclusive. There are common practices executed according to relevant scriptural directives. Scholars are of opinion that there are lots of things Vedic that have been absorbed and assimilated by the Tantras. As for example, *Pranava* and *Gāyatri*, the two basic Vedic concepts, are found in the Tantras also, but as Tantric *Pranava* and *Gāyatri*, the former being accessible to male twice-born only, while the latter has no such restriction.

Again, it is found that Vedic *mantras* have been prescribed for purely Tantric practices. Not only that, some scholars go even to the extent of regarding Tantric practices as the metamorphosis of Vedic practices in conformity with changing times. Some sort of ideological unity is also discernible in the practices as prescribed by the two '*śrutis*'.

At one time, it was the aim of Vedic sacrifices to acquire such power, by meticulous performance of a sacrifice according to *sāstra*, that would enable the sacrificer to control gods and thereby obtain from them the desired objects. Exactly the same thing is noticeable with regard to some Tantric practices.

It is pointed out that the aim of religious practices as enjoined by the *Veda Samhitas* is, by and large, temporal prosperity and happiness. The aim of some Tantric practices are also found to be identical.

In the *Vedānta* the ultimate aim of religious practices is stated to be “*Brahma-Upalabdhī*” i.e. realisation of Brahman. The ultimate aim of higher Tantric *sādhanā* also is the same. In the Tantras Brahman is usually described as ‘*Parāśakti*’ or ‘*Para Śiva*’.

Innumerable such similarities between the Vedas and the Tantras may be traced. In consideration of all these, many a scholar, as we have stated earlier, are of the opinion that it is the Vedic religion, that has, in course of time, changed into Tantric religion with different perspective and conceptual variations. But this is controversial.

As the focus of our discussion is Tantra, we would leave aside the Vedas and concentrate on the Tantras. Tantra is ‘*sāstra*’. According to *Kālikāgama* this ‘*sāstra*’ contains *mantra* and metaphysical matters of highest contemplation. Etymologically, Tantra is derived from the Sanskrit root ‘tan’ which means to spread, “*Tanyate vistāryate jñānam anena iti tantram*”—knowledge is spread by it, hence, it is called Tantra. *Kālikāgama* declares, “This *sāstra* spreads a vast subject concerning *tattva*, i.e. principles, and *mantra* and also rescues *jīva*. Hence it is called ‘tantra’.

It is observed that Tantra stands for all the characteristics of Hindu religion stated earlier. It has catholicity, unity amidst diversity and elasticity in accommodating multifarious people of different *adhikāra* i.e. competence according to individual taste and mental capability. It may be mentioned here that this concept of *adhikāra* is a unique characteristic of Hindu religion as prescribed by Tantra.

Hence Tantra is claimed to be dynamic and renovating, mainly because of its adaptability for changing circumstances in juxtaposition to the *Veda* noted for its static exclusiveness.

Tantric practices are varied and numerous. There are reasons historical and otherwise. Tantra insists on meticulous execution of a *kriyā* (practice) in every detail. Expertise is needed for such execution. According to Tantra it is the ‘*guru*’ alone who has this expertise. Hence, he is inevitable in Tantric practices. No Tantric *Kriyā* is possible without the help of the guru. In execution of a

Tantric *Kriyā* every guru follows his own sampradāya, i.e. tradition. And traditions vary. So, the same *kriyā* may be performed with different details.

To outsiders some of these elaborate details may appear to be superfluous and useless. But to the initiated they are of utmost importance and considered essential for the ‘*sādhaka*’ (aspirant) as the ways and means of reaching his prescribed goal.

According to Tantric scholars, Vedic religious practices being extremely difficult in the Kali Age, Tantric practices have become universal for the Hindus.

Metaphysically, Tantra is nondualistic. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj, one of the most versatile Sanskrit scholars of modern times, says, “The basic concept of Tantra is advaitavāda i.e. nondualism. “Sā-aham” i.e. She am I and “Sa-Aham” i.e. He am I, together constitute the base of entire Hindu Śāstra.

To the adherents of Tantra, their Śāstra is the best and in their enthusiasm for glorifying the same they declare that “Hindus all over India follow the Tantra and dicta of Tantric *gurus* in their pursuit of religion”.

This might be a tall claim. But factual evidence will establish that the Hindus all over India have their religious practices mostly in accordance with Tantric and Paurāṇik dicta. Hence, the influence of Tantra on the Hindus all over the country cannot be gainsaid.

According to Tantra, India is divided into three regions, namely, *Viṣṇukrāntī*, *Rathakrāntā* and *Aśvakrāntā* or *Gajakrāntā*. Three different Tantric *sampradāyas*, namely, Gauda, Kāshmira and Kerala, predominate over these regions. *Viṣṇukrāntā* extends from the Vindhya hills to Chattagrama; *Rathakrāntā* from the Vindhya hills to Mahāchīna; and *Aśvakrāntā* from the Vindhya hills to Mahāsāmudra. Eastern India falls within *Viṣṇukrāntā*. We restrict ourselves to a discussion of Tantric influence over this region, especially Bengal. This is because Tantric practices are believed to be more prevalent in this region than the other two. This has its own cause. According to competent scholars, Tantras have been predominant in the regions where non-Vedic religions e.g. Buddhism and Jainism once prevailed. Historical records will show that Bengal has been in the forefront of these regions.

To common people, Tantra means Śākta Tantra. But this is factually erroneous. Because, the three most prominent Hindu religious sects, namely, Śāiva, Śākta and *Vaiṣṇava*, have Tantras of their own. Śāiva Tantras are generally known as Āgamas. The *Vaiṣṇava* Tantras that are usually followed by the *Vaiṣṇavas* with respect to their religious practices are *Sanatkumāratantra*, *Gautamiyatana*, *Sāradātilaka* and *Kramadipikā*. The Tantras of the said three sects

have many things in common and these go a long way towards forging a bond of fellow-feeling amongst the members of these sects. *Śaivas* and *Śāktas* are philosophically of the same category. It is the *Śāktas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* who have apparent differences that sometimes end in ignominous quarrel. But on scrutiny these are found superficial.

The supreme reality aimed at by Hindu philosophy and religion, may be categorically stated as Upanisadic Brahman. This reality is called *Śiva* by the *Śaivas*, *Śakti* by the *Śāktas* and *Viṣṇu* by the *Vaiṣṇavas*. According to the Āgamas and Tantras, *Śiva* and *Śakti* are two in one. Ritualistic and philosophical concepts of the two are analogous. Hence, for reasons aforesaid, we would leave aside the Āgamas and concentrate on *Śākta* Tantra. We have referred to the apparent quarrel between the *Śāktas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* in Bengal. They are commonly believed to be mutually antagonistic and there are episodes of their mutual recriminations. So, it is believed that the *Vaiṣṇavas* have nothing to do with Tantra. We have shown that this is not true.

Śākta Tantras have considerable influence on *Vaiṣṇava* Tantras. In fact, there are reasons to believe that the latter were inspired by the former.

The *Śāktas* and the *Vaiṣṇavas* have many common or identical concepts concerning religion. For example, we may refer to the concept of 'guru'. We shall henceforward use the term Tantra in the sense of *Śākta* Tantra. In the Tantra, glory of the guru i.e. spiritual teacher has been expressed almost in hyperbole. Guru is considered as *Śiva* Himself or *Śakti* Herself. In the *Vaiṣṇava* Tantra also glory of the guru has been expressed in identical terms. According to *Kramadīpikā* the guru is *Śrikṛiṣṇa*.

We have noted that according to Tantra *Śiva* and *Śakti* are one. Their relation is commonly described as 'avinābhāvasambandha', i.e. inseparateness, like that of the sun and its rays. The same relation between *Rādhā* and *Kṛiṣṇa* is asserted in the *Vaiṣṇava* Tantras. According to 'Nīradapāñcharātra' there is no difference between *Rādhā* and *Kṛiṣṇa*, both are one. Again it has been asserted that there is no difference between *Rādhā* and *Pārvatī* i.e. *Śakti*. In the said text *Pārvatī* tells *Śrikṛiṣṇa* "I am *Rādhā* on your bosom at *Rāsalilā* i.e. sport called *Rāsa* at *Vrindāvana*". The Sammohana Tantra also declares *Rādhā* and *Durgā* to be one. It says, "She who is *Nityā* i.e. Eternal, *Parā* i.e. supreme, *Advayā* i.e. without second, is *Rādhā*, *Mahālaksmī*, One beyond three guṇas, and *Durgā*".

Due to mental make-up and other factors some people think of and worship *Śakti* as *Śakti* while others as *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu*. It has already been stated that *Śakti*, *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* etc. are only different names of Brahman. Like Brahman,

according to Tantra, *Śakti* is neither female nor male nor neuter. But She may be conceived as any of the three categories.

According to the *Śāktas* the concept of *Śakti* as Mother is based rather on empirical considerations. As there is none like the mother to cater to all the needs of the child with utmost love and promptness, so it is contemplated that the Divine Mother also will do likewise regarding Her devotees, who are Her children. But Tantra does not take any rigid stand in this regard. *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* enjoins ‘‘Devi i.e. *Śakti* may be thought of as Male or Female or as Indivisible Brahman who is ‘*Satchidānanda*’ i.e. Being-consciousness-Bliss.’’

Śakti is ‘*Arūpā*’ i.e. without form. But at the same time, She is ‘*bahirūpā*’ i.e. assumes innumerable forms. Tantra declares that She assumes these forms for the benefit of the *sādhakas*, who are incapable of contemplating Her as ‘*Arūpa*’.

In fact, the *Śāktas* regard all deities to be but forms of *Śakti*. This concept might be considered to be at the root of tolerance and liberality of Hindu religion as noted earlier. In accordance with this concept, worshipper of any deity is a Hindu. Not only that, as Tantra declares the entire world to be *Śakti*, hence even the worshipper of trees, animals etc. are worshippers of Sakti. So, in persuance of the same logic, they are also included in the Hindu fold. This also throws cogent light on the historical growth of the Hindu pantheon.

Besides, because of this conception, even modern votaries of power might, logically, be included in the *Śākta* fold. This may sound dogmatic. But scholars concerned put forward reasons in support of it. According to the scientists ‘power’ is inconscient matter. In Sanskrit power is called ‘*Śakti*’. And according to Tantra *Śakti* is ever conscient, consciousness Herself. So, what is regarded as inconscient matter by science is declared as conscient by Tantra. ‘*Jada*’ i.e. matter is ‘*cit*’ i.e. consciousness, according to Tantra. But ‘*Jada*’ to the unenlightened, is lying in so much dormancy that it looks like being different from consciousness.

Modern science has shown what tremendous power lies dormant in an atom. This only corroborates what has been declared in Tantra that *Śakti* is all-pervading and everything is *Śakti*. But she is beyond limitations and is incomprehensible by gross human intellect. Atomic science has got a glimpse of Great power, *Mahāśakti* of Tantra. This is a pointer to the fact that the gap between the concept of power in a modern science and that of *Śakti* in Tantra is gradually narrowing down and there are enthusiasts who believe that, in no distant future, science itself will be in a position to prove that the power it deals with is not only inconscient but also conscient. In other words, it may be proved that matter is ultimately Chit i. e. consciousness. In that case, even scientists might not have any inhibition against religion in its highest form. This happening, the future society is reasonably expected to be conceptually different from what it is today.

Śakti, the Ultimate Reality according to Tantra, is contemplated as feminine. The glory of women has been extolled in Tantra in juxtaposition to some derogatory dictums of *Smṛtiśāstra*. Tantra declares ‘*strimayañca jagatsarvam*’—the entire world is feminine. ‘*Strī*’ means *śakti* as every female is *śakti* in herself. This is explicitly stated in the *Śaktisangamatatantra*. It says “A woman is mother of the three worlds, the form of the three worlds, the cause of the three worlds”. This obviously refers to *Brahmamayī Śakti*, in other words, Brahman contemplated as *Śakti*.

In society a woman is a mother or a daughter or a wife. Other relationships are included in these. According to Tantra, mother is the Great Mother i.e. *Parā Śakti*. About the wife it is enjoined ‘*nijakāntā*’, *sadā pūjyā nijakāntā hi devalā*—One’s own wife is always to be adored; one’s own wife is the deity. Tantra prescribes worship of ‘*Kumāri*’ i.e. virgin daughter. There are elaborate rituals for it; all pointing to the basic concept that a female is *Śakti* Herself.

In this connection it may be pointed out that in this glorification of woman, Tantra has preserved the tradition of old Vedic society where a woman holds as esteemed a position as that of a man.

But in later times social panorama was completely changed. As already hinted at, women were condemned in the *Purāṇas* and *Smṛti* Texts as the strongest fetter and the most alluring objects to be shunned at all costs. Decadence stooped so low as to declare a woman to be a gate to hell (*nārī narakasya dvāram*).

Abject denigration of woman, it seems, is correlated to the concept that this empirical world is without substance (*asāraḥ saṃsāraḥ*) which again accounts for the other-worldliness prevalent among the Hindus. This idea of other-worldliness seems to be an offshoot of the concept that moksha or mukti, i.e. deliverance from mundane affairs, is the sumnum bonum of life. That being the case, all human efforts ought to be directed towards that end. *Mokṣa* or *mukti* is generally considered to be attainable after death. This is known as ‘*Videha mukti*’ i.e. *mukti* when there will be no body. This stimulates the idea of other-worldliness. Hanker- ing for the other world is an undercurrent in traditional Hindu thinking. This generates a serious psychological crisis for people who consider this world and worldly things to be real but are constrained by an inhibition just the reverse. This may be regarded as one of the vital factors responsible for the inherent weakness of the Hindu society.

Historically considered, this is a later development. Old Vedic society had nothing to do with other-worldliness. It was very much concerned with things mundane. All sacrifices, the only religious practices of the Samhita age, were performed for worldly gains, such as, good health, long life, abundance of wealth and children, defeat of enemies, etc.

This Vedic trend is clearly manifest in Tantric scriptures. According to Tantra, the world is real, worldly things are as real as *mukti*. Tantra prescribes '*bhukti*' i.e. enjoyment of worldly things as well as '*mukti*' for the individual. Samayāchāratantra says, "*Etasya sādhakasyātha bhukti-mukti kare sthitā*"—*bhukti* and *mukti* are on the palm of the *Sādhaka* of Devī. Hence, a follower of Tantra need not be apologetic about '*bhukti*'. Kulārnavatantra declares, "*Bhoga Yogāyate mokṣayate saṃsārah*"—*bhoga* becomes *yoga* and earthly life becomes *mokṣa*. This is repudiation of other-worldliness in unambiguous language.

Another point requires mention in this connection. Degradation of body is an off shoot of other-worldliness. But Tantra glorifies the body. Gandharvatantra asserts, "*Śariram tu manusyānām puruṣārthaikasādhanam*"—The body is the only instrument of men for attaining the four principal objects of life. In the same Tantra it has been enjoined "*nirāmaye śarire tu sarvakarmāṇi sādhayet*"—All works should be done with a healthy body. *Hṛdaya* is one of the means prescribed by Tantra for this purpose. '*Sarvakarmāṇi*' i.e. all works aforesaid comprise of '*bhukti*' and '*mukti*'. It is common knowledge that without a healthy body neither *bhukti* i.e. enjoyment of life nor any religious attempt for spiritual progress is possible.

Highest glorification of body is found in Kulārnavatantra which says,

*Dehaḥ devālayo devi jivāḥ devaḥ sadāśivāḥ,
Tyajedajñānanirmālyam so-ahambhāvena pūjayed.*

—Devi, the body is the abode of deity; the individual is Sadāśiva. Discard offerings of ignorance, worship with the idea 'He am I'.

In consideration of all these factors, it is claimed that Tantra has saved the Hindu society from the psychological crisis mentioned above. Tantric scholars assert that it is because of Tantra that Hindu religion and society could survive under most serious adverse circumstances and could make necessary adjustment in accordance with changing times.

Considered metaphysically this has been possible because of Tantra's declaration that *Śakti* is both objective and subjective, immanent and transcendent. Everything is *Śakti*, but She is beyond everything. From this standpoint any creation of human mind may theoretically be regarded as *Śakti* and included in the fold of Hindu religion. According to Tantra, Hindu religion is predominantly a religion of the householder. At one time '*Caturāśrama*' i.e. four stages of life was an integral part of Hindu social structure. But this has long ceased to exist. Only two stages, namely, '*gārhasthya*' i.e. the stage of the householder and '*yati*' i.e. the stage of one who has renounced the world for spiritual achievement, survive for all practical purposes.

As already stated, Tantra advocates *gṛhasthya*. Tantric *sādhanā* is pre-eminently a *sādhanā* of the householder. The ‘*grha*stha’ as envisaged by Tantra appears, to the uninitiated, to be rather an ideal to be followed. We give here a rendering in English of what *Mahānirvānatantra* says about the *grha*stha. ‘The *grha*stha should be *Brahmanīṣṭha*’ i.e. absorbed in the contemplation of Brahman, ‘*Brahma-jñānaparāyaṇa*’ i.e. versed in the knowledge of Brahman. He should make offerings of all works done by him to Brahman. He should never tell a lie and should not do anything untrue. He should serve the deity and the guest. He should regard his mother and father as visible goddess and god and always serve them as such by all means. The *grha*stha, who being infatuated with pride for learning and wealth, neglects his parents, is disowned by all religions and goes to abominable hell. The householder himself should not take food leaving aside his parents, sons, wife, brothers and sisters and guests, even when his life is in danger for want of food. He should please the aforesaid and other relatives and friends even undergoing lots of hardship himself.

One of the criterions for judging a society might be the ideals that it is advised to follow. On this score, the Hindu society will certainly be considered superb in view of the aforesaid ideal of ‘*grha*stha’. If majority of the *grha*sthas were following this ideal in life, Hindu society would have been an ideal society.

It has been hinted at earlier that philosophically Tantra advocates advaitavāda i.e. doctrine of non-dualism. This ‘*advaita*’ is ‘*Śaktādvaita*’. According to this doctrine, there is *Śakti* alone and nothing else. This stipulates that all visible and conceivable things are but forms of *Śakti*. When viewed from this angle, there is no difference between man and man. Hence, there is no scope for disunity, estrangement, hostility in a society contemplated according to ‘*Śaktādvaita*’. In such a society there would be abundance of harmony, fellow-feeling, amity, integration and unity.

Sentiments of true *Śakta* householder has been aptly expressed in the following sloka of ‘*Annpūrṇāstotra*’ believed to be written by the great Śaṅkarāchārya, an earnest devotee of *Śakti*. It says, “Māta ca parvatī Devī, pītā Devo Maheśvaraḥ. Bāndhvāḥ Sivabhaktāśca svadeśo bhuvanatrayam”—My mother is Devī Parvatī, father, Deva Maheśvara, the devotees of *Śiva* are my friends and all the three worlds my mother land.

These sentiments are indicative of a religion which is not only acceptable to all Hindus but may also be regarded as cosmopolitan.

But unfortunately this highest aspect of Tantric religion failed to influence Hindu society to any considerable degree. There are multiple reasons for that. The most cogent one seems to be people’s incapacity for applying in life a great principle which they understand only intellectually.

Tantra speaks of 'siddhapuruṣa' i.e. a person who has reached the goal of his spiritual life. He is also regarded as 'jīvanmukta' i.e. who has attained salvation while retaining his bodily existence.

Such a great personality has tremendous benign influence on the society and attracts it towards its ultimate fulfilment, material and spiritual. It is asserted that a siddhapuruṣa may retain his healthy body as long as he desires for the same, solely for the benefit of the people at large. A siddhapuruṣa is believed to possess supernatural power. Hence, even in modern times of scepticism and cynicism innumerable people from all walks of life are found to flock round a religious celebrity reputed to be a siddhapuruṣa.

As already noted, Tantra caters to the need of all sorts of people. It prescribes sādhanā ranging from simple worship of Śakti to difficult practices in accordance with the adhikāra of the individual aspirant.

Hindu religion as propagated by Tantra is considered to be the most suitable religion for the Kali Age in which longevity of man is too short for any long-drawn religious practice. It is claimed that a particular Tantric sādhanā, if done properly according to śāstra, is capable of giving mokṣa to a sādhaka in a single night. Any competent sādhaka may verify this claim himself. Votaries of Tantra advocate that Tantric sādhanā is practical and result-oriented. So, they maintain that when done properly it is sure to yield the result aimed at.

How Tantra has affected society in connection with religious sects is a question that requires elaborate discussion for an answer. This is not possible in a short article. So, we refrain from making any such attempt. All that we may possibly do is to give some hints.

It is claimed by competent scholars that after the Vedic period all major religious sects, originating in India have been influenced by Tantra, the only exception being the Jaina Sect.

In the mediaeval period the religious sects founded by the Sants or saints are mostly influenced by Tantra.

In a still later period, Tantric concepts are discernible in some minor religious sects of Bengal such as Sahajiyā, Āul and Bāul.

Before we conclude, we would like to add just a few more words. Like other sects of Hindu religion, the Śakta sect also has been plagued by many aberrations and distortions in course of time. This is mainly due to incompetent greedy men usurping the role of true gurus as prescribed by Tantra. Higher Tantric sādhanā being esoteric and usually wrapped in a shroud of mystery had also its contribution to the above predicament.

This had a very debilitating repurcussion on the society. So, in spite of the invigorating and exhilarating doctrine of *Śakti*, Hindu religion failed to make society strong and vibrant.

Still, as hinted earlier, on historical evidence, it cannot but be admitted that the Hindu religion has withstood terrible onslaughts so many times and yet remains a viable entity even to this day and the Hindu society with all its modernity, notwithstanding, has an undercurrent of religious renovation.

NOTES ON *ĀYUH*

J. GONDA

Lexicographers and other authors have often expressed the opinion that the Sanskrit word *āyuh* does not, or does not only, mean "duration of life", but also, or even originally, "vital power". According to Grassmann¹ its original meaning was something like "strength, vigour, robustness", which, he argued, developed into "vital power" and "duration of life." Benveniste² was of the same opinion³. Monier-Williams, following the Petersburg Dictionary, gives "life (which, in English, has many meanings), vital power, vigour, health, duration of life, long life". Mayrhofer⁴ mentions only "vital power", incorrectly observing that this is also the meaning of the related Greek *aion*. It would, however, appear to me that no sound arguments can be adduced in favour of an original meaning "vital power, vigour" and that translators of Vedic texts have often adopted this meaning where the temporal meaning is more acceptable.

I add some text-places in substantiation of this statement. In my opinion, RV. 1, 127, 5 *ād asyāyur grābhaṇavat* does not mean "...und seine Lebenskraft..." (Geldner), but "And his (Agni's) (complete) term of life yields (any) support". RV. 9, 66, 19 *āgna ayūmṣi pavase* means "O Agni, thou undergoest the process of purification with regard to complete terms of life (for us)" (i.e. "while purifying thyself (thou givest us)...") rather than "offers us vital energies" (cf. Geldner; see, e.g., also VS. 19, 38; 35, 16; ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 8; PB. 6, 10, 3 (with Sāyaṇa's note⁵), because Agni, whose *āyuh* is not easily dying (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 2⁶); who is 'identical' with (homologized to) *āyuh* (6, 7, 3, 7; cf. also 7, 2, 1, 15) and is characterized by a complete span of life (*sārvāyuṣah*, 8, 1, 4, 6) which, as appears from RV. 10, 51,

1. H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873; ²1936, 183.
2. E. Benveniste, in Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique (Paris), 38, p. 105.
3. Which was endorsed by L. Renou, Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes, III, Paris 1957, p. 40,
4. M. Mayrhofer, A concise etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 77.
5. On this stanza see J. Gonda, in JRAS 1979, p. 144.
6. For RV. 10, 45, 8, quoted here as VS. 12, 1 see Renou. E. V. P. XIV, p. 12; 77.

7 (cf. 8), was given to him by the other gods; who, as Agni *āyuṣmān*, controls *āyuh* (ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 8; cf. TS. 2, 2, 3, 2); whose *āyuh* is mentioned, e.g., also AiB. 6, 33, 2 (cf. RV. 3, 17, 3), who is often expected or implored to give a complete term of life (e.g. TS. 1, 3, 14, 4; 1, 5, 3, 3; 4; 1, 5, 10, 2; cf. 2, 3, 10, 3; 4, 2, 1, 2; ŚB. 6, 7, 4, 2; cf. AVŚ. 2, 29, 2, 12, 2, 45)⁷ or to protect it (TS. 1, 1, 13, 2). Notice also that Agni in RV. 3, 1, 5 is said to have clad himself in glow and in the *āyuh* of the (primaeval) waters (cf. 2, 35, 7 f.; TS. 4, 7, 13, 2), which as the source and foundation of everything ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 7; 11, 1, 6, 1; 12, 5, 2, 14) are here tacitly assumed to possess an unending *āyuh* (cf. ŚB. 4, 4, 3, 15); and that in the beginning Agni alone was *amṛtaḥ* (ŚB. 2, 2, 8; but cf. 11, 1, 6, 4, where he has to live a thousand years), and that through him everything exists (8, 1, 1, 4).

As far as I am able to see, there is no reason whatever to translate, as Eggeling did, *āyuh* in ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 1 by “vital energy”: here the sacrificer’s vital breath, being beyond verbal expression, is said to be (to be homologized to) his *ātman* and his *āyuh* (see 5, 2, 4, 10; 8, 7, 3, 20), which is *ajaram* and *amṛtam*; or 4, 2, 3, 5, where it is implicitly said to hold his person or body (*ātmā*) together (see below); or at VS. 14, 17 (ŚB. 8, 3, 2, 14)—where it is co-ordinated with the forms of breath, eye-sight etc.—; 13, 4, 1, 7 by “vital strength”; at ŚB. 13, 1, 5, 6 and 13, 2, 6, 11 by “vitality” or at 13, 2, 5, 3 and 13, 2, 6, 15 and 6, 7, 3, 7 as well as 9, 2, 3, 16, where it is ‘identified’ with “vital breath” and food (cf. 8, 5, 2, 1). by “vital power”, a meaning which was also preferred by Dumont (e.g. TB. 3, 8, 15, 3). On the other hand, “long life” (Caland, PB. 1, 5, 17) is no exact translation; “normal term (lease) of life” (Caland, PB. 2, 15, 3; 3, 6, 3; 6, 10, 3; Keith AiĀ. 1, 5, 2; 5, 3, 1) or “natural term of life” (Caland, PB. 3, 6, 3) are incorrect, because “normal” and “natural” mean “regular, usual, average” and “ordinary, real, lifelike etc.” and an *āyuh* did certainly not coincide with Vedic man’s average duration of life or life-expectancy. Accordingly, “the vessel of the gods, which is not made of clay, must be used for the whole duration” *āyusi*, rather than “the long duration”, Caland, ĀpŚ. 1, 14, 3; or “the long life”, Dumont, TB. 3, 7, 4, 14 gg; cf. RV. 10, 161, 4). The meaning of RV. 4, 58, 11, which is addressed to the ghee, seems to be “the whole (empirical) world is based on the presence (display) of the divine power (*dhāman*), in the ocean, (i.e.) in (man’s) heart, in (man’s complete) duration of life” (*āyusi*)⁸. In TS. 2, 3, 2, 2;

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- 7. RV. 1, 36, 14 Agni is implored to make those speaking erect *jīvase*, i.e., “to live” in the sense of “to remain alive”, which is not the same as “to give *āyuh*”; cf. 1, 94, 4.
 - 8. On this stanza see J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 281; The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam 1967. p. 53 f.; Renou, E. V. P. XVI, p. 106 who here has his doubts about the translation “Lebenskraft” (“vital power”) and translates *āyuh* by “durée vitale”.

2, 3, 11, 5 ghee is ‘identified’ with *āyuh*; in ŚB. 7, 2, 3, 4 it is the essence (*rasah*) of All (cf. also 7, 5, 1, 3; in 13, 2, 1, 2; 13, 6, 2, 14 it is *tejah* “fiery energy”, which TB. 1, 3, 3, 7 is coupled with *āyuh*).

Translators often failed accurately to distinguish between *viśva* “all”, which points out the inability to proceed after a certain total number has been counted, and *sarva*, which in the oldest texts emphasizes the ideas of wholeness, completeness, being uninjured, safe and sound, and the inability to discern defectiveness. One prays to a deity for a *viśvam āyuh* (RV. 10, 85, 42; AVŚ. 19, 55, 6; TS. 5, 7, 2, 1), which one wishes or may expect to attain by worship etc. (1, 73, 5; 1, 93, 3; 8, 31, 8), devotes oneself to gods for the *viśvam āyuh* which will be allotted to him *jivase*, 1, 37, 15), obtained by divine favour (RV. 6, 16, 27; 6, 52, 15), is put in the sacrificer by means of a formula containing a reference to the cauldron which is *viśvāyuh* (see below). This “whole span of life”—though unknown to ourselves (7, 23, 2)—is sometime said to be 100 years (Sāyaṇa, on TB. 2, 8, 7, 10; cf. also 2, 6, 3, 4)⁹. Agni (the fire) spreads himself in the houses of men during (the worshipper’s whole life (*viśvam āyuh*, RV. 2, 38, 5, not “jedes Alter”, Geldner; 7, 90, 6)¹⁰.

The rather frequent compound *viśvāyu(s)*¹¹, which in most cases is an adjective, and sometimes a substantive,¹² may as a rule be rendered by “lifelong”: RV. 1, 9, 7 makes mention of lifelong renown; 5, 53, 13 of happiness lasting a lifetime; 6, 33, 4 of a lifelong friend (Indra). The meanings “allbelebend alle Lebenskraft hegend, all-erquickend” (“stimulating, refreshing everything, bestowing particular care upon vitality or vital power”), given in Grassmann’s Dictionary for places such as 1, 27, 3 “protect us, (O Agni), for (our) lifetime”; 1, 67, 6¹³; 1, 73, 4; 6, 4, 2; 6, 33, 4 and so on, have rightly been rejected by Geldner and Renou. In 10, 7, 1 I would not follow the latter¹⁴ in translating “who confers the whole duration of life”, in AVŚ. 18, 2, 55 (RV. 10, 17, 4) not Whitney in rendering “having all life-time”; in RV. 4, 42, 1 I would prefer “Varuna, the *kṣatriya* for life” (Geldner) to “who possesses the whole duration of life” (Renou¹⁵); Keith’s “of all life” (TS.

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- 9. See below.
 - 10. Also in Greek and Latin *aion* and *aevum* are sometimes accompanied by a word for “all”.
 - 11. See A. Debrunner and J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, III, Gottingen 1930, p. 291.
 - 12. See Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 67.
 - 13. Here Renou’s translation (E. V. P. XII, p. 14) is “(pour) toute la durée de vie (des hommes)”.
 - 14. Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 6; 77. Keith’s “with full life” (The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 337, TS. 4, 3, 13, 2 f.) is infelicitous.
 - 15. Renou, EVPV, p. 97.

4, 7, 13, 2 d) is incorrect. In brief, this compound refers to the factual duration of an empirical lifetime without any qualification. This is also the meaning of the epithet of the cauldron in TS. 1, 1, 8, 1 h; TB. 3, 2, 8, 4; VS. 1, 22¹⁶; SB. 1, 2, 2, 7 etc.

On the other hand, the patient who is snatched away from death is at RV. 10, 161, 5 (AVS. 8, 1, 20) "wholelimbed" (*sarvāṅga*, "uninjured in all limbs") and his *āyuh* is *sarvam* "safe and sound"; in AVS. 19, 61, 1; 19, 69, 1-4; 19, 70, 1; TS. 2, 3, 11, 1; 2, 5, 7, 4 f. one prays "may I attain all my life-time (*sarvam* *āyuh*)". In connexion with a curative offering SB. 5, 24, 10 speaks of an entire and *sarvam* ("unimpaired") *āyuh*. (See also TB. 1, 1, 7, 2; 1, 2, 1, 24; 26; 1, 2, 2, 7). This expression is not infrequently used in passages dealing with ritual perfection or when mention is made of ritual errors or practices which must be avoided lest the complete span of the sacrificer's life should be impaired. He who piles the great fireplace removes all deaths and lives *sarvam* *āyuh* (TS. 5, 6, 3, 1). He who performs the horse sacrifice in accordance with TS. 3, 8, 5, 4 will likewise attain *sarvam* *āyuh*, just as those who do not transgress Prajāpati's ordinance and do not eat more than twice a day (SB. 2, 4, 2, 6); see also 2, 1, 3, 4; 7, 4, 2, 18. He who is anointed with an incomplete (*asarvena*) formula is liable to depart before his *āyuh*; in the other case he will live his *sarvam* *āyuh* and obtain *sarvam* by conquest (notice the congruence; AiB. 8, 7, 9); similarly, 8, 11, 10 f. By means of particular rites one recovers one's own self (*ātmā*) unto life and attains by it *sarvam* *āyuh* (SB. 9, 1, 1, 33; 9, 1, 2, 7). He who recites particular formulae as loudly as he can goes to heaven and attains, blameless (*anapabrahah*), a complete span of life, obtains progeny, increase of wealth and so on (TB. 3, 12, 5, 3). (See also PB. 12, 11, 17; 23, 12, 4). He who performs the rite described at JB. 1, 362 attains *sarvam* *āyuh*, keeps off evil (*pīpmānam*) and goes to heaven; see also TS. 6, 4, 6, 4; TB. 3, 10, 9, 10. Or it is knowledge of a ritual truth that leads to this result or helps to bring it about¹⁷ (SB. 2, 4, 2, 6; 4, 2, 4, 1; 8, 1, 4, 6; 12, 7, 3, 16; AiB. 1, 5, 6; 2, 7, 13 *sarvāyuh* *sarvāyutvāya*; 2, 21, 4 f.; 2, 30, 5; 3, 8, 9 f. etc.; AiĀ. 3, 1, 1 etc.). According to KB. 13, 5 (13, 4, 17); 13, 9 (13, 7, 11); 14, 4 (14, 5, 5) a particular rite enables the *yajamāna* to live his *sarvam* *āyuh* in this world and to obtain *amṛtatvam* ("continued existence, free from death") and *akṣitum* ("a continued unimpaired condition") in the heavenly world; cf. also TS. 1, 5, 9, 5. An ass lives *sarvam* *āyuh*; so a premature death of this animal is of bad omen (5, 1, 5, 7).

I would therefore translate the formula....*viśvam asi viśvāyuh sarvam asi sarvāyuh* (which constitutes a climax) in TS. 2, 4, 3, 2; (TB. 2, 5, 7, 2 and 2, 7, 7,

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- 16. Not "life of all that liveth" (R. T. H. Griffith, The White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 8).
 - 17. On the power of knowledge see Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I², Stuttgart 1978, p. 43 f.; 176.

6 *āyur asi viśvāyur asi, sarvāyur asi, sarvam āyur asi*; MS. 2, 1, 11 : 13, 14; cf. also TS. 4. 4, 7, 2; VS. 38, 20) “thou art everything, of all (thy factual) life, thou art complete of an unimpaired (allotted) lifetime”.¹⁸

The “fixed”, or in this connexion rather “inchangeable, permanent” (*dhruva*), ladleful of *soma* (“which remains intact” till the end of the *agniṣṭoma*) is ‘identified’ with the *yajamāna*’s *āyuh*, which here should not be rendered by “vital energy” (Eggeling’s translation); it holds his person (*ātmā*) and his joints or limbs together (ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 3; cf. 5);¹⁹ it is also that part of his self or person which is below the navel (4, 2, 4, 2; 8; 15), a place which—like the right thigh—is often associated with embryos and vital power.²⁰ Accordingly, the *dhruva* should, in the morning, be drawn full (*pūrṇam*), “which means *sarvam*, and the *āyuh* means *sarvam*” (ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 2; 4, 2, 4, 3; cf. ĀpŚ. 12, 16, 1); the officiant draws it during the recitation of the *śastra*; thus he obtains uninterrupted *āyuh* and the *yajamāna* lives long, or his *sarvam* *āyuh* (4, 2, 4, 7). When in the afternoon it is poured into the cup of the *hotar*, MS. 2, 5, 2, 26 prescribes the formula MS. 4, 6, 6 : 88, 16 ff. “thou art a giver of *āyuh*...., of *varcas*”²¹.

Metals are bearers of power and the rarer they are, the more potent they are, it seems, considered to be. Gold is always auspicious and often mentioned together with other auspicious objects.²² In the Śat. Br. it is often said to be *amṛtam* *āyuh* “complete life-time free from death” (3, 8, 3, 26; 4, 6, 1, 6; 5, 2, 1, 20; 5, 4, 1, 12; 14; 5, 3, 5, 15; 13, 4, 1, 11). The privative compounds often denote abstract or ideal concepts or qualities which are conceived as the reverse of ideas or qualities known within some form of experience;²³ *amṛta* means “safeguarded against

- 18. Otherwise A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 178; and W. Caland, Altindische Zauberei (Wunschopfer), Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 115.
- 19. For the combination *ātman* and *āyuh* see also TB. 3, 10, 8, 9 where Dumont (Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 95 (1951), p. 639) translates “soul” and “vital power”.
- 20. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, ²Delhi 1969, ch. XI; Pūṣan and Sarasvatī, Amsterdam Acad. 1985, p. 23; Vedic ritual, Leiden 1980, p. 60; J. J. Meyer, Sexual life in ancient India, London 1930, p. 34; 371; 374. See also Kauś S. 12, 12 (with the comm.). Some Greek authors (see, eg, Pindarus, Fragm. III) seem to have regarded the spinal marrow as the seat of *aion*.
- 21. See also W. Caland and V. Henry, L’agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906; 1907, p. 167; 397 f.
- 22. Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 140 etc.
- 23. Gonda, *Ahimsā* and similar concepts, in Four studies in the language of the Veda, ‘s-Gravenhage 1959, ch. III, esp. p. 97 f.

dying, enjoying continued life, being secure against (a premature) death". Gold, being untarnishable and unalterable, was considered to be virtually indestructible.²⁴ Hence also the 'identifications' "gold is *amṛtam*" (ŚB. 7,4,1,15; 13,4,1,7; PB. 9,9,4) and "gold is *āyuh*" (4, 3, 4, 24; 5, 4, 3, 25 (VS. 10, 25; cf. ŚB. § 24). That is why amulets and other objects consisting or made of gold were supposed to bestow *āyuh amṛtam āyuh* (ŚB. 5, 1, 5, 28; 5, 4, 1, 14) or "a long *āyuh*" (AVŚ. 1, 35, 2), an *āyuh* of a hundred autumns (AVŚ. 2, 13, 4), *amṛtam āyuh* (ŚB. 4, 6, 1, 6; cf. 4, 3, 4, 24; 13, 4, 1, 11; TB. 2, 7, 9, 3) upon oneself or upon another person; by breathing over gold—"which is *amṛtam*, breath (*prāṇah*) being *āyuh*—one bestows *āyuh* upon oneself with *amṛtam*" (TS. 3, 3, 4, 3; cf. 6, 6, 10, 2 where the man who does so "satisfies" or "satiates" *amṛtam* by means of *āyuh*, which must mean "he secures freedom from death by means of the potency of his *āyuh*"). At ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 28 the *adhvaryu* accepts gold with VS. 7. 47 "...may I obtain the condition of being *amṛta* (*amṛtatvam*); be thou *āyuh* to the giver...." See also TS. 2, 3, 3, 2, In TB. 3, 8, 4, 3 reeds (*iśikāḥ*) are said to be *āyuh* as well as *amṛtam* (and to be a means of putting *āyuh* into the sacrificer), which here appears to be equivalent to each other.

In ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 10 *amṛtatvam* is explicitly said "to be bestowed on man, when he attains *sarvam āyuh* (here Eggeling translated "the whole (perfect) life"). However, PB. 22, 12, 2 adds "when he is better off" (cf. 23, 12, 4). According to ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 19 death disappears as a result of *amṛtam* (and so on), and whosoever knows this conquers recurring death and attains *sarvam āyuh*; "and let him regard this as *amṛtam* in yonder world and as *āyuh* in this world; some, indeed, hold it to be *prāṇa* (vital breath)²⁵", an opinion rejected by the author. Overcoming *punarmṛtyu* (not "death", Eggeling's translation) and attaining *sarvam āyuh* are also mentioned together in ŚB. 10, 6, 1, 4; 9; 11; 10, 6, 5, 8 ("death does not overtake him, (but) becomes his self", i.e. "he identifies himself with death", which anyhow is inherent in a human being)²⁶; 11, 4, 3, 20 (Eggeling incorrectly : "all life"). In 10, 2, 6, 7 the author, arguing that he who lives a hundred years obtains *amṛtam*, expresses the opinion that one ought not to pass away voluntarily before

24. The sun, the "immortal" (*amartya*) never-resting guardian (ŚB. 14, 1, 4, 8 f.) is associated with gold (10, 4, 2, 28; 10, 5, 2, 6) and at VS. 15, 63 (ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 13; cf. Mahīdhara's note) declared to be identical with *Āyu* (sic). In ancient Greece *Aion* was also personified as the son of Time (*Chronos*, Euripides, Heracl. 900).

25. See below.

26. For a French translation see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I, Paris 1949, p. 133, who translates "plénitude de vie".

(one has attained) one's *āyuh* (complete span of life), because this would not lead to a position of safety and well-being (*alokyam*). (See also ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 5)²⁷

In RV. 2, 27, 10 Varuṇa is besought to give those speaking a life of a hundred autumns (years) which, as appears from the context, is the ancient (traditional), well-established (cf. 1, 89, 8) *āyūḥ*. In later works a hundred years is often said to be the (maximum) term of man's life : TS. 2, 3, 2, 1; 2, 3, 11, 5 *śatāyuh purusah* *śatendriyah* (possessing a hundred faculties); likewise 7, 5, 9, 2; TB. 1, 7, 10, 6; 1, 8, 2, 2; 1, 8, 6, 5; 1, 8, 9, 1; 3, 8, 20, 3; 2, 5, 7, 2; 3, 9, 14, 4; ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 13; 13, 1, 1, 4; PB. 25, 8, 3; see also TB. 3, 8, 15, 3 and 3, 8, 16, 2 *śatāyur vai puruṣah* *śataviryah* ("...a hundred energies")²⁸; AiB. 2, 17, 1, prescribing the recitation of a hundred (stanzas) for one desirous of *āyuh*; 4, 19, 7; 6, 2, 1; KB. 11, 7, 14 S. In ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 7 a life of a hundred years is said to procure a *loka*²⁹ to exist in³⁰. Elsewhere however the cow is of a hundred years, man of a thousand *sahasrāyuh*, KB. 30, 4, 24; AiB. 6, 33, 4). According to ŚB. 8, 7, 4, 9 (cf. 13, 4, 1, 6) *sahasram* means *sarvam* : when one bestrews a person with a thousand chips, one confers *amṛtam*, the highest form, upon him; similarly, 10, 2, 1, 11. In 11, 1, 6, 6; 15 this is the length of the *āyuh* of Prajāpati and some great gods. May we suppose the smaller number to characterize the empirical maximum (see, e.g., also TS. 2, 3, 2, 1; Sāyaṇa on ŚB. 11, 8, 3, 6; on PB. 2, 2, 2 etc.; ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 7; 9),³¹ the number thousand, which is often said to be the totality (*sarvam*; KB. 11, 8, 2 S.; ŚB. 4, 6, 1, 15 etc.),³² to denote the ideal and theoretical duration of an *āyuh*?³³ Compare in this connexion also ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 6 : if one were to offer

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- 27. Notice that the Greek *aion* may also mean "eternity" (the opposite being *chronos* "time"); likewise Latin *aevum*; the related Dutch *eeuw* denotes a period of a hundred years, but *eewig* means "eternal"; likewise, e. g., the Latin derivative *aeternus* (**aeviternus*).
 - 28. The form of the compound *śatāyuh* should not, I think, be made an argument in favour of P. E. Dumont's translation "a hundred vital powers" (Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. 92, p. 466; 472); it may be regarded as a *madhyamapadalopin* compound (the former member may represent, e. g. *śatavarṣa*; see J. Gonda, Selected studies, Leiden 1975, III, p. 64 f.).
 - 29. See below.
 - 30. This is not to say that any mention of reaching one's *āyuh* or dying before one's *āyuh* implicitly refers to a hundred years as seems to be Minard's opinion (op. cit., I, § 161 b).
 - 31. See also Ch. R. Lanman, A Sanskrit reader, Boston 1888, p. 384; A. B. Keith, The Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Oxford 1909 (1969), p. 175.
 - 32. See also Gonda, Vedic ritual, p. 41.
 - 33. Notice, that, e. g., in Latin, "a hundred" is also used for an indefinite, large number, "a thousand" also for "infinite, innumerable".

more than 101 oblations, one would deprive the *yajamāna* of his *āyuh* : in performing rites one should not overdo;³⁴ “one offers 101, for man has a life of 100 (years), and his self (*ātmā*) is the 101th (see also 13, 2, 6, 8); he thus becomes firmly founded on (established in) an *ātman* (self, body) and in *āyuh*”. A number exceeding a given quantity by one moulds the entities constituting that quantity into one complex.³⁵ AiĀ. 1, 2, 2, after stating that a body has 100 parts and the trunk is the 101th, says that the 100 is *āyuh*. . .and the sacrificer the 101th, firmly founded on *āyuh*.

In RV. 1, 116, 25—the last stanza of a poem addressed to the Aśvins, the divine physicians—the poet expresses the wish to attain a long *āyuh* while preserving his eyesight and to reach old age (*jariman*) as (if it were) his own home. His ideal of happiness is a long complete and unimpaired span of life ending in old age. The same wish is expressed in AV. 12, 1, 22;³⁶ cf. also 18, 3, 12. In 10, 18, 6 the participants in a funeral ceremony are enjoined “to choose a complete span of life (and) old age (*jaras*)” and Tvaṣṭar is besought to give them *dirghām āyuh* . . . *jīvāse* (AVŚ. 12, 2, 24 reads *sārvam āyur . . . jīvanāya*), from which it likewise would appear, not that old age was regarded as the inherent and inescapable last phase of a complete term of life but rather that it was the period which, coming after the *āyuh* (see below), signifies the end of life, because the *āyuh* is at ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 1 and 4, 2, 4, 2 explicitly declared to be free from decay or old age (*ajaras*). (Cf. also RV. 10, 27, 7). For Agni, however, the gods made or prepared an *āyuh* without old age (*ajaram*, RV. 10, 51, 7), lest he should be injured (perish, *rīṣ-*). Other relevant places are AVŚ. 2, 13, 1 f. “giving (this child) *āyuh*, O Agni, choosing old age . . . ; make ye him to die of age (*jarāmṛtyum*), (make) a long *āyuh* (for him)” (see also 9, 24, 4). Old age was obviously considered a mode (the ideal mode) of Death : 8, 2, 11 (AVP. 16, 4, 1) “I make for thee old age as death, a long *āyuh*” and 1, 30, 3 (AVP. 1, 14, 3) “do ye (the gods) make old age (and *āyuh* (or “old age the end of his *āyuh*”?) for this man; let him avoid the hundred other deaths.” Since the officiant bestows by ritual means *āyuh* (not, with Dumont, “vital power”) on the performer of the horse-sacrifice, this one dies only in consequence of old age and decrepitude (TB. 3, 8, 20, 5). For *amṛtam*, attainment of old age and bringing back the life-principle (*asu*) and *āyuh* see AVŚ. 8, 2, 1, which is to be recited by one who tries to prolong some one’s life. TB. 3, 7, 9, 3 is another

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- 34. I refer to my article on the redundant and the deficient in the Vedic ritual, Vishv. Indol. J. 21 (1983), p. 1 ff.; see, e. g., TB. 3, 10, 3, 1.
 - 35. See J. Gonda, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 115 f.
 - 36. Whitney’s translation of AVŚ. 12, 2, 24 “choosing old age for life-time” is incorrect.

place from which it may be inferred that old age (*jarā*) was not regarded as being a part of (included in) an *āyuh*, because the two are here co-ordinated, together with such well-known complementary pairs as speech and mind, *prāṇa* and *apāṇa*, eye and hearing, resourcefulness and (physical) force, *ātman* and body (cf. also TS. 4, 7, 1, 2). This appears also from ŚB. 10, 4, 3, 1 f. "whosoever knows the year to be death, the ender (and consequently has control over it), the year will not destroy his life before old age and he attains his *sarvam āyuh*."

As would appear from places such as TS. 3, 2, 1, 2 and 3 "dying before one's *āyuh*" is the opposite of "living one's complete *āyuh*" (*sarvam āyur eti na purāyusah pramīyate*: the well-known negative repetition of a thought expressed positively).³⁷ For this "dying before one's day", which one tried to avert with ritual means, see, e.g., TB. 2, 3, 9, 1, similarly, "because there is no accidental death" (*apamṛtyu*, Sāyaṇa); PB. 2, 2, 2; ŚB. 12, 1, 1, 7; 11. Other references to a premature death occur, e.g., TS, 2, 2, 2, 5; ŚB. 2, 1, 3, 4; 11, 7, 3, 2; 6, 4, 4, 7 (VS. 11, 46, of a horse); AiĀ. 2, 3, 5.

A person's *āyuh* can also be diminished : TB. 3, 3, 9, 5 "as far as the *adhvaryu* throws the *prastara* (grass tied in a bundle),³⁸ so far his complete span of life is diminished." In RV. 1, 92, 10 the goddess Uṣas is described as making mortal beings old and curtailing their *āyuh* : as we have seen above old age, though wished for, is inconsistent with a man's unimpaired *āyuh*.³⁹

An *āyuh* can also leave the person to whom it belongs⁴⁰ : ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 32 "he bestows (on him) that *āyuh* which had run away;"⁴¹ ŚB. 13, 5, 2, 10 "*āyuh* and the gods depart from those who . . . speak impure speech"; TB. 2, 5, 8, 7; cf. also TS. 1, 2, 3, 2. VS. 4, 15 (quoted at ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 23 mentions the in itself comprehensible belief that the *āyuh*, like thought, *ātman*, eyesight etc. breath excepted—leave a sleeping person temporarily.

In RV. 1, 24, 11 Varuṇa is besought not to take away the speaker's *āyuh*⁴² (cf. 2, 27, 11 and especially 1, 25, 12 where he is implored to prolong "our *āyūmisi*") :

- 37. I refer to my Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, ch. IV. p. 87 ff.
- 38. See J. Gonda, The ritual functions and significance of grasses in the religion of the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1985, ch. XI etc., especially p. 205.
- 39. Compare, in Latin, *aevum consumere* (Lucretius, 5, 1430).
- 40. Also in Homer (Iliad 5, 685).
- 41. If *prādhanyat* is to be read; see J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, II, Oxford 1885, ²Delhi 1963, p. 118, fn. 6.
- 42. L. Renou, E. V. P. V, Paris 1959, p. 94 translated "durée de vie"; rather "complete duration of life".

not exactly "our Lebenstage verlängern", Geldner). In AVŚ. 8, 2, 17 the person addressed, functioning as a barber, is requested not to steal the speakers' *āyuh*, i.e. to kill them untimely (before the *āyuh* is complete); see also 8, 4, 15⁴⁸. (See also TB, 3, 10, 3, 1; AiB. 7, 23, 1; 3; 4; VS. 4, 23 (quoted ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 12); 18, 49 (quoted ŚB. 9, 4, 2, 17); ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 6; 13, 2, 2, 15). From ŚB. 11, 3, 3, 1 it appears that one could also, as a result of a ritual omission, cut off one night from one's own *āyuh*; then that night belongs to Death. A man's *āyuh* can be interrupted in the middle by a bond bound by Nirṛti, the goddess of decay and perdition; if it is loosened, he lives (TS. 4, 2, 5, 3). If the *pravargya* ritual was performed at the first *soma* sacrifice, the *mahāvīra* kettle would burn up the *yajamāna*'s offspring, cattle, and *āyuh* (no doubt a gradual process) and he would be liable to die away (ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 45). For references to a limited duration of life (*āyuh*) of an individual see JB. 2, 272; 3, 101.

Mention of prolongation of life by ritual means or socio-religious merits or as a result of divine favour is also often made. The most used verb is *pratirati* (*pratārayati*) which etymologically and literally means “to cause to pass over, to cross” and is also used for “to further, increase, extend etc.”: RV 1, 89, 2 (also VS. 25, 15 etc,) *devā na āyuh prā tirāntu jīvāse* (“... in order to live”, i.e. “...not to die prematurely”); 1, 44, 6; 1, 113, 16; 8, 48, 4; 10, 85, 19 (of the moon, cf. ŚB. 13, 2, 6, 11) and RV. 1, 34, 11; 1, 94, 16; 1, 125, 1; 6; 3, 53, 7; 8, 18, 22; 8, 44, 30, 9, 80, 2; 9, 93, 5; 9, 96, 14; 10, 62, 11; TB. 2, 5, 1, 3; 2, 7, 17, 2; 3, 6, 5, 1 (the life of the sacrifice); 13, 12, 5, 10; for *vi-tirati* see, e. g., RV. 1, 144, 5; 10, 144 (where *āyuh* is coupled with *vayah* “vigorous age”). In RV. 1, 10, 11 the period added is called “new” (*navyam*); cf. 10, 59, 1. At 1, 116, 10 the verb occurs in connexion with a man who is restored to youth. An impressive periodically recurrent natural phenomenon (dawn, RV. 1, 113, 16; cf. 7, 77, 5) or a religious experience (consumption of *soma*,⁴⁴ 8, 48, 11) signify an extension of *āyuh* (not necessarily “a new day”, Geldner); in RV. 10, 85, 19 it is the moon which lengthens man’s life (cf. TS. 2, 2, 5, 3); he who knows that this luminary is born again obtains *āyuh* (TB. 3, 9, 5, 4).

For other expressions see, e. g., RV. 1, 96, 8 (*rāsate*); 1, 116, 19 (*vahantā*); 8, 18, 18 (*drāghīya*); 3, 62, 15 (*vardhayān*); 10, 18, 2 (*prataram dhā-*); TB. 3, 2, 6, 4; ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 19; 21 “to impart (add) a long extension” (*prasiti*). The man who “has arisen *āyusā*” (VS. 4, 28, quoted ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 14) has arisen “with (in order to reach) an increased *āyuh* characterized by a long life” (Mahidhara), or “with longer

43. In AVŚ. 12, 4, 28 *āyus ca...bhūtim ca*, here the second noun means "prosperity" rather than "growth" (Whitney's translation)—Compare in Greek, Iliad 19, 27; Odyssey 9, 523; Aesch. Prom. 862.

e.g., Iliad 19, 27; Odyssey 9, 323; Aesch. Prom. 802.

44. As to RV. 8, 48, 10 d, this is not a sort of *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction (cf. Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 124), but both *indram* and *pratiram* depend on *emi* (double accusative).

life" (Griffith), or also "with new life" (Eggeling). The ritual use of the word *āyuh* for the benefit of a person who is ill is prescribed at PB. 7, 1, 11.

Intelligible enough, the adjective *dirgha* "long" is in this connexion often found e.g., RV. 1, 53, 11; 1, 96, 8; 1, 119, 6; 3, 7, 1; 10, 14, 14; 10, 36, 14 where *dirgham āyuh* is coupled with *sarvātātim* "completeness, perfection";⁴⁵ AVŚ. 12, 1, 62; TB. 2, 5, 8, 12; JB. 1, 362 etc. (cf. AVŚ. 7. 33, 1); SB, 10, 2, 6, 6 "and that is *sarvam āyuh*, for it is long, it is unending, and when people here say, 'may thy *āyuh* be long !, mayest thou reach thy *sarvam āyuh* !, it is as much as to say, 'may that *loka* (place of recognized safety and sanctity, here the 'immortal' light)⁴⁶ be thine !" (as to the 'identity' of *āyuh* and light see SB. 14, 1, 1, 33; 14, 1, 2, 26; 14, 3, 2, 31). The compound *dirghāyū(s)* "living long"⁴⁷ occurs, e.g., RV. 8, 70, 7 (as an epithet of Indra); TB. 3, 9, 19, 3; the rather frequent derivative *dirghāyutva*⁴⁸—which is accompanied by a reference to "a hundred autumns" in RV. 10, 85, 39; AVŚ. 1, 35, 1; 3, 5, 4; 4, 10, 7; 5, 28, 1 etc.—occurs, e.g., RV. 10, 62, 2; AVŚ. 1, 22, 2; 2, 4, 1; VS. 18, 6 (coupled with *jīvātu* "life" (in abstracto); TB. 1, 2, 1, 19 and 2, 5, 7, 2 (with *śatasārada*); 2, 7, 7, 7; 3, 7, 6, 22 (where the sun is said to dispose of it); SB. 1, 9, 1, 13; SGS. 1, 28, 9 (with *jīvase*).

Because man's *āyuh* is (commonly regarded as) a period of a hundred years and man has a hundred *indriyāni*, he can by ritual means that are characterized by that number become firmly founded (*pratitiṣṭhati*) on *āyuh* and *indriya* TS. 3, 3, 4, 3; cf. also 7, 2, 1, 4; TB. 1, 8, 2, 2; 1, 8, 9, 1; 3, 8, 5, 4; 3, 8, 20, 3; 3, 9, 14, 4; 3, 12, 5, 8; cf. also TS. 2, 3, 2, 1) : the term *pratiṣṭhā* represents the idea of steadiness for which Vedic man was eager; a man who is *apratiṣṭhitah* is without foundation, without security and immunity.⁴⁹ This explains why one confers *āyuh* and *pratiṣṭhā* upon oneself by means of the sacrifice after the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (TS. 1, 6, 11, 6; 1, 7, 4, 1).

Attention may be drawn to the use of the verb *dhā*—"to place, lay in, help to, bestow on, impart to, effect", which is also often found with objects such as *retas* "semen" (RV. 1, 128, 3), *garbham* "embryo" (9, 74, 5), *annam* "food" (10, 79, 5), *vayas* "vigour" (66, 4), *nāma* "a name" (5, 3, 10) and so on. At RV. 1, 53, 11 it is used in connexion with the idea of prolongation of life : "through thee (O Indra) laying in (bestowing on) ourselves (*dadhānāḥ*) (our) life-time (*āyuh*) further

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- 45. On this passage see Gonda, Selected Studies, II, p. 499.
 - 46. See Gonda, Loka, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 40.
 - 47. Compare, in Latin, the compounds *longaevus* "aged, of great age" and *longaevitatis* "longevity", in Old Icel., *langaer* "of great age".
 - 48. Explained as *dirghakālavartyāyuṣya* (Sāyaṇa, on TB. 2, 5, 7, 1).
 - 49. I refer to my article on this term, in Selected Studies, p. 338 ff., especially p. 352,

(*prataram*) uncommonly long (*drāghiyah*)"; 10, 115, 8. See also ŚB, 13, 1, 1, 4; 13, 1, 5, 6; 13, 2, 5, 3; 13, 4, 1, 15; 13, 4, 2, 10 and especially 14, 1, 3, 19 "he thus lays *āyuh* in himself and thus attains *sarvam āyuh*". In AVŚ. 6, 4, 1, 3 the gods are implored to bestow (*dhatta*) *āyuh* with a view to further living (*pratarām jīvāse*). In RV. 10, 170, 1 Sūrya is expected to bestow on the sacrificer uninjured (unbroken, *āvihrutam*) *āyuh*. Since the persons concerned are still alive, these prayers must refer to prolongation of life. (See also AVŚ. 12, 1, 22 (*prāṇam āyur dadhātu*); 7, 53, 6; 7, 82, 2; 9, 4, 22; 19, 64, 4; TS. 6, 5, 2, 3; TB. 1, 4, 3, 1; 3, 2, 8, 4; ŚB. 12, 4, 1, 9; 12, 7, 3, 5). Sometimes, however, the verb *kṛ*—is used: AVŚ. 6, 78, 3 (where Tvaṣṭar is the subject and *dirghām āyuh* the object); 7, 32, 1; 7, 33, 1. AVŚ. 7, 53, 3 is very instructive: Agni is besought to take the *āyuh* of a person who is dangerously ill, which has been put aside at a distance, from the lap of the goddess of perdition and the officiant intends to cause it to enter the patient: the *āyuh* is here also something that can be handled.

It is worth while to consider also the active part taken by the gods in the bestowal or prolongation of the *āyuh* of human beings. The *āyuh* is quite intelligibly "settled, appointed, given by the gods" (*devahitam*, RV. 1, 89, 8: for the use of the verb *dha*—see above) and it is man's desire to reach it (*vi-aś-*, ibidem); cf. also 1, 89, 2). For him who fears death one should offer to Prajāpati an oblation containing a hundred gold *kṛṣṇala* berries; then Prajāpati, who had instituted this sacrifice on behalf of the gods, will bestow *āyuh* upon him and he *sarvam āyur eti* (KS. 11, 4 : 148, 10-18 etc.; cf. TS. 2, 3, 2, 1 f.⁵⁰). In RV. 8, 54, 7 Indra, who is invited to be a source of refreshing food, is probably believed to preside over the *āyuh* of men ("it is by or with him"). In 10, 100, 5 Brhaspati—a god often described as a supporter or protector (RV. 2, 23, 4 ff., 14; 5, 42, 7; 10, 42, 11, etc., especially 2, 25, 1 f.; 2, 26, 3)—is said to be the one who prolongs (our) *āyuh*, a function which 1, 10, 11 is supposed to be Indra's; 1, 94, 16 Agni's; 1, 157, 4 the Aśvins'; 10, 186, 1 Vāyu's—for his relations and identity with the breath see, e.g., RV. 10, 16, 3; ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 6; 7, 1, 2, 5; 9, 3, 1, 3—in AVŚ. 13, 2, 37 that of Sūrya.⁵¹ Savitar is requested to give a long *āyuh* to the bride and her partner (AVŚ. 14, 1, 47; 14, 2, 39; 75)—this liberal (RV. 6, 50, 8) god of happiness (5, 82, 3 etc.), the one who frightens away all evil (5, 82, 4 f.), bestowed *amṛtatvam* upon the gods and gave men their successive lives (*jīvitā*; 4, 54, 2)—; Yama, the ruler of the deceased, is besought to give a long *āyuh* among the living in order to continue life (AVŚ. 18, 2, 3; cf. RV. 10, 14, 14); Bhava and Śarva, two aspects of Rudra, are invoked to be gracious, to yield protection to drive away discomfort and to give (*dha-*) *āyuh* (AVŚ. 8, 2, 7); at TS. 3, 4, 11, 2 h Rudra is implored not

50. I refer to Caland, Altindische Zauberei ('Wunschopfer'), p. 71 ff.

51. One should not follow H. P. Schmidt, Brhaspati und Indra, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 119 in saying that any god can be said to fulfil this duty.

to "harm us in our children and *āyuh*"; Dhātar,⁵² the god whose task it is to perform the process denoted by *dhā-*, i.e. to give things their place, to found, establish, institute, is AVŚ. 18, 4, 48 "to prolong our *āyuh*", but RV. 10, 18, 5 to arrange the *āyūmsi* of those who are alive so that the younger one does not leave the older one (cf., e.g., also TS. 3, 3, 5, 1; 3). For Tvaṣṭar, a skilful divine artisan, being implored to make a long *āyuh* for those addressed see RV. 10, 18, 6 (cf. AVŚ. 12, 2, 24). Soma is declared to give *āyuh*, e.g., AiĀ. 5, 3, 2; Aditi TB. 1, 4, 3, 1; AiB. 5, 27, 4; 7, 3, 2; Uṣas RV. 1, 113, 17. However, in AVŚ. 10, 2, 15 the question as to who helped man in obtaining clothing, his *āyuh*, strength and swiftness (notice the combination) is left unanswered.

Elsewhere attention has been drawn⁵³ to the 'identification' of the year with a full span of human life in MS. 4, 6, 8 : 91, 12; KS. 10, 4 : 128, 13; 11, 8 : 154, 10; "let not a year pass by without worshipping, for the year means *āyuh*; thus he confers *amṛtam* *āyuh* upon himself" (SB. 11, 7, 1, 3). This 'identification' (cf. SB. 4, 1, 4, 10⁵⁴) seems to imply that what as a complete time-cycle is the year (cf., e.g., SB. 11, 1, 2, 12) is homologous to or corresponds with the *āyuh* in human life or existence, because both are aspects of completeness or totality. By means of a gift of twelve⁵⁵ young cows *āyuh* is secured in TB. 1, 8, 2, 4.

The *āyuh* concept is also 'identified' with *prāṇa* which expresses the idea of "vital breath": AiB. 2, 38, 13 *prāṇo vā āyuh* (cf. SB. 9, 2, 3, 16) and *prāṇa* with *āyuh*: SB. 5, 2, 4, 10 *yo vai prāṇah sa āyuh*; in 8, 7, 3, 20 they are said to be the same (*samānam*) (otherwise, however, but closely related 8, 7, 3, 11; cf. also 9, 3, 3, 12; 12, 2, 2, 5 for *prāṇa* ritually producing *āyuh* see 12, 1, 1, 11).⁵⁶ As to their relation see also AiB. 8, 25, 2: not before (the end of) his *āyuh* vital breath leaves him; TS. 3, 3, 4, 2 by means of the formula "*prāṇa* must come to us from afar" one bestows *āyuh* and *prāṇa* upon oneself"; 5, 3, 7, 3. Both are indeed of fundamental importance and essential to existence as a living being; "as long as there is *prāṇa* in this body there is *āyuh*" (Kauśitaki, quoted by Sāyaṇa on PB. 1, 1, 17). By means of appropriate formulae the officiants successively bestow *indriyam* ("power of the senses"), *prāṇa* and *apāna*, *vīrya* ("virtue and manly energy"), vital breath, *ojas* ("authority and creativeness"), *ātman* upon a person who is ill; the result is that these singly co-operate in bestowing his *āyuh* on him,

52. On Dhātar in AVPar. 37, 9, 3 see Gonda, Pūṣan and Sarasvatī, p. 99.

53. Gonda, Prajāpati and the year, p. 48.

54. See ibidem, p. 55.

55. For twelve as a number (cf., e.g., TS. 5, 4, 8, 6) of the year see Gonda, ibidem, p. 21 ff.

56. Compare, in Greek, the combination *psuché* "the principle of life manifesting itself in breath and leaving a dying person" and *aion* "lifetime" (Iliad 16, 453; Odyssey 9, 523).

i.e. in prolonging his *āyuh* (TS. 2, 3, 12, 3 f.). That means that this prolongation is ensured, if the other characteristic qualities have been “put into” the patient.

Not infrequently, *āyuh* is indeed combined and co-ordinated with other terms denoting a faculty, quality or other characteristic of a human being. According to RV. 10, 85, 39 (AVŚ. 14, 2, 2) Agni, who had possessed the bride before her mortal husband, gave her back together with *āyuh* (for her) and *varcas*, “brilliant energy” (see also TB. 1, 2, 1, 14; 19; 21; 1, 7, 9, 5; 2, 7, 7, 5 f.; 3, 7, 6. 15 f.; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 24; 8, 3, 4, 8; AVŚ. 19, 58, 1); her husband will be *dīrghāyuh*. In AVŚ. 5, 9, 8 the *āyuh*-maker and the two mistresses of *āyuh* are besought, not only to protect the speaker but, in all probability, also to produce⁵⁷ (for him) *āyuh*, force (*balam*), action (*kṛtam*), achievement (*kṛtyām*), purposeful non-discursive thought (*maniṣām*)⁵⁸ and faculty of the senses (*indriyam*), which are obviously given by these divine authorities together and collectively. In the text for some one’s continued life AVŚ. 8, 1 st. 3 reads as follows : “Here (be) thy life-principle (*asuh*), vital breath (*prāṇah*), *āyuh*, mind (spirit, *manah*)”, which evidently are regarded as the main ‘components’ of a man’s personality requisite for making empirical existence possible, because there follows : “We bear thee up from Nirṛti’s fetters....” But he who grasps a person’s *varcas*, fiery energy (*tejah*), *prāṇa* and *āyuh* makes him fall downward (16, 8, 1 ff.). When, in 18, 2, 46, a man is urged to go to the Fathers, the poet enumerates his breaths called *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, and *vyāṇa*, as well as *āyuh* and eyesight, probably to give him to understand that these will fail him before he reaches that destination. In 19, 71, 1 those who are urged to go to the *brahma* world are requested to give (transfer ?) to the person speaking (his) *āyuh*, vital breath, (generation of) offspring, cattle, renown, property and brahminical energy and illustriousness. However, in 18, 2, 23 *āyuh* does not seem to be on the same footing with the other characteristic qualities of a human being, but rather to be of primary importance, because the person speaking has “called up *āyuh* with a view to⁵⁹ (give directions to, to determine the functions of ?) *āyuh*, practical ingenuity (*kratve*), adroitness (*dakṣāya*), life (*jīvase*)” of the person addressed (cf. st. 21 a). At TS. 4, 7, 10, 2, it is the author’s wish that his *āyuh*, just like his animals, sense organs etc. may be well managed through the sacrifice. Other relevant places are the *mantra* PB. 1, 9 *iśa* *ūrja* *āyusa* *varcase ca*; 16, 3, 6; TS. 3, 1, 8, 1 where *āyuh* heads a long enumeration of forms of breath, organs of sense, etc. which includes also trunk, limbs, offspring, house and the person speaking himself as the last item, which, as often elsewhere, is consi-

57. As to *ud* and the following accusatives remember verbs such as *utpādayati*, *udbhāvayati* which occur in later texts.

58. See J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 51 ff.

59. For the fundamental meaning of the dative see Gonda, Lingua 11 (1962), p. 141 ff. (= Selected Studies, I, p. 34 ff.).

dered to be of a comprehensive nature and to encompass the preceding items;⁶⁰ 4, 3, 6, 2 (shorter with some variation, but similar), *Āyuh* is also the first item in the formulae in TB. 1, 1, 1, 2 f. (ĀpŚ. 12, 22, 8; MŚ. 2, 4, 1, 11) : "Coming together from sky and earth unite ye both *āyuh*, the three breaths, eyesight, hearing (cf. also VS. 9, 21 quoted ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 4), mind, (speech); these ye should quicken for me.

In a series of prayers for prosperity TB. 3, 7, 6, 6 *āyuh* is coupled with *annādyam* "the possibility of eating food" just as *brahma* with fiery energy (*tejah*), *kṣatram* with authority (*ojaḥ*), the third estate with agriculture and cattle-breeding (*puṣṭi*). In 3,10,5,1 it is associated with *manah* "mind, spirit" (the psychical organ in which the processes of thought, will and feeling take place),⁶¹ just as *brahma* with *kṣatram*, *ojaḥ* with force (*balam*), eyesight with hearing, name with form (*rūpam*)⁶² : according to RV. 9, 68, 5 a person—at least an inspired sage—is born together with his *manah* (cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 23). In AīB. 7, 23, 3 the *pañcadaśastoma*—which, as a protector, is connected with royal authority (ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 4), and is supposed to free nobility (*kṣatram*) from death (8, 4, 2, 4)—is asked not to take the speaker's *āyuh*, just as Indra is implored not to take his *indriyam*, the *trishubh* not to take his energy (*viryam*). In VS. 7, 28, quoted at ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 3 the order is *manah*, *ojaḥ*, *āyuh*, (generation of) offspring. The combination a complete span of life (*āyuh*) and (generation of) offspring, variouly worded, occurs, e. g., RV. 1, 53, 11; 1, 113, 17;⁶³ 1, 116, 19; 1, 125, 1; 1, 132, 5; AVŚ. 4, 39, 2; 7, 82, 2; 9, 4, 22; TS. 1, 1, 7, 1; 2, 6, 9, 7; TB. 2, 5, 8, 9; 3, 3, 10, 2; 3, 5, 10, 4; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 24; 3, 5, 3, 18; 3, 6, 1, 18; AVŚ. 18, 4, 62 is a prayer for *āyuh* and offspring addressed to the Fathers.

As to the other Indo-European languages,⁶⁴ the Avestan *āyu* occurs with the meaning "long duration" at Y. 31, 20 and to express the idea of "period, duration of time (that has elapsed up to a definite point)" in Yt. 8, 11; 10, 74.⁶⁵ The related

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- 60. For other examples see, e.g., Gonda, Prajāpati's rise to higher rank, Leiden 1986, Index, p. 199, s. v. last place.
 - 61. On *manah* see J. Gonda, The Creator and his Spirit, in Wiener Zs. für die Kunde Sudasiens, 27 (1983), p. 5 ff.
 - 62. See M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943.
 - 63. I have my doubts about the correctness of "a life prolonged by (my) progeny" (Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 53).
 - 64. I abstain from entering into a discussion of the various forms of the related words; see, e.g., Hj. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I, Heidelberg 1954-1960, p. 35 f.; 49.
 - 65. Cf. e.g., Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1905, p. 33; I. Gershevitch, The Avestan hymn to Mithra, Cambridge 1959, p. 109; 268.

Greek *aion* means likewise a “period of existence”, not something like “vital power” according to Aristoteles’ definition : “the length of the period that encompasses the time of the existence of each (living being) is called *aion*” (De Caelo 279 a 25)⁶⁶—and also “age, generation”, and “a space of time that is clearly defined and marked out,” rarely “one’s life or destiny”, often “a long space of time, all one’s life (long)”, and sometimes (opposed to *chronos* “time”), “eternity”,⁶⁷ The Latin *aevus* and *aevum*, opposed to the word for (a moment or brief space of) time (*tempus*) denotes “(duration of) time”, hence “duration of (an individual’s) life, lifetime, age”, sometimes also “uninterrupted, never-ending time”; its derivative *aetas* “time or period of life (with or without reference to its different stages), space of time, age”.⁶⁸ The Gothic *aiws* serves to translate Gr. *aion* in the meanings “time” (see above) and “eternity”.⁶⁹

The conclusion may therefore be that, as far as we are able to see, this word group has originally not denoted such ideas as “vital power, vitality or vigour”, but something like “full length of existence” or “duration filled with existence”.

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- 66. On the concept in general see Stadtmüller, in Saeculum, München, 2, p. 315 ff.; on the theological sense of the word Owen, in Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford, 37, p. 265 ff.; 390 ff.
 - 67. The adjective *aionios* means “lasting for an age, perpetual, eternal” and even “timeless”.
 - 68. For some particulars see A. Ernout and A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, I, Paris 1951, p. 23 f.
 - 69. German relatives are often elements of religious and legal terminology; see W. H. Vogt, in Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Halle a. S., 58, p. 1. ff.

THE JAKA DOLOG INSCRIPTION OF KṚTANAGARA

LOKESH CHANDRA

General Observations.

The Sanskrit inscription on the base of the Jaka Dolog statue at Simpang (Surabaya) has been discussed for nine decades since it was noticed by Verbeck in 1981. Eminent historians of Indonesia, like Brandes (1898), Kern (1910), Krom (1913, 1919), Bosch (1920), Poerbatjaraka (1922), Moens (1924), Berg (1959), have treated it at length. In a recent discussion, Nihom has tried to specify the type of Tantric Buddhism followed by King Kṛtanagara who is supposed to be an adherent of a 'Hevajra' cult, and to locate the original site of the Jaka Dolog statue at Candi Jawi. Nihom is right that there is "no evidence" for a Kālacakra cult in Indonesia.

Nomenclature of Tantras : Choice of nomenclature is crucial to an appropriate understanding of the tantra followed by Kṛtanagara. In this connection, it is to be noted that Tantric Buddhism had several distinct manifestations. These bore specific characteristics and they were classified in India itself. Based on an Indian classification, the Tibetan tradition divides the Tantras into four divisions : kriyā, caryā, yoga and anuttara-yoga. Each division has a main deity :

kriyā-tantras	Amitābha
caryā-tantras	Vairocana
yoga-tantras	Mahāvairocana
anuttara-yoga tantras	

- (i) yogi-tantras (mahāyoga-tantras in Atiśa) Guhyasamāja, Vajrapāṇi, etc.
- (ii) yogini-tantras (anuttara-yoga-tantras in Atiśa) divided into seven groupings, of which the second group pertains to Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya) :
 - (a) Saṃvara (Toh. 368-415)
 - (b) Hevajra (Toh. 417-432)
 - (c) Buddhapāla (Toh. 424)
 - (d) Mahāmāya (Toh. 425)
 - (e) Ārali (Toh. 426-427)

- (iii) Neither yogi nor yoginī-tantras
- Nāma-saṅgiti
- Kālacakra

Two parallel lines of development emerge out of the above. The evolution of deities (a) based on Light, the rays radiating from the samādhi of Śākyamuni, and (b) the predominance of arcane elements, the esoteric (guhya of Guhyasamāja), the yogi and yoginī groupings, culminating in a transcendence into Kālacakra and the non-aligned Nāma-saṅgiti which cannot be assigned to any deity from the text itself and was hence associated with several deities. The evolution of Light was from Amitābha ("Infinite Light"), to Rocana in the Avatamśakasutras, to Vairocana in the caryā-tantras, to Ekākṣara Cakravartin in the ritual texts, and to Mahāvairocana in the yoga-tantras. Amitābha sits on a peacock and developed in the North-West of India, and hence the Peacock Throne in Iran till recent times. Rocana is the Daibutsu at Nara as a political symbol. Vairocana pertains to amala-vijñāna and Mahāvairocana to śāśvata-jñāna. They form *the* pair of Maṇḍalas, the Twin Maṇḍala of Japanese Mantrayana (Shingon), and they are non-dual (advaya). The second part of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan (SHK) refers to the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, beginning with Mahāvairocana. In fact the second part is Advaya-sādhanā (colophon of ms. B on p. 70), pointing to the non-duality of the two Vairocanas.

The arcane tradition essentially centred around the Akṣobhya of Guhyasamāja of the mahāyoga-tantras. In the anuttara-tantras, Saṁvara/Cakrasaṁvara and Hevajra/Heruka were the main deities. Hevajra and Heruka have been used synonymously in the Niṣpanna-yogāvali (text p. 14 : Hevajra in lines 3, 20 but Heruka in lines 13, 17, Heruka-catuṣṭaya on page 20 line 2 but Hevajra-catuṣṭaya on p. 21 line 16). This was the most esoteric system. It was anuttara and niruttara, unsurpassable. A precise nomenclature of tantra constellations helps to specify Nihom's (485) assumption that two tantric constellations of Akṣobhya and Vairocana were practised by King Kṛtangara. The King did not follow the cycles of Saṁvara and Hevajra.

Jaka Dolog : name and function. The name Jaka Dolog has been translated as Doddy Fatty (Hall 1968 : 73). Jaka in Javanese means 'hoofdperson : principal or central figure', and dolog means 'plump'. I am inclined to see in Jaka, the Sanskrit *yakṣa*, Pali *yakkha*, Prakrit *jakkha*. The yakṣas were nagara-devatās, city-deities and were represented as fatty statues. Jaka Dolog could have been the Deity of Unified Java, yakṣa of the Four Dvīpas (Compare *caturdvīp-eśvaro* in verse 10 of the inscription). Kern (1910 : 187) has interpreted it as an image of Mahākṣobhya and Poerbatjaraka (1922 : 426) follows him. The inscription says that it was consecrated a second time by the King at Wurara cemetery, according to

Mahākṣobhya (*mahākṣobhy-ānurūpatāḥ*) rise, at an auspicious moment, for the well-being of the people, of his family, because the country was united (*ksity-ekibhāva-kāraṇāt*). The second consecration was a thanks-giving that the country had remained united, a political feat achieved by the father of the King. It points to a fair likelihood that the image was conceived of as a *nagara-devatā*, a symbol of national unity, and jaka carries these reminiscences. What is the meaning of *Mahākṣobhy-ānurūpataḥ*? The word *Mahākṣobhya* is not attested anywhere in the Sanskrit, Tibetan or Japanese traditions. There are several forms of Akṣobhya : as the simplest form he is one of the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu : two-armed and touches the earth (*bhūmisparśa mudrā*). In fact the Five Buddhas represent the five stages of Enlightenment :

Akṣobhya	a firm unshakable resolve to achieve enlightenment
Ratnasambhava	the emergence (sambhava) of mind for potential light/illumination symbolised by a jewel (ratna).
Amitābha	the infinite light is attained through samādhi, and hence in samādhi-mudrā
Amoghasiddhi	siddhi accomplished as the summum of tantras.
Mahāvairocana	the perfect (agṛī) Enlightenment (bodhi) represented by the bodhyagrī mudrā.

Akṣobhya is imperturbable, unshakable, the abiding and lasting, the unfailing and unalterable, the enduring forever, the prime permanence. All this was related to the land, the Earth, in the earth-touching (*bhūmi-sparśa*) mudrā. It well correlates to the abiding unity of the land (*bhūmi*), the nation. The Earth-Goddess emerges at the feet of Harihara who blesses the king and queen for the continuing stability of their dominions (Pal 1975 : 66 pl. 9). It seems that the Jaka Dolog is an image of Akṣobhya, conceived of as the permanent unity of the country, and *Mahākṣobhya* represents the esoteric system of the *Guhyasamāja*, which is a *mahāyoga-tantra*. The word *mahā* was prefixed to more evolved forms of deities in the continuing processes of Buddhist theogony : e.g. *Pratisarā* became *Mahāpratisarā*. The first verse of the inscription reads *Tathāgataṁ...sarva-skandh-ātiguhya-stham*. The adjective *atiguhya* stands for *Guhyasamāja*, also termed *Tathāgata-guhya*. As an epithet of *Tathāgata* it defines the system. The earlier image of Akṣobhya was re-consecrated according to the esoteric rites of *Mahākṣobhya* (*Mahākṣobhy-ānurūpataḥ*), as Akṣobhya was a favourite deity of Kṛtanagara.

Several instances of statues dedicated to the stability of the state can be cited. In the classical Hindi-Buddhist world, an integral interdependence bound a sovereign state and sanctifying scriptures. The state found revitalising syntheses in spiritual manifestations. Buddhist rites stabilised emperium in China and Japan.

As early as A.D. 402-409, Kumārajīva translated the Kārumikarāja-sūtra, a sūtra for the protection of the country by benevolent kings. Ceremonies of this sūtra were national events in Japan from the seventh century onwards (Visser 1935 : 13). In A.D. 746 Emperor Shomu ordered it “to be expounded for the strength and maintenance of the dynasty, the rest of the State, and the welfare of the people” (Visser 1935:117). During the T'ang dyansty Buddhist sūtras were used for “the benefit aud advantage of the state” (Ch'en 1964:218). The Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa (T 1247) by Amoghavajra, adds in the colophon that during the ‘grand troubles of the Five Kingdom’, one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country.

In A. D. 587 Prince Shotoku built the Shitennōji Temple at Osaka in honour of the Four Lokapālas to overcome the rival Mononobe and Nakatome clans (Matsunaga 1969 : 40 n. 102). In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin or Ekākṣara Cakravartī is a form of Vairocana who is identical with the Vairocana described in the Kawi text Sang Hyang Nāgabāyusūtra (Bosch 1929 : 131). The Japanese emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A. D. 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*daibutsu*) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an “apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state” (Kobayashi 1975 : 22), as “an especially valuable political and religious symbol” (Kobayashi 1975 : 25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a ‘Grand National Temple’. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Kyoto in A. D. 794, the Toji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was “intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity” (Sawa 1972 : 130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kobo daishi himself, the great master who introduced Mantiayana Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyo-o-gokoku-ji ‘temple for the protection of the state’, which popularly came to be known as the Toji (To=east, ji=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate.

Observations on the Inscription

In the second verse, the reading is *anvatas sarvasiddhim vā vande 'ham*. The first word *anvataḥ* can be *antataḥ* in apodosis to *ādav* in verse I. Firstly I pay homage to the Tathāgata who is an embodiment of jñāna and finally (*antataḥ*). I salute Sarvasiddhi, that is Amoghasiddhi. Amoghasiddhi is the final of the Five Buddhas in the 22nd chapter of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra as well as in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Tattva-saṅgraha. The final part of the Tattva-saṅgraha is devoted to all kinds of transcendent and worldly siddhis.

The name Jāngala in verse 6 reminds of Kuru-jāngala, north-west of Hastinā-pura. It was included in Kurukṣetra. Pañjalu brings to mind Pāñcāla, originally north and west of Delhi. South Pāñcāla was the kingdom of King Drupada whose daughter Draupadi was married to the Pāñdavas. Verse 7 begins *dina-yasmāt* (Kern, but Krom reads *kintu yasmāt*). If Kern's reading *dina yasmāt* is accepted it would mean "from the day (*dināt*) "Viṣṇuvardhana ruled the land, the country was united, and now his son could devote his energies to the promotion of dharma and for stabilising the gains of his father (verse 9), and whereas (*yathaiva*) he was engaged in the restoration of religious foundations, he reconsecrated the image at Wurara cemetery. It was not a transfer but a simple re-dedication according to more powerful esoteric rites.

Nihom (488) translates *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅga* (verse 8) as "he who has a body diminished since birth", and continues to add : "This is certainly not the easiest reading". He arrives at this meaning on the basis of MW. who translates *pariśuddha* "cleaned, purified, pure, cleared of, paid; acquitted, discharged, MBh.; Kav.; Pur.; (ifc) diminished by, that from which a part has been taken away, MBh". In Sanskrit the root *śudh* means "to pay, to clear (debts)". This has been taken from PW : *sad-bhāga pariśuddha* "von dem das sechstel (für den Fürstan) abgezogen ist" MBh. 13.5550. It refers to the fact that the sixth part due to the state as tax has been deducted. It is a specific term of state revenue and does not apply to the body. The verse in the MBh. 13.113.16 (Pune ed.) reads :

*sad-bhāga-pariśuddham ca kṛṣer bhāgam upārjitam/
vaiśyo dadād dvijātibhyaḥ pīpebhyaḥ parimucyate//*

A vaiśya who donates to brāhmaṇas, from earned agricultural income after the due sixth part has been paid as state revenue, is absolved of sins. The income donated has to be pure to earn merit. Thus the word *pariśuddha* can never mean that Viṣṇuvardhana was "physically compromised". The virtuous qualities of King Viṣṇuvardhana are lauded : he was of pious inclination since birth, kind, dedicated to dharma, and moreover a joy to kings by his might and prowess in uniting the Land that pleased the people; by ushering in an era of peace and prosperity. Just as father Viṣṇuvardhana was innately pure and pious, so was his son Kṛtanagara by virtue of his knowledge : *jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅgah*. Kṛtanagara had undergone consecrations and the luminosity of knowledge had made him devout and dedicated to dharma. The words *pariśuddhāṅga* and *viśuddhāṅga* applied to father and son stress their fervent devotion, dedication and commitment to national unification and its stabilisation through cosmic powers of dharma. The word *aṅga* in both the places (verses 8, 12) does not mean 'a limb of the body', but refers to the components of dharma, and by *double entendre* refers to the five components of counsel (pañcāṅga maṇtra) : 1. *karmaṇām ārambhopāyah* : means of commencing operations. 2. *puruṣa-dravya-sampad* : providing men and materials, 3. *deśakāla-vibhāga* : distribution of place and time, 4. *vipatti-pratikāra* : counteraction

of disaster, 5. *kārya-siddhi* : successful accomplishment. The word *aṅga* is *ary-aśṭāṅgika-marga* is the eight-fold path pointed out by the Buddha. These eight divisions (*aṅga*) are the *virtuous life*. In the yoga-tantras, there are sixteen ways (*aṅgas*) to evoke each deity (Lessing/Wayman 1968 : 236-7). The yoga-tantra with Vairocana of the Vajradhātu was prevalent in Indonesia since the eighth century. The tenor of the inscription is religious and the fervour of both father and son is emphasised. The context of *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅgu* and *jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅga* is spiritual and not physical, even from the linguistic point of view. Both the expressions emphasise the purity and peity in every way (*aṅga*), in every respect. Yoga is *aṣṭ-āṅga* or *sad-aṅga*.

As the country had been unified, a nation-wide facelift and restoration of the religious establishments was undertaken to strengthen her integrity. As (*yathaiva*, verse 10) the restoration of the monuments (*jīrṇoddhāra-kriyā*, verse II) was in enthusiastic swing (*udyukta*), the King re-consecrated with devotion the image that he had earlier consecrated in person (*svayam*) in the cemetery named Wurara. This re-consecration was done according to highly esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya who is the Akṣobhya of the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhya is the main deity of the mahāyoga-tantra group according to the classification of Atiśa (Lessing/Wayman 1968:100). In the centre of his pentapartite crown, in the central leaf of the crown on the middle head, there is generally a wheel (Getty 1928:144), a cakra of the cakravartin. King Kṛtanagara seems to have introduced advance esoteric empowerments and this occasioned the new consecration.

Nihom (485) has himself spoken of the “unfortunate choice of nomenclature which led to incorrect conclusions.” The Tantras share common rituals and terms, like gaṇacakra, gaṇamaṇḍala, the trinity of kāya, vāk and citta, the two utpanna and sampanna kramana, śmaśāna, etc. These terms are a common heritage of the various classes of tantras. Variations in the same ritual or location are also possible : thus there are a number of eight śmaśāna and separate rites connected with them. Simple-looking terms like jñāna and vijñāna become highly specific and distinguish two Vairocanas in two maṇḍalas : vijñāna relates to vairocana of the Garbha maṇḍala and jñāna to Mahāvairocana of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The term *jīrṇoddhāra* is linked by Nihom specifically to Śaiva contexts. It is a general term and refers to repair and restoration in general. We have to be cautious in either simplification or specialisation. In the Jaka Dolog inscription it refers to restoration in general.

Kṛtanagara’s initiation name is given in verse 12 as Jñāna-Śiva-vajra : Śiva refers to Śaiva initiation and vajra to Vajrayanic/Tantric Buddhist empowerment. It is an unambiguous statement of the inter-denominational harmony practised by the king himself.

The name of the author of the inscription is Nādajñā (verse 18) and not Nāda as given by Nihom throughout his paper (e.g. p. 486)

The reading of the second half of verse 19 according to Kern is :
śaka-kāla-sambaddha-Vajrajñānaśiva— — //19//

Kern emends :

śaka-kālas sambaddhe'yam Vajrajñānaśivāśrayah //19//

Poerbatjaraka 1922 : 429 reads :

śaka-kālam sambaddhatya tad-rājānujñayā punah //19//

The reading is uncertain, and no conclusions can be based on it.

Observations on Nihom's Paper

Nihom points to Candi Jajawa as the original site of Jaka Dolog. To put the situation in a proper perspective it is imperative to identify the image at Candi Jajawa, and a reconsideration of the Nāgarakṛtāgama is essential. The Nāgarakṛtāgama is clear that Kṛtanagara installed a statue of Śiva in Candi Jajawa and its crown had an image of Akṣobhya which was of high sanctity because of its supernatural powers (*siddhi*) and it verily merged (*winaśa*) into the supreme (*parama*) absolute (*śūnyatattva*). The Candi Jajawa was a foundation (*kīrtti*) of Kṛtanagara who had erected it himself in person (*śarīra*) and this was the reason that both Śaiva and Buddhists worshipped here in the past regularly. The translation of these passages by Pigeaud and Nihom have to be corrected. Akṣobhya in the crown is a small image as can be seen clearly in the Padang Roco Heruka, which I am inclined to interpret as a representation of Kṛtanagara (Kempers 1959 : 87 pl. 259, Nihom 485). King Viṣṇuvardhana must have named his son Kṛtanagara as one who would usher in the golden age (*kṛta-yuga*) in the country (*nagara*). Kṛta-yuga or Satya-yuga is the first of the four ages of the world. King Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised in a Śaiva statue at Waleri and a Buddhist statue at Jajaghu. Jajaghu had the 13 deity maṇḍala of Amoghapāśa (Kempers 1959 : 85). Bronze plaques of this maṇḍala were made by King Kṛtanagara. It seems that while Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised as Amoghapāśa, his son Kṛtanagara was devoted to Akṣobhya. Continuing the liberal traditions of his father who was apotheosised both as a Śaiva and a Buddhist deity, he enshrined a Śiva at Candi Jajawa with an Akṣobhya in the crown. The image of Candi Jajawa is described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama 56. 1-57.4. The translation of Pigeaud needs to be redone. We reproduce below the text and translation of Pigeaud, followed by a revised interpretation :

56.1 ndan tiñkah nikañ suđarmma riñ usāna rakwa kañño /
kīrtti śri kṛtanāgara prabhū yuyut nareśwara sira /
tekwān rakwa sirāñadīṣṭita śarīra tan hana waneh /
etunyan dwaya śaiwa bodđa sañ amūja nūni satatā //

- 56.2 cihnañ caṇḍi ri sor kaśaiwan apuck kabodđan i ruhur /
 mwañ ri jro śiwawimbha śobhita hałpnirāparimitā /
 akṣobhyapratime ruhur mmakuṭa tan hanolyantikā /
 saṅke siddinirān wināśa tuhu śūnyatatwaparamā //
- 57.1 hanā māta kaṛṇo tepek sañ hyañ akṣobhyāwimbhan hilañ /
 prakaśita pada pādukha śrī mahāgurwi rājaḍikā /
 . . .
- 57.2 sira ta mahās atīrtha seccāmgil riñ suḍarmma ḍaḷm /
 . . .
 yatañ amuhara śālyani twasnirañ sthāpakānañsaya /
- 57.3 muniwara mawarah sire tatwa sañ hyañ suḍarmmeñ dañū /
 mwañ i hananira sañ hyañ akṣobhyawimbhātisūkṣme ruhur /
 . . .
- 57.4 pilih anala śarārkka rakwa śakābde hyañ ārccan hilañ /
 ri hilañira sināmber iñ bajraghoṣa sucaṇḍi ḍaḷm /
- 56.1. Now (as to) the arrangement of that eminent dharma (domain)
 there in olden times, so it is said, according to oral tradition :
 it was a kīrti (foundation) of the Illustrious Kertanagara, the Prabhu, the Prince's
 great-grandfather was He.
 In fact, so it said, He erected it Himself, there was nobody else.
 Therefore were double, Shiwaites and Buddhists, the honoured
 ones who performed worship in the past, regularly.
- 56.2. The token is : the candi (monument) is, below, a Shiwaite place,
 with a top, a Buddhist place, high up,
 and inside is a Shiwa-likeness, splendid, its majesty unmeasured.
 An Akṣobhya-pratimā (statuette) was on high, a crown, not otherwise, small was
 that.
 A consequence of His supernatural power was its disappearance,
 verily the Non-entity's supreme (manifestation).
- 57.1. There were now, one hears, at the time that the honoured holy
 Akṣobhya-likeness vanished,
 renowned, the Feet of the pāduka (His Magnificence) the Illustrious
 Mahāguru (Grand Master) of Rājyādhika,
 57.2. He now made a tour visiting holy places; with pleasure he sojourned in the
 eminent dharma (religious domain) in the Interior.
 This now was causing irritation in the heart of the worshipful sthāpaka (abbot);
 having his doubts,

57.3. The excellent muni (sage), He told the state of the honoured holy eminent dharma (domain) in the past,
and His presence, of the honoured holy Akṣobhya-likeness, most subtle, high up.

56.1 It is clear that >Candi Jajawa was founded by Kṛtanagara, and he consecrated it himself (*rakwa sira*), in person (*śarīra*) and not through anyone else. The consecration rites were performed by the king personally and not through a priest. The word *adhiṣṭhita* is not ‘erected’ (Pigeaud), but ‘consecrated’. That is the reason, that both (*dvaya*) Śaiva priests and Buddhist monks performed worship constantly in the past. Pigeaud’s ‘double’ is ‘both’, ‘the honoured ones’ is ‘priests and monks’.

56.2 The translation of Pigeaud has missed both the sense and the spirit of the verse. It means : the distinctive speciality (*cihna*) of the Candi was its composite architecture; it was a Śaiva monument in the lower part and was Buddhist on top. Besides the architectural exterior, the temple, was composite also within (*mwanī ri jro*) the sanctum with a syncretic image of Śiva with an Akṣobhya in the crown. Kṛtanagara was a devotee of Śiva-Buddha, for we know that on passing away he attained the abode/paradise of Śiva-Buddha (*bhaṭṭāra śri Kṛtanagara, sira sañ lina ri Śivabuddhālaya*, INI 38f (2a.5) 1296). The image of Śiva was splendid, its serenity beyond measure. Atop in its crown (*makuṭa*) was an image of Akṣobhya, without compare (?). Pigeaud’s rendering “not otherwise, small was that” ill-fits the context. In his notes, Pigeaud amplifies “narrow, small, with the connotations : trifling, hidden”. The image of Akṣobhya in the crown of Śiva must have been small as compared to the main image as well as hidden to enhance its esoteric effects. The intention of the poet is to bring on par both the Śaiva and Buddhist elements. So *tan hanolyantikā* should correspond in meaning to *halēp nirāparimita*. The newly discovered manuscripts have to be consulted to shed light on this phrase. Pigeaud’s translation of the fourth quarter is misleading. The statuette of Akṣobhya though relatively small in size and hidden, but because of its supernaular powers (*siddhi*) it merged (*wināśa*) into the supreme (*parama*) Absolute (*śūnya-tattva*). The word ‘disappearance’ is completely out of context in this verse.

57.1. It is said that shortly thereafter when the image of Akṣobhya disappeared, virtuous and learned Mahāguru of Rājyādhika undertook a pilgrimage. 57.2. He came to the holy statue with great devotion. This caused irritation to the abbot of the Candi. 57.3. The Buddhist *munivara* told him the real facts about the holy domain in the past and about the presence of the image of Akṣobhya, most subtle, atop (in the crown of Śiva). 57.4. The Akṣobhya statue disappeared in 1331 and lightning struck the very interior of the candi.

The following facts emerge from the Nāgarakṛtāgama : Kṛtanagara created Candi Jajawa. Its central image was that of Śiva, with a powerful statuette of

Akṣobhya in the crown. Akṣobhya was the spiritual perfection or siddhi of the composite image. In course of time, the Akṣobhya disappeared from the crown, probably it was removed by the Śaiva abbots. The Buddhist Patriarch of Rajyādhika visited the place and was dazed by the vanishing of the statuette of Akṣobhya, and how could he pay homage to the statue of Śiva (*śivārca* 57.2),

As it vanished in 1331, the candi was violently struck by lightning, never to regain its former glory.

Nihom has tried to prove that Jaka Dolog was originally sited in Candi Jajawa and it was the vanished image. This misconception has arisen because of the Akṣobhya at this candi which was a small statuette in the crown, like the Akṣobhya in the Padang Roco image of Bhairava (Kempers 1959 : pl. 259). The large-sized Jaka Dolog cannot be equated with the Akṣobhya statuette, nor can it obviously be this Śiva image.

Nihom's (486) proposal that "a link must exist between the disappearance of the Jajawa image in 1331 and the displacement of the Jaka Dolog to Majapahit and its rededication in 1351", is not tenable. The statuette of Aṣobhya in the Jajawa image disappeared for ever. The Jaka Dolog, consecrated by King Kṛtanagara, must have become a symbol of the nation and was thus transferred to Majapahit. The original site of Jaka Dolog was Wurara, where it was consecrated by Kṛtanagara himself twice : the second time according to the esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya of mahāyoga-tantras.

Nihom's translation (487) of verses 10-13 has to be amended to the following, excluding the ornate expressions of kāvya style.

Whereas the king of the Land, the son of Harivardhana (Viṣṇuvardhana) and Jayavardhanī, the lord of the four islands (continents), [and yet] a sage, endowed with all the Truths, the best of those who know the scriptures (dharmaśāstra), engaged in restoration projects, the promulgator of dharma, [with the initiation name] Jñāna-śiva-vajra, adorned by a jewelline mind, whose limbs are purified by the rays of knowledge, conversant in the knowledge of Enlightenment, consecrated the image with devotion which he had earlier consecrated himself (in person) in the cemetery named Wurara, according to the rites of Mahākṣobhya.

To read the triguhya of body, speech and mind, into verses 10-12 as a system is straining the words too far. The triguhya are not transformed into Mahākṣobhya. The words ātmaja and putra in verse 10 are used synonymously, without any extraordinary notions of descent, nor does father refer to Vajradhara as pointed out by Nihom (487,488). The repetition of putra in 10c is for metrical reasons. The inscription intends to point out that Kṛtanagara was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana

from his chief queen Jayavardhani, and thus not only inherited the kingdom but also the nobility of both parents. It is common in Indian inscriptions to name the mother alongwith the father, specially when she comes from a distinguished and renowned royal family. Jayavardhani is mentioned twice in verses 7 and 10 both as queen-consort and as royal mother, which means that she was from an eminent royal house and added lustre to her new family into which she was wedded. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta say : *mahārājādhirāja śri-Candraguptaputraśya-Licchavi-dauhitrasya mahādevyāṁ Kumāradevyāṁ utpannasya* “son of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta, grandson of the Licchavis, born of the Paramount Queen Kumāradevī” (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* 1981 : 214-215). Distinguished dynastic descent of the mother added to the quasi-divine splendour of the king and endowed him with greater substance of kingship, the effulgence of deep-rooted royalty. Nihom interprets *pitrādhishṭhāpanāya* (verse 9) as : “Viṣṇuvardhana united the land, in order to effect the firm establishment of (his) father(s)”. I feel that this refers to Kṛtanagara who deposited the funeral remains of his father Viṣṇuvardhana at Candi Jago, as a part of ancestral duties.

The abhiṣeka name of Kṛtanagara was Jñānabajreśvara (Nag. 43. 2c), Jñāneśvarabajra in the Singosari inscription of 1351 (P. 11), and Jñānaśivavajra in the Jaka Dolog inscription of Śaka 1211. The word jñānavajra occurs in an abhiṣeka in Guhyasamāja-tantra 15.98. As pointed out earlier Mahākṣobhya refers to the mahāyoga-tantra Guhyasamāja. The initiation of Kṛtanagara must have been according to the rites of Guhyasamāja-tantra whose main deity is Akṣobhya. That is why he got the name Jñānavajreśvara ‘the lord (iśvara) of jñānavajra’ or one who has attained the full empowerment of the jñānavajra of Guhyasamāja. Here iśvara refers to attaining the powers, the endowments, the puissance of Tantra rites. Īśvara also refers to a king. The Singosari inscription changed the sequence of the words in the compound to Jñāneśvaravajra. As Īśvara also means Śiva, Jñāneśvara-vajra became Jñāna-śiva-vajra in the Jaka Dolog inscription. It was political expedient to lay equal emphasis on the Śiva-Buddha nexus, for after all Kṛtanagara attained the Śivabuddhālaya Paradise on death.

Thy synthesis of varying traditions worked out by Nihom is :

Verse 10 : Kṛtanagara is Viṣṇu as identical in essence with his father Viṣṇuvardhana

Verse 11 : As teacher of the dharma identical with Buddha

Verse 12 : As fully conversant with the gnosis of enlightenment, he is Śiva.

Nihom (492) himself says that it “is so palpably adventitious that it cannot be taken seriously. Not so : association of the trivajra with Hindu divinities may be found in the indubitably Buddhist Guhyasamāja. The correlations are different, but the idea is the same”. Kāya-vajra is Brahmā, vāg-vajra is Maheśvara, and

citta-vajra is Viṣṇu. Analogical thinking is ubiquitous in the tantras. Nihom's correlations are remarkably ingenious but apparently forced. The verses are simple statements and have no symbolic pretensions. Viṣṇuvardha in verse 10 can hardly refer to Viṣṇu, for he was apotheosised as a Śaiva statue at Weleri and a Buddhist image at Jago. Though his name begins with Viṣṇu, he is not associated with Viṣṇu, as Erlanga was, clearly evidenced by his portrait statue in the form of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Kempers 1959 : pl. 202). Verse II is identified with Buddha by Nihom, but it is too general. Nihom is working on the basis of the Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Nihom has overlooked that sambodhi in verse 12 pertains to Buddha and not to Śiva. So his correlation of verse 12 with Śiva is not tenable.

Verse 13 has the expression *Mahākṣobhyānurūpatāḥ*. Nihom to right is saying that the image was caused to be erected "in conformity with the essence (or, nature) of Mahākṣobhya. . . In short, it [Jaka Dolog] is *not* Mahākṣobhya as such" (494). Firstly, the Jaka Dolog was consecrated earlier as an Akṣobhya. The inscription commemorates its second consecration according to the Guhyasamāja rites. Nihom's identification of Akṣobhya with Viṣṇu is far-fetched in the present context. It rests on Viṣṇu being the first element in the name of Kṛtanagara's father Viṣṇuvardhana and Kṛtanagara is his "spiritual progeny (*ātmaja*)" (488) : *ātmaja* from *ātmā* "spirit, soul". Association of ideas leads to wild conclusions.

Nihom proposes "that Jaka Dolog is the reflection, call it a portrait statue if one will, of Kertanagara as Śiva-Amoghasiddhi erected as a material reflex of the ineffable Mahākṣobhya" (494). Jaka Dolog was consecrated by Kṛtanagara himself. Portrait statues are done after the passing away of the person depicted. Hence it cannot be a portrait-statue. The Jaka Dolog is not a Śiva-Amoghasiddhi : it has no third eye, characteristic of Śiva. Amoghasiddhi has the right hand in abhaya, but Jaka Dolog is in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā characteristic of Akṣobhya. The philosophical exposition of Nihom mystifies but is hardly on solid ground.

Nihom derives Wurara from hypothetical *wruda*>*wrura*>*wurara* and correlates it to Gahvara one of the eight cemeteries in Tantric rites. The eight are a group and are not taken in isolation. The deity of Gahvara is Yama : Wurara cannot be Gahvara, because Akṣobhya has been invoked. Wurara seems to be the proper name of the place where the cemetery was situated.

Nihom says (495) that "Bhaṭṭāra Śivabuddha is of course the abhiṣeka name for Kertanagara in the Pararat on 18.15-16 : *sirāji Kērtanagara sira añjénēn prabhu abhiṣeka bhaṭṭāra Śivabuddha*". It is better to interpret the passage as : "Kṛtanagara performed his royal consecration with Śivabuddha rites". *Jénēn* "being in function, reign, being established" (Zoetmulder 739a).

Nihom (495) takes the Jajawa image described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama to be Jaka Dolog. The Jajawa image was of Śiva with a statuette of Akṣobhya in the crown. The Jaka Dolog does not correspond to this description as already indicated. The identity of the two images cannot be established, and thereby the original site of Jaka Dolog cannot be Candi Jajawa. The three words *vimba/bimba* ‘image’, *arca* ‘statue’ and *pratima* ‘likeness’ are not separate semantemes : the three are synonyms.

Nihom (495) translates *sirāndhiṣṭhita śarīra tan hana waneh* (Nāg. 56. Ic) “he magically established a physical reflex of himself, no one else”. The correct rendering is : “he consecrated it in person and no one else”, and that is why both the Śaivas and Buddhists always worshipped the image, in deference to the deep reverence done to it by the King himself. In the next verse 57.2 Nihom has inserted the concepts of ‘mundanely’ and transcendentally in the translation. They do not occur in the original verse of the Nāgarakṛtāgama. Nihom translates : “The mark of the shrine is that : mundanely, it is a Śaivite sanctuary, transcendentally, it has a summit which is a Buddhist sanctuary”. The correct translation will be : “The special feature of the candi is that its lower part is Śaiva, while its summit portion is Buddhist”. This refers to its mixed architecture, which must have been evolved specially because of the King’s predilection. Just as the statue within is Śaiva crowned with a Buddhist Akṣobhya, likewise is the architecture Śaiva below and Buddhist above. Both the without and the within were equally Śaiva-Buddhist. Nihom translates the second half as : “The likeness of Akṣobhya transcendentally forms the high point, no confusion is there at all. Because of its perfection in that it disappeared (the likeness) is veritably the supreme, the truth which is void.” Again ‘transcentally’ is unwarranted by the OJ. wording. *Ruhur makuṭa* has been mistranslated ‘high point’, while it clearly describes the image as having an Akṣobhya in the crown. The fourth quarter in Nihom is mystifying; we have translated it above.

Nihom (495) seems to agree with Bosch (1918b) that the replica of the Jaka Dolog found in Malang, was a mortuary statue of Kṛtanagara in Sagala. Bosch bases himself on Nāg 43.6a. Nihom (497) places the replica image in Bureng-Wendit and emends the reading *ring sākgala* to *ring sāgara*, and adds that we should await the publication of newly discovered manuscripts of the Nāg. The word *Sākgala* corresponds to the Indian Śākala the capital of Madra-deśa in the Mahābhārata 2.32. The city of Sāgala in the kingdom of Madda (Madra) is known from the Kalingabodhi-jātaka (Chalmers 1895 : 4.144). The town of Sāgala is described in Milindapañha (ed. V. Trenckner 1f.). Sākgala in Nāg. is the name of a city, which demands identification. The image instituted at Sākgala is described in Nāg. 43.6 :

lāwan riṇ sākgala pratiṣṭā jināwimbhātyanta riṇ śobhitā /
tkwan nārdḍanarsewari mwaṇ ika saṇ cri bajradewy āpupul /

sañ rowañnira wṛddi riñ bhūwana tuṅgal riñ kriyā mwañ bratā /
hyāñ werocana locanā lviriran ekārcca prakāseñ prajā //

Pigeaud translates it as follows :

Also in Sagala is a *pratiṣṭhā* (divine abode), a Jina likeness, infinite in splendour, naturally an Ardhanareshwari, with her, the honoured Illustrious Bajradewi, united,

His honoured associate as to increase in the world, one in *kriyā* (rites) and *brata* (observances).

The Holy Wairocana-Locanā was Their aspect, being one *arcā* (cult-statue), celebrated in the realm.

The above translation is not clear. The poet says that at Sākgala a Buddhist statue was established of excellent splendour. Kṛtanagara was united with his Queen Bajradevī in the same statue, it was virtually a statue of Ardhanārīśvara (right half Śiva, left half Pārvatī). The two together brought prosperity to the land, being one in rites and observances. It was Vairocana-Locanā, a conjoint image, and was worshipped by the people.

The yab-yum image of Kṛtanagara-Bajradevī was Ardhanārīśvara as well as Vairocana-Locanā. It must have shared Śaiva and Buddhist characteristics at the same time and it enlightened (*prakāśa*) the subjects of the realm in a unity (*eka*) of both the denominations. The name of the city Śākala also has a syncretic significance : it is a city in the Mahābhārata as well as in Buddhist texts. In Old Javanese texts, the consort of Vairocana is Vajradhātviśvari, and the consort of Akṣobhya is Locanā. Dhātviśvari and Locanā are also equated in the Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan p. 68 : *Dhātviśvari Locanekāt* Locanā is originally Rocanā, feminine of Rocana who is the main deity of the Avataṁsakā sūtras, and later evolved as the Abhisambodhi Vairocana (called Vairocana of the Garbha-maṇḍala in Japanese Mantrayāna). The name Rocana is known in Chinese and from the Sanskrit Gaṇḍavyūha. It has been mistranslated by modern scholars as Vairocana. This has led to several misunderstandings, including the interpretation of Locanā. This is to clarify the doubts raised by Pigeaud in his notes (1962 : 4. 133).

The tantric cult practised by Kṛtanagara pertained to mahāyoga-tantras represented by Guhyasamāja whose main deity is six-armed Akṣobhya, termed Mahākṣobhya in the Jaka Dolog inscription in contradistinction to the two-armed Akṣobhya in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. Gaṇacakra is a general tantric term and is not related exclusively to any specific tantric system, like that of Hevajra.

Nihom's paper invites a detailed consideration of Vajrayāna data in Old Javanese texts, inscriptions, sculptures, paintings and linguistic survivals (like Erucakra) in modern Javanese.

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THE ANĀTMAN CONCEPT IN BUDDHISM

KAMALESWAR BHATTACHARYA

It is admitted by all—ancient Masters (with the exception of some heretics) as well as modern scholars—that the Buddha denied *ātman*—a denial which is well known, through the Pali expression, as the doctrine of *anattā*. And this doctrine is rightly understood to be a basic tenet of Buddhism. However, both the ancient Masters and the modern scholars are divided on the issue of whether this denial concerns *ātman* in general or, rather, a particular view or particular views of *ātman* (for a while I will leave the term *ātman* untranslated; for in different contexts it has different meanings—which will become clear as we proceed). The present paper is an attempt to clarify this issue—a vital issue, indeed, as on its clarification will depend the solution of many of the metaphysical problems that the modern studies of Buddhism have given rise to.

Naturally, we shall have to turn first to the words of the Buddha himself—or, at least, to what tradition has recorded as such. And these words, fortunately, are quite illuminating. Nowhere is the Buddha reported to have stated : “There is no Ātman”. On the contrary, in hundreds of places spread over the Pali Canon, we hear him say, speaking of the five *khandhas* (*skandha*) in Sanskrit) “aggregates” that constitute the psycho-physical individual : “This is not mine, I am not this, This is not my *ātman*” (*n' etam mama, n' eso 'ham asmi, na m' eso attā*).

What is denied, therefore, is the individuality of the individual, and nothing more. And the reason for this denial is also clearly indicated, e.g., : “Those leaders in religious life who conceive of the *ātman* in so many ways have all in view the five aggregates which are the object of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*), or some one among them”.¹ Indeed, we know from the Pali Canon, as well as from the Upaniṣads (which preceded the Buddha), that the common people of those times conceived the psycho-physical complex as the *ātman*—in other words, as the essence of the individual. The superior people, however, while rejecting the gross body, saw the essence of the individual in a subtle element—e.g., consciousness. The

1. *Samyutta Nikāya* (Pali Text Society's Edition), Vol. III, p. 46.

Upaniṣadic doctrine of the *ātman*—We shall see in a while what it exactly was—was proclaimed against this background.²

Now, so far as the words of the Buddha are concerned, a penetrating logical analysis of them was given, in ancient times, by the non-Buddhist logician Uddyotakara (6th-7th centuries). In his polemic against the Buddhists who contended that the Buddha had denied *ātman* in a general way, he pointed out that this position was untenable because the Buddha's words contained no negation such as "I am not, You are not" (*nāham asmi, na tvam asi*). The Buddha merely said : "I am not the five aggregates, You are not the five aggregates". It is a particular negation (*vīśesapratisedha*), not a universal negation (*sāmānyapratisedha*). And a particular negation invariably implies a corresponding affirmation : when I say "I do not see with the left eye", I do not mean to say that I see with the right eye (*vāmenākṣṇā nā paśyāmītyukte gamyata eva dakṣiṇena paśyāmīti*)³.

Despite the biased criticism of Uddyotakara by two great Buddhist Masters, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla,⁴ it should be admitted that there is a great deal of logic in his reasoning. In other words, the Buddha's denial of a particular view or particular views of *ātman* cannot be logically interpreted as a general negation of *ātman*; on the contrary, this "particular negation" implies his acceptance of some other view of *ātman*—which, as we shall see later, is not really a "view", because it is a matter of immediate spiritual realization.

Quite recently, a new interpretation of the *anattā* doctrine from the logical standpoint was attempted by a professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, Paris. Professor Guy Bugault writes :

"...well before Russell ...the Buddha had already put forth a three-valued logic (albeit implicitly and in practice). Besides true and false, this logic would admit a third possibility : nonsense, absurdity, or incongruity".⁵

This position, unfortunately, is not worth paying attention to. My esteemed friend and colleague Hans Herzberger, Professor of Logic at the University of Toronto, Canada, has been kind enough to send me a long comment on an important part of Professor Bugault's article, and on the question under consideration he writes :

2. Cf. K. Bhattacharya, L'Ātman-Brahman dans le Bouddhisme ancien, Paris, 1973 (*Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient XC*), p. 13.
3. *Nyāyavārttika* : cf. *ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
4. *Tattvasaṃgraha* 349 and *Pañjikā* thereon.
5. "Logic and Dialectics in the *Madhyamakārikās*", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (Dordrecht, Holland), Vol. 11, No. 1, March 1983, p. 28.

"I find considerable confusion about" 'three-valued logic' in the text. Thus :

'... well before Russell ... the Buddha had already put forth a three-valued logic (albeit implicitly and in practice)' (P. 28).

If so, what are the rules of inference and ('implicit') truth-tables of this logic? While it is true that denying (i) [“At least one of any pair (A , $\neg A$) of propositions is true”] leads in the direction of three-valued logic, this is not ineluctable, and Russell is a good test case. Russell certainly brought PB (=Principle of Bivalence) into doubt, but his own logic was *strictly ‘bivalent’*—like Wittgenstein and others he restricted the application of logic to propositions which satisfied PB. So it's one thing to challenge PB and quite another thing to 'put forth a three-valued logic'. Russell knew about three-valued logics (first developed in the 1920's) and *rejected* them. It's safe to say that Buddha didn't know about them, didn't put one forth, and neither accepted ('implicitly') nor rejected them".

To return to Uddyotakara, according to his interpretation the Buddha's denial of the five aggregates as *ātman* implies his acceptance of some kind of *ātman*. Now, what is that *ātman*? Naturally, following his own school—the Nyāya—Uddyotakara concludes that the *ātman* admitted by the Buddha is the “object of the notion of the Ego” (*ahamkāra* (*ahampratyaya*)—*viṣaya*), distinct from the aggregates.⁶ Here, however, Uddyotakara is rash : for nowhere in the texts is the Buddha found to admit such an *ātman*; on the contrary, it is the *pudgala* of the Buddhist heretics which is similar to this *ātman*—an individual soul which is an agent and the enjoyer of the fruits of its actions, good or bad and which transmigrates from one existence to another. This similarity was also pointed out by the two Buddhist Masters mentioned earlier, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla.⁷

It may also be noted that, just like the believers in the *pudgala*, Uddyotakara appeals to the *Bhārahāra-Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*.⁸ In this text, however, the Buddha, taking his stand on the popular belief, describes the five aggregates as the “burden” (*bhāra*) and the *pudgala* as the “burden-bearer” (*bhāra-hāra*) : he does not support the ontological substantiality of the *pudgala*.⁹

Furthermore, an *ātman*-view similar to that of the Nyāya is found to be refuted by the Buddha in the *Mahānidāna-Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*.¹⁰ First it is said that *ātman* is not sensation (*vedanā*)—one of the five aggregates : sensation is

6. *Nyāyavārttika* : cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman....*, p. 66.

7. *Tattvasaṃgraha* 336 and *Pañjikā* thereon; cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman....*, p. 59.

8. *Nyāyavārttika* : cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman....*, p. 59, n. 4.

9. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman....*, pp. 55-56.

10. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

subject to the vicissitudes peculiar to all empirical things : one does not find in it an invariable self. Is then *ātman* something apart from sensation ? No, for, when there is no sensation, can I say "I am" (*asmī*) ? At this point, someone propounds a theory which is akin to the Nyāya theory of later times : True, *ātman* is not sensation; but it is not devoid of sensation, it has sensation as its attribute (*vedanā-dhamma*). The Buddha, however, rejects this theory as well : When all sensations have come to an end, can I still say "I am" ? One may compare here David Hume, who also said :

"For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe any thing but the preception. When perceptions are remov'd for any time, as by sound sleep; so long am I insensible of *myself*, and may truly be said not to exist. And were all my perceptions remov'd by death, and cou'd I neither think, nor feel, nor see, nor love, nor hate after the dissolution of my body, I shoul'd be entirely annihilated, nor do I conceive what is farther requisite to make me a perfect non-entity. If any one, upon serious and unprejudic'd reflection, thinks he has a different notion of *himself*, I must confess I can reason no longer with him. All I can allow him is, that he may be in the right as well as I, and that we are essentially different in this particular. He may, perhaps, perceive something simple and continu'd, which he calls *himself*; tho' I am certain there is no such principle in me.

"But setting aside some metaphysicians of this kind, I may venture to affirm of the rest of mankind, that they are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement."¹¹

Thus, from whatever angle it may be envisioned, there is for the Buddha no individual *ātman*—a self or a soul.

There was not indeed, in ancient India, *one* theory of *ātman*. But, while the majority of the schools regard *ātman* as an individual substance, for the Upaniṣads it is the universal Being (*brahman*), one and the same in all beings. This point was already emphasized, in ancient times, by the great Vedānta philosopher, Śaṅkara, in *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* I, 1, 4.¹² : *na hy ahaṁpratyayavivikṣayakartṛtvavyā-tirekena tatsākṣi sarvabhūtasthāḥ sama ekaḥ kūṭasthanityāḥ puruṣo vidhikāṇḍe tarkasamaye vā kenacit adhigataḥ sarvasyātmā.*

11. *A treatise on Human Nature*, edited with preliminary dissertations and notes, by T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, London, 1874, Vol. I, p. 534.
12. *The Brahmasūtra Śaṅkarā Bhāṣya with the Commentaries Bhāmatī, Kalpataru and Parimala*, edited by Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstri, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay : Second Edition, 1938, pp. 134-135.

This being so, the *ātman* whose existence is indicated by the Buddha when he denies the five aggregates as *ātman* is, I believe, the Upaniśadic *ātman*. And this view finds support from the numerous passages of the Pali Canon which identify, indeed, *ātman*, Dharma, Nirvāṇa or Buddha with *brahman* (neuter).

All these texts were studied in detail by the great Pali scholar Wilhelm Geiger in two works, *Pali Dhamma* (1920) and *Dhamma und Brahman* (1921), and recently by myself.¹³

Geiger wanted to prove the following. It was with a view to substituting for *brahman*, connoting permanence, *dharma* (*dhamma* in Pali), that the Buddha frequently used the two words as synonyms. *Dharma*, however, connotes impermanence. True, the word is found used in the Upaniśads themselves as a synonym of *brahman*; but, for the Buddha, it was but a venerable receptacle—so Geiger put it—that he filled up with new content (...) *das ehrwürdige Gefäß, das er mit neuem Inhalt füllte*). Consequently the word *brahman* itself, used in the Pali Canon as a synonym of *dhamma*, acquires “a peculiar coloration, a new illumination” (*eine besondere Färbung, eine neue Beleuchtung*). In the place of *ātman*, of course, thought Geiger, the Buddha professed *añātman* (*anattan* in Pali; Nominative Singular *anattā*), that is, the negation of *ātman*.¹⁴

Unfortunately, these ideas—which betray the influence of those generally received—cannot be substantiated from the Canon.

It is true that the Buddha, steering between the two extreme standpoints, eternalism (*sassatavāda*) on the one hand and nihilism (*ucchedavāda*) on the other,—in other words, taking his stand upon the well-known Middle Path,—condemned eternalism. But what is meant by “eternity” in this context? As several canonical texts show, it is nothing but a supposedly endless duration in time, either in this world or in a higher world. To explain: according to the Buddha, all that is born must die, and all that is thus impermanent (*anitya/anicca*) because of being in time is painful (*duḥkha/dukkha*). The timeless—the Absolute—alone is permanent, and thus happiness (*sukha*), because it is not born and, consequently, neither decays nor dies. We find, indeed, in the Pali Canon numerous expressions for Nirvāṇa (Pali *Nibbāna*) which signify “permanent” and “happiness.”¹⁵ And the great

13. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman....*, especially Chapter II; “Brahman in the Pali Canon and in the Pali Commentaries”, *P. V. Bapat Felicitation Volume* (to appear).
14. M. & W. Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma*, München, 1920 (*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*: Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, XXXI. Band, 1. Abhandlung), p. 7; W. Geiger, *Dhamma und Brahman*, München-Neubiberg, 1921 (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Buddhismus* II), p. 4.
15. Cf. *Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 346 a-b.

Theravāda writer Buddhaghosa also says in his *Visuddhimagga* that Nirvāṇa, not having an origination in time, does not decay, nor dies, and that, not being subject to birth, decay and death, it is permanent (*nicca*).¹⁶ Statements of this kind are common in the Upaniṣads. For instance : The ātman “is never born ; nor does he die at any time. He sprang from nothing and nothing sprang from him. He is unborn, abiding, primeval. He is not slain when the body is slain” (*Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* II, 18) ; “All that is different from the timeless ātman is painful” (*ato ‘nyad ārtam : Brhadāraṇyaka* III, 4, 2 ; 5, 1; 7, 23) ; “The Infinite is happiness. There is no happiness in anything small (finite). Only the Infinite is happiness Verily, the Infinite is the same as the Immortal, the finite is the same as the mortal” (*Chāndogya* VII, 23-24). It is self-contradictory to say that the temporal is eternal : this doctrine is also manifest in the Upaniṣads.

And we have seen that one who says *anātman* does not necessarily deny ātman. I shall return to the question in a little while.

Just as the ātman-brahman is described in negative terms in the Upaniṣads—we shall see later why,—so also the Nirvāṇa is described in negative terms in the Pali Canon.¹⁷

Not only that : just as the ātman-brahman is called “Consciousness” (*vijñāna*) in the Upaniṣads, so also, in two Pali texts, the Nirvāṇa is called “Consciousness” (*viññāna*). It is not, of course, our individual, finite consciousness—one of the five aggregates,—but a consciousness in which the ordinary consciousness ceases to exist—a consciousness, universal and absolute, in which there is no phenomenon, no dichotomy of the empirical world, no individuality :

*viññāṇam anidassanam anantam sabbatopabhām
ettha āpo ca pathavī tejo vāyo na gādhati |
ettha dīghān ca rassañ ca aṇum thūlañ subhāsubham
ettha nāmañ ca rūpañ ca asesam uparujjhati
viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etam uparujjhati ||*¹⁸

This passage is an echo of Upaniṣadic teachings, especially of the teaching of the great thinker Yājñavalkya to his wife Maitreyī in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* II, 4, 12-13, and IV, 5, 13-15. There, after having stated that the ātman is “a homogeneous mass of consciousness, without inside, without outside” (*anantaro bāhyah kṛtsnah prajñānaghana [vijñānaghana] eva*), he said : “After emancipation (i.e., from our contingent finitude, due to ignorance), there is no more consciousness”; and then, in order to dispel Maitreyī’s fear of the destruction of ātman—the true Self—which she identified with our finite consciousness, he taught :

16. *Visuddhimagga* : cf. L’Ātman-Brahman..., p. 14, n. 7.

17. Cf. L’Ātman-Brahman..., p. 101.

18. *Dīgha-Nikāya* (Pali Text Society’s Edition), Vol. I, p. 223. Cf. *Mājjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 329-330.—L’Ātman-Brahman..., pp. 53-54.

"Where there is a semblance of duality (*dvaitam ita*), there . . . one knows another. But when everything has become one's self, then . . . by what and whom should one know? By what should one know that by which one knows all this? By what, my dear, should one know all this? By what, my dear, should one know the knower?"—a passage to which I will have to return soon.¹⁹

The Pali passage just quoted, and the similar one, have, naturally, embarrassed the majority of the interpreters in modern times. Even the great Theravāda writer, Buddhaghosa, who recognizes that *viññāna* is a "name for Nirvāṇa" (*nibbānassa nāmam*) and that the consciousness which ceases there is the phenomenal consciousness, refuses to admit that Nirvāṇa is Consciousness and gives a fanciful etymology of the word *viññāna*. But the modern scholars, the great V. Trenckner and I. B. Horner included, have gone a step further: they attribute the words of the Buddha to his adversary and thus make the Omniscient appear as incapable of giving a proper answer!²⁰

The idea of the "Consciousness without consciousness" will occur again, in later times, in Mahāyāna: not only in *Vijñānavāda*, but in the *Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtras* as well—where the Absolute is so described (*cittam acittam, cittam cittaviniirmuktam*).²¹

In Mahāyāna texts, the Upaniṣadic *ātman* is clearly recognised. Thus in the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛečchā-Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* the "non-dual *ātman*" (*advaya ātmā*) is said to be the ground of our authentic knowledge of all things in all spheres of existence.²²

By "non-dual" (*advaya*) in this context is meant "beyond the subject-object split" (*grāhya-grāhakabhedātīta*). It is, indeed, through such a knowledge, where the subject coincides with the object, that all things are known as they are. Our empirical knowledge, characterized by the subject-object split, is imperfect; it is otherwise called "ignorance" (*avidyā*).

Now the *ātman*—the self—by its very nature is beyond the subject-object split. The self cannot be both subject and object of the same act of knowledge, any more than fire can burn itself or the eye can see itself.²³ And the Upaniṣadic *ātman* is—as we have seen—universal. Therefore, when the *ātman* is known, everything is known. This is the Upaniṣadic doctrine, so brilliantly expressed by Yājñavalkya in the passage quoted a while ago:

"Where there is semblance of duality, there....one knows another. But when everything has become one's self (*yatra tv asya sarvam ātmaivābhūt*), then....by what

19. Cf. *L'Ātman-Brahman*..., p. 52.

20. See *ibid.*, p. 54, n. 2.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 54, n. 1.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 33, n. 4.

23. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 52, n. 7.

and whom should one know ? By what should one know that by which one knows all this ? By what, my dear, should one know the knower (*vijñātāram are kena vijñānyat*) ??

As it is beyond the subject-object split, the *ātman* can never, indeed, be known as an object. This is the reason why in two Pali texts the *ātman* or the Buddha is said to be “beyond apprehension” (*anupalabbhamāna/anupalabbhyamāna*).²⁴

Similarly, a later text, the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*,—which, like one of these two Pali texts, identifies *ātman* and Buddha, says : Just as the *ātman* does not exist at all, is not apprehended (*atyantatayā na saṃvidyate nopalabhyate*), so the Buddha also does not exist at all, is not apprehended.²⁵

What is meant ?

First, in the Buddha is not to be seen a psychophysical individual, but the Absolute, called by various names, *brahman*, *ātman*, *dharma*, *dharmanām dharmatā* (“essential nature of things”), and so on. This is, of course, true of every individual; but the Buddha is the one who has realized this truth, who has made it “actual”, by becoming what he really is. So, already in the Pali Canon, he is reported to have said : ‘The following are the Buddha’s names : ‘One who has the Dhamma as his body’ (*Dhammakāya*), or ‘One who has the *brahman* as his body’ (*brahma-kāya*) ; ‘One who has become the Dhamma’ (*Dhammadbhūta*), or ‘One who has become the *brahman*’ (*brahmabhūta*).²⁶ And further : “What do you gain by seeing this foul body ? He who sees the Dhamma sees me, and he who sees me sees the Dhamma”.²⁷

Now the Absolute can never become an object for anybody. As the *Vajracch-edikā Prajñāpāramitā* puts it, “One should see the Buddha as the Dharma. The essential nature of things—*dharmatā*—however cannot be known” (*dharmatā ca na vijñeyā nasā śakyā vijānitum*).²⁸ In like manner, Nāgārjuna also says: “You are not said to be seen when one has seen your bodily form. You are well seen when the Dharma is seen. But the essential nature of things—*dharmatā*—is not seen” (*dharme dṛṣṭe sudṛṣṭo’si dharmatā na ca dṛṣyate*).²⁹

And this “non-apprehension” only indicates the non-existence of the *ātman* or the Buddha—if we view it from the empirical standpoint. From the standpoint of

24. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9, n. 4.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
27. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
28. See *ibid.*, p. 124, n. 3.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 124, n. 3.

the absolute Truth, however, it is this non-existence which is its highest ("metaphysical") existence, it is this non-apprehension which is its highest apprehension :

yāvidyamānatā saiva paramā vidyamānatā |
sarvathānupalambhaś ca upalambhaḥ paro mataḥ ||

(Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra IX, 78).³⁰

Surely the *ātman* is apprehended, but not as an object. Indeed, if the *ātman*—the self—could become an object, it would turn out to be an *anātman*—not-self. Therefore, he who thinks : "I have apprehended the *ātman* objectively" has not really apprehended it. The *ātman* is apprehended, beyond the subject-object split which governs our empirical thought, in the immediate consciousness "It is" (*asti* *evopalabdhavyaḥ* : *Katha-Upaniṣad* VI, 12-13). But, from the empirical standpoint, again, this apprehension is nothing but a non-apprehension, being devoid of an object and hence ineffable. So the *Kena-Upaniṣad* (II, 3) says : "Only to him who does not know it is it known; to him who knows it, is not known" *avijñātām vijñātām vijñātum avijñātām*). In the same vein, the *Bhagavadgītā* (II. 69) says : "What is night for all beings is the time of waking for the disciplined soul; and what is the time of waking for all beings is night for the sage who sees"—

yā niśā sarvabhūtānām tasyām jāgarti samyamī |
yasyām jāgrati bhūtāni sā niśā paśyato muneḥ ||

True, the non-existence of *pudgala* is sought to be proved on the same ground of non-apprehension.³¹ But one thing is the non-apprehension of *pudgala*, and quite another thing the non-apprehension of *ātman*. If the so-called *pudgala*—an individual substance—really existed, it would be an object of thought and hence apprehended.³² But, from whatever side it may be envisaged, it is never apprehended and remains wholly unintelligible. It is, therefore, concluded that it does not exist. The *ātman*, on the other hand, can never be an object of thought, as we have seen. Thus, by its very nature it is "beyond apprehension."³³

Furthermore, in many *Mahāyāna* texts, the Absolute is said to be "beyond apprehension" (*anupalambha*). The Vedāntin Gauḍapāda, deeply influenced by Buddhist ideas, said the same thing.³⁴

We may, therefore, not follow Pali scholasticism (*Abhidhamma*), or those great scholars of modern times, such as Louis de La Vallee Poussin, whose thoughts were shaped under its influence, when they assert that, just as the non-apprehension of *pudgala* proves its non-existence, so the non-apprehension of the *ātman* proves the latter's non-existence.³⁵

30. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 68.

31. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 67, n. 3.

32. On "apprehension" (*upalabdhī*) cf. *ibid.*, p. 68.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 68.

34. See *ibid.*, p. 67, n. 3.

35. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 67 n. 3.

It is precisely because the *ātman* cannot be an object of thought that the Buddha rejected all “theories” (*vāda*) about *ātman*. The Upaniṣads also had stated—e.g.—“Whence words return along with thought, not having reached it” (*yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha* : *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* II, 4 & 9). It is, further, because the *ātman* cannot be apprehended as an object that the Upaniṣadic thinkers mostly indicate it in negative terms, by saying what it is not, rather than what it is. And the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā*—already mentioned before—says the same about the *ātman* or the Buddha (the two are identified in this text, as we have seen) : “Just as the *ātman* cannot be expressed by any empirical reality, so the Buddha also cannot be expressed by any empirical reality. Where there is no name, that is called the Buddha” (*yatra na kācit saṃkhyā sa ucyate Buddha iti*). “It is the name of one who is beyond words (*apada*).”³⁶

Thus from the rejection of the theories about *ātman* it does not follow that the Buddha denied *ātman* as some modern scholars have thought.³⁷ “A theory about the *ātman* is not itself the *ātman*” (*nātmadṛṣṭih svayam ātmalakṣaṇā*), says the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*.³⁸

The *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*, of course, clearly recognizes *ātman*. And this *ātman* called by various names, “Great *Ātman*” (*mahātman*), “Supreme *Ātman*” (*paramātman*), “Suchness” (*tathatā*), “Void” (*śūnya*), “being devoid of self” (*nairātmya*), is nothing else than the Upaniṣadic *ātman*. The *Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* also has the same doctrine.³⁹

Indeed, already in the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* (II, 7) the term *anātmya* is applied to the *brahman*. Later, in the *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, the *ātman* will be described as ‘Void’ (*śūnya*), “without” *ātman* (*nirātman, nirātmaka*)”.⁴⁰

Of these, the term “void” (*śūnya*) indicates that the *ātman* is beyond all objective determinations—like the *neti neti* “Not so, not so....” of Yājñavalkya.⁴¹ And, by describing the *ātman* as “devoid of *ātman*” (*anātmya*, etc.), the Upaniṣadic thinkers convey the idea that the *ātman*—the self—is distinct from the psycho-physical complex and thus deny the false identification of the self with this complex.

By the term *tathatā* “Suchness” is meant not being subject to change, to becoming in time—as the great Buddhist Masters, Vasubandhu, Candrakīrti and others, made it clear.⁴²

36. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

37. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17 and n. 2.

38. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17, n. 2.

39. See *ibid.*, pp. 3-7.

40. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 7 and 69-70.

41. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 96, n. 5.

42. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 3.

Likewise, the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* calls the *ātman* or the Buddha *anutpāda* “non-origination.”⁴³

Thus, for the Upaniṣads,—which in ancient India represent a great moment of metaphysical speculation,—the *ātman*—the self—is neither the psycho-physical complex, nor a privileged part of it (e.g., consciousness), nor any other kind of individual entity, “object of the notion of the Ego.” It is the Being in itself, one, all-encompassing, absolute. From the objective standpoint, as we have seen, it is a non-being. But it is this non-being which is the authentic Being, the ground of all beings.⁴⁴

The Upaniṣads, when they affirm this Being, do deny that psycho-physical being which people, in general, consider to be the self.⁴⁵ Hence the apparently paradoxical expression “*ātman* devoid of *ātman*”. The paradox is resolved if we translate : “Self devoid of a self”. Conversely, it has appeared to us that the Buddha, when he denies this psycho-physical being as a self, does affirm the Being in itself as the Self.

The difference is merely a difference of accent. The Buddha’s aim, like that of the Upaniṣadic thinkers, was to lead mankind to emancipation—an emancipation from its contingent finitude due to ignorance, which is achieved through knowledge, or, rather, which *is* knowledge. But, unlike the Upaniṣadic thinkers, he did not so much speculate on the Goal : he showed the Way. His purpose was to be a saviour, not a philosopher. At the same time, however, he was *philosophically* aware of the danger run by speculation on Being—the danger of making the All-Encompassing an object, standing in relation, on the one hand, to the thinking subject, and on the other, to other objects. The Upaniṣadic philosophers themselves had not escaped that danger. More consistently, therefore, the Buddha followed the “negative way”. He explained what is *not* the *ātman*, in order that his hearers, by getting rid of all false notions of the *ātman*, might get an immediate knowledge of the *ātman*.⁴⁶

The same, indeed, will be said, centuries later, by the great Vedānta philosopher, Śaṅkara.

In Vedānta, the psycho-physical complex is called—as in Buddhism—“not-self” (*anātman*). The false conception of that non-self as the self (*ātman*) is said to be “ignorance” (*avidyā*). And, when this ignorance has at last come to an end, thanks to the intellectual and moral discipline pursued, it is through the negation of the *ātman* falsely conceived by ignorance that the true *ātman* is realized, in an

43. *Ibid.*, p. 124, n. 3.

44. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 96.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

46. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 75 and 138-140.

immediate experience. It is never apprehended as an object, as we have seen. Indeed, those who strive to apprehend the *ātman* objectively will not attain it. So Śaṅkara says, at the end of a discussion on the *ātman*'s "character of not being an object" (*aviśayatva*), in his commentary on *Bhagavadgītā* XVIII, 50 : "One must not exert oneself to know the *ātman*, but solely to make cease the notion of *ātman* in what is not the *ātman*"—*jñāne yatno na kartavyah kim tv anātmany ātmabuddhinivṛttav eva*.

I shall conclude with a statement of the great Buddhist Master Vasubandhu, author of the *Vimśatikā* with an auto-commentary, which perfectly elucidates the so-called "negation of *ātman*" in Buddhism :

*yo bālair dharmāṇām svabhāvo grāhyagrāhakādih parikalpitas tena kalpitena
ātmanā teṣām nairātmyam na tv anabhilāpyenātmanā yo buddhanām viśayah.*⁴⁷ "It is by virtue of that nature of things, consisting in subject and object, which the ignorant imagine, that the things are devoid of self, not by virtue of that ineffable Self which is the domain of the Enlightened Ones".

47. *ibid.*, p. 66.

THE JAINA CONCEPT OF SELF

GOVINDAGOPAL MUKHOPADHYAYA

The search of philosophy, especially in India, is a search for the self or soul. Self or soul denotes consciousness and it is this wonderous phenomenon of consciousness that has engaged the attention of all thinking beings since the dawn of human civilisation. In India it was known as the *Ātmavidyā*, the science of the self, which was considered as the *Parāvidyā*, the supreme science or highest knowledge as distinguished from *Aparāvidyā*, which was concerned with the knowledge of other material things.

Some may object that the search for the self was not universally accepted in India as the supreme object of enquiry as is evident from the existence of such systems as the Cārvāka, Bauddha, Jaina etc., which are branded as heterodox as opposed to the orthodox systems, which had their roots in the Vedas. But we forget that even the Cārvāka, who are known as materialists, are engaged in explaining the fact of consciousness and this they do only in terms of the material body. They are only *dehātmatmavādins*. The Buddhists, who are called nihilists because they do not admit the existence of anything permanent, much less of a permanent self, have still to engage themselves in finding out the nature of consciousness, which they ultimately consider to be of a fleeting nature. The flow of consciousness has still to be admitted by them and so there are *vijñānātmatmavādins*. Even in reducing all existence to a zero or a void, they have to do it on the strength of the analysis of the fact of consciousness alone, which the Buddhists claim, proves the void to the hilt. The position of the Jainas in this matter stands on a unique footing. They not only affirm the existence of the self or soul but show its infinite varieties, which no other system of Indian philosophy has done with such details. The Jaina system of philosophy is, therefore, *ātmavādin* to the core and its entire interest centres round this one concept of self or soul. It will be, therefore, fruitful to take note of this concept from the Jaina point of view.

Every philosophical system has some fundamental categories through which they have tried to explain the world of experience. The Jainas consider them to be nine in number (*nava tattva*) and the very first of them is *jīva*, the soul, which shows that it occupies the very first and most important position among the *tattvas*.

or categories. One may think that the Jainas are not concerned with the search for the Self, the immutable and all-pervasive principle of the Vedanta or the Upanisads but are interested in its embodied existence alone as soul, in its expression through life and in this they are more realistic in their outlook than the Vedanta. But in describing the essential nature of *jīva*, they do not differ from the Vedanta or the Upanisadic literature, for it is *cetana* or *citsvarūpa*. This *cetanā* or *jñāna* is inherent in the *jīva* and is not a by-product as is sought to be affirmed by the Naiyāyikas.

According to the Jainas, there is a scale of consciousness and consequently an infinite grade of beings or selves, at the top of which is the *Paramātman* or *Sarvajña*, the omniscient Being, who is like an ideal which man should try to attain or aim at. But this *Paramātman* is not God, who creates, preserves and destroys the world. The Jaina view denies God and extols man, than whom there is no higher power to be worshipped or adored. No other system of philosophy does uphold the dignity of man in such a manner as we find in the Jaina system. The view seems to be a vindication of that famous utterance in the Bhagavad Gita :

*Uddhared ātmanātmaṇam nātmānam avasādayet |
ātmaiva hyātmano bandhur ātmaiva ripurātmanaḥ ||¹*

Man, himself, is the creator of his own destiny. It is at once the knower, actor and enjoyer. It knows the objects around, acts or moves either to get hold of them or to avoid them and enjoys the respective fruits of its action, either in the form of pleasure or pain. The Jaina conception of the self or soul is thus distinct from both the Vedantic and Sāmkhya view, who do not recognise *Kartṛtya* in the self though admitting *jñātṛtya* and *bhoktṛtya*. According to the latter, the self cannot be an actor, it can only be the knower and the enjoyer. But the Jainas make the Ātman active by its own nature and consequently whatever it enjoys as a *bhoktā* is nothing but the fruits of its own action performed as a *Kartā*.

While thus affirming the dignity of the self by making it the architect of its own destiny, the Jaina view further upholds the unique nature of the self by stating that the infinite number of souls "retain their individuality throughout, neither destroying it altogether nor merging it in the individuality of any other superior being." It is thus sharply distinguished from the Upanisadic view which is stated thus again and again in many of the Upanisads :

*Yathā nadyaḥ syandamānāḥ samudre astam gacchanti nāmarūpe vihāya |
tathā vidvān nāmarūpād vimuktāḥ parātparam puruṣam upaiti divyam ||²*

1. *Bhagvad Gita VI.5.*
2. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad III. 2. 8.*

or again :

*pāre avyāye sarva ekibhavanti*³

still again :

*Yatho'dakam śuddhe śuddham āsiktam tadṛgeva bhavati |
evam muner vijānata ātmā bhavati gautama ||*⁴

and reaffirmed thus :

*sa yathemā nadyāḥ syandamānāḥ samudrāyaṇāḥ samudram prāpyāstam gacchanti bhidyete tāśām nāmarūpe samudra ity evam procyate, evam evā sya paridraṣṭur imāḥ ṣoḍaśakalāḥ puruṣāyanāḥ puruṣam prāpyāstam gacchanti bhidyete tāśām nāmarūpe puruṣa ity evam procyate sa eṣo ‘akalo’ amṛto bhavati.*⁵

From these statements no shadow of doubt is left that there is complete self-loss, according to the Upaniṣads, in the state of liberation which is conveyed by the most apt illustration of the streams merging in the ocean losing their names and forms. But the Jainas will assert that even after liberation there is infinite progression for the individual soul. Thus in the *Tattvārthasūtra* after enunciating the nature of mokṣa as *Kṛtsnakarmavipramokṣaḥ*,⁶ release from all action, it goes on to state :

*tadanantaram ūrdhvam gacchatyā'lokāntāt.*⁷

There is thus no end of possibility for the evolution of the soul of man. And this evolution is unique for every individual soul. As rightly pointed out by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, 'the Jaina view seems to point to radical differences inherent in the souls in spite of their essential sameness of qualitative perfection. Apart from the basic difference due to *bhavyatā* in a soul, there are other differences as well, which in fact tend to make each soul unique. The Christian and Mādhyva views, together with similar ideas in other schools including Buddhism, point to a similar outlook.'⁸ But we beg to point out that though the Christian and Mādhyva views are akin to the Jaina view, there is still a marked difference in this that the former views, though retaining the individual entity of the self make it subservient to the supreme self, the Christian God or the Hindu Lord Viṣṇu, but the Jaina make the individual stand on his own with an entirely independent status.

According to the Jaina view, 'the life-history of a soul consists mainly of four stages : (i) the embryonic stage in the *nigoda*, (ii) the awakening of the inward tendency synchronizing with *granthiveda*, (iii) the beginning of a spiritual evolu-

3. Ibid. III. 2. 7.

4. Kaṭha Upaniṣad IV. 15.

5. Praśna Upaniṣad VI. 5.

6. Tattvārthasūtrā X. 2.

7. Ibid. X. 5.

8. Foreword to the *Studies in Jaina Philosophy* xxi.

tion marked by numerous *guṇasthānas*, and (iv) the perfection of *Siddhi*. Some souls do not come out into the evolutionary line at all, but those which come out are sure sooner or later to arrive at perfection.⁹ This promise of perfection to every man, this reassurance that all are destined for final realization who have taken the evolutionary line is a unique message of hope which the Jaina philosophy alone has held out to mankind.

Another important and unique feature of the Jaina theory of self is its affirmation of the *madhyama parimāṇa*, the middle measure about the soul, denouncing both the theories about the *vibhutva*, its all-pervasive nature as well as *anutva* or microscopic nature. The self or soul is neither big nor small but just of the measure of the body. The Jainas refute the arguments by which the all-pervasive nature of the self is sought to be established. They affirm that the argument put forward for the *vibhutva* of the ātman on the ground of its being a *nitya dravya* or eternal thing like the *ākāśa* or the ether is faulty, as an absolutely eternal thing cannot be proved. If by *nitya*, the relatively eternal is meant then even an earthly jar may lay claim to such eternity on the ground of being a *dravya* or object but it can never be proved to be all-pervasive. Similarly *anutva* or minuteness of the self lies beyond perception and is as such inadmissible.¹⁰

This Jaina view of the self being as big as the body it inhabits naturally leads one to conclude that the Jainas take the self in the sense of the soul. As Dr. Jacobi suggests, the Jainas arrived 'at their concept of soul, not through the search after the Self, the self-existing unchangeable principle in the ever-changing world of phenomena, but through the perception of life. For the most general Jaina term for soul is life (*jīva*), which is identical with self (*āyā, ātman*)'. The Jainas do not propound a philosophy which is divorced from life. If there is a self which is all-pervasive it is by itself imperceptible and so also a self which is minute like a hundredth part of a hundredfold split hair or of the size of a thumb, is equally beyond our comprehension. Consciousness being the characteristic of a soul, its presence can be found out only by the manifestation of its characteristic qualities in a material body. The Jaina's search for the self is, therefore, through the body.

But one should not conclude from this that the Jainas equate the soul with the body, like the Cārvākas. In this concrete living world of name and form, the self is always found in association with body, its *śarīra*, but such a *jīva* is quite different from *jīva* in its pure state. The Jainas, therefore, divide the *jivas* into two classes : *samsāri* and *siddha*. From eternal time, souls are in the world associated with matter and there is an infinite number of such souls, who retain their

9. Ibid.

10. cf. *Prameyaratnālamkāra* Ch. IV.

ata ūktānumānenā vibhutvāsiddherāṇutve pratyakṣānupapatter
dehasamaparimāṇatvarūpa madhyama parimāṇatvam eva yuktam.

individuality throughout. The Jaina philosophy has made an unique contribution in the field of classification of souls from numerous points of view, sometimes, according to the place it inhabits or occupies, into four classes such as *Devatā*, *Manuṣya*, *Tiryāñc* and *Nāraki* and again into five classes according to the number of senses it possesses and so on.

Another interesting and original contribution with regard to the nature or type of the *jīva* is the theory of *leśyā*, the colouring material which gives a peculiar stamp to the soul from which it can be determined if the soul is pure or impure. The soul turns black when it is seized with impure thoughts and becomes radiantly white when it is in touch with noble thoughts and emotions. There are also other shades of colour in between the *Kṛṣṇaleśyā* and the *Śuklaleśyā*.

From the brief analysis of the concept of self as we have undertaken here, it is clear that the Jainas find the entire universe replete with innumerable types of selves and that is why all life is sacred to them. Their staunch adherence to the creed of *ahimsā* is also born out of this concept of self. This concept also is a source of great encouragement and inspiration to all in as much as it holds out the hope of every individual working out his own salvation by casting off the shackles of Karma.

The Upaniṣads also declare that the manifestation of this *nāma* and *rūpa*, this world of name and form has been effected by the entry of the principle called *jīvātman* or individual self (*anena jīvena ātmanā anupravīśya nāmarūpe vyākara-vāṇi*).¹¹ The Jaina system of philosophy demonstrates, as it were, the truth of this Upaniṣadic statement by discovering at every layer of this manifest universe the existence of this *jīvātman*, the soul, or individual self. Śamkara, though an Advaitist, has to admit that purpose of the One becoming many has not yet been fulfilled and that is why we find this plurality of selves, this multiplicity of existence still flowing on as ever (*tad eva bahubhavanam prayojanam nādyāpi nirvṛttam*).¹² The Jaina view of self or soul does not turn its back from this basic fact of plurality nor does it try to explain it away as ephemeral like the Vedanta. On the contrary, its gaze is fixed on each and every individual of these innumerable selves, watching its wonderous evolution stage by stage in the ascending scale of being, which is again unique in every case. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Jaina concept of self is not distinguished from the concept of soul because it is not divorced from life but is rooted in it. If we take the root meaning of the word—*ātman*, which is derived from the verb ‘at’ with the suffix ‘manin’, then everyone will have to own that the Jaina view is the truest of all, which conforms to the original sense of the word. The root ‘at’ implies constant movement (*sātatyagamana*) and the Jaina theory of the infinite progression of the self brings out this

11. Chandogya Upaniṣad-6.3.2

12. Ibid. Śamkara Bhāṣya.

basic characteristic of the *ātman* and that is why we affirmed, at the outset, that the Jainas are *ātmavādins* in the truest sense of the term. The infinite possibility of human evolution is nowhere so clearly set forth as in this Jaina view of the self. God is also in the making and is not a finished product to be adored and worshipped. The Jaina view seems to be echoing the memorable words of a famous poet of Bengal :

*Sabār upare mānus satya
tāhār upare nāi.* .

Above all is man, the only reality. Above him is nothing else.

It will be fruitful, therefore, for all men to make a study of this wonderful concept of the self or soul, as propounded in the Jaina system of philosophy. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj always insisted on the uniqueness of the individual self, which is sometimes denoted by the term 'quiddity' and he believed that this individuality is never lost even in the highest realisation because it is *sanātana*, eternal and that is why he felt deeply interested in the Jaina concept of the Self.

GOD IN TIBETO-BUDDHIST SANSKRITA SOURCES

KAMESHWARNATH MISHRA

'GOD' has no appropriate synonym in any other language of the world. It, therefore, actually means what the Christian Churches understand. Thus it is very difficult to equate GOD with any other term of Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan etc. However, every language contains a word or words to denote the Ultimate Reality or Supreme Power that stands for a particular meaning of a religious sect, cult or philosophical system. Keeping this point in mind I have tried to search out the terms used in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature to express the likeness of GOD. I have also tried to provide a logical and historical appreciation to the words used for GOD I would like to concentrate on two words '*Īśvara*' and *Bhagawān* with their translated Tibetan equivalents *dvan*, *phyug* and *bcom. lden. hdas.* respectively.

In the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (=BSL hereafter), *Īśvara* and *Bhagawān*, independent or in compounds, are the most common words used for GOD though translated as 'master', 'lord' etc. also in different contexts. The introduction of *Īśvara* to the Buddhist world bears an interesting history behind it. In fact *Īśvara* is an infiltration into the BSL.

When Buddha was asked about *Ātmā* (Pāli *Attā*, Tibetan *bdag.*), as is found at many places in the canons of both the *yānas* (=vehicles) i.e. *Hinayāna*¹ and *Mahāyāna*,² He kept mum and later it was described as indefinable (=skt. *avyakta*) i.e. a topic about which keeping silence was thought to be the best by the Teacher. Afterwards all the Buddhists, whether belonging to *Hinayāna* or to *Mahāyāna* declared themselves to be *nairātmavādins* (=non-believers in self) and by and by became *nirīśvaravādins* too (=non-believers in *Īśvara* i.e. God,) as *Ātmā* and *Īśvara*, if not suffixed to *Jīva* and *parama* respectively mean the same.

Etymologically *Īśvara* means' one who possesses control over all and literally stands for *Śiva* or *Śaṅkara*.³ If used in the sense of the supreme ruler of the

1. Digha Nikāya sūtra No. 29, 1.18, Majjhima Nikāya 2.227, Aṅgu. N. 1.173 Nalanda Edu., Culmalunkya sutta, Potthopadasutta (1.9)
2. Nāgārjuna : M. Kārikā 15.10, Rathāyali 1.73,74.
3. Amarakośa 1.1.30.

Universe, it is therefore applied to all the different divinities, but mostly designates Śiva in mythological and popular acceptation. It is a name of Śiva, especially in a compound, when the form of the deity implied is *Liṅga*, as Viśveśvara, Someśvara, Rāmeśvara & c. Buddhist commentators like *Prajñākaramati* in his *pañjikā* on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. 9.119a) of Śāntideva says Īśvara is the name of Śāṅkara (=Īśvara iti Śāṅkarasyākhyā. Sa eve jagato viśvasya hetuh sṛṣṭisthitipralayakāraṇam).⁴

Aksapāda Gotama (2nd C.A.D.), after whom the systematic Nyāya philosophy started, might have been a Śaiva. He discussed Īśvara in his Nyāya sūtras (4.1.19-4.1.21)⁵ and established that He is the ‘creator’ of the world and is ‘one’ and ‘Omniscient’ (=sarvajña). His commentator *Vātsyāyana* (about 400 A.D.) also accepted the definition of his predecessor. These two scholars dealt with Īśvara just incidentally while discussing the origination of the Universe.⁶ His followers *Udyotakara* (about 635 A. D.) the vārtikakāra, *Vācaspati Misra* I (About 841 A. D.) the tātparyatikāra, *Jayantabhatta* (9th C. A. D.) the Nyāya mañjarikāra etc. also treated Īśvara in the same way. Credit really goes to illustrious *Udayanacārya* (about 984 A.D.) who wrote the *Parīṣuddhitikā* and the *Nyāyakusumāñjaliḥ* for establishing the existence of the ‘one’, ‘eternal’ and ‘omniscient’ creator of the world. He ‘proposes to discuss *paramātmā*, whose devotion, as hold the wise ones here, is the way to Heaven as well as to final emancipation’.⁷ Ultimately he proves Īśvara as the *all-knowing* and *eternal* self (=viśvavid avyayaḥ).⁸ At first like a staunch follower of the Nyāya system he starts to deal with *paramātmā* but just after comes on Īśvara when he says—

*Uddeśa eva tātparyam vyākhyā viśvadrśah sati
Īśvarādipadaṁ sārtham lokavṛttānusārātaḥ.* N. K. 5.6.⁹

He remembers Śiva in his benedictory verse of the Nyāya Kusumāñjaliḥ as well as in the colophons of every *stabaka* (=chapter).¹⁰ Bhāsarvajña (about 950 A.D.) was a staunch Śaiva who in his works *Nyāyasāra*, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* etc. propounded Śiva every where as the Supreme Manifestor.

Thus owing to the use of the word Īśvara for the creator of the world and also owing to the majority of the Śaiva writers on the old Nyāya System, it was

4. Prajñākaramati, *Pañjikā*, (Darbhanga, Mithila Research Institute, 1960), on Karika 9.119.
5. Nyāya sūtra (Varanasi, Chowkhamba).
6. Ibid.
7. Udayan, *Nyāyakusumāñjaliḥ*, (Darbhanga, Mithila R. Institute, 1972) p. 46.
8. Ibid., p. 50
9. Ibid., p. 51
10. Ibid. pp., 46-52

declared that Naiyāikas are Śaivas. Haribhadra (9th or 12th. C. A.D.) in his Saddarśana samuccaya,¹¹ his commentator Guṇaratna¹² (15th C. A.D.) and Maśadhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri¹³ (1348 A. D.) in his Śaḍdarśanasamuccayā declare the Naiyāikas and Vaiśeṣikas to be Śaivas and Pāśupatas. In this way the Naiyāikas were declared Śaivas and Īśvara was their Śiva. This is a brief history that shows how the Naiyāikas were Śaivas and how Īśvara stands for the creator of the world. Prof. Dasgupta correctly remarks, 'It does not seem that Rajashekha had made any definite study of the Nyāya system, but based his remarks on the tradition of the time.'¹⁴ His statement is supported by Guṇaratna when he says, 'I have submitted here as have heard and seen.'¹⁵

It is to state that Naiyāikas were so-called Śaivas. They were Śaivas because most of the propounded Īśvara which is a synonym for Śiva or Paśupati and also because Śaivas hold Īśvara as eternal, one and omniscient creator of the universe, otherwise they are ātmavādins and not īśvaravādins, because there is no category, out of the sixteen, known as Īśvara. Naiyāikas accept Ātmā as one of their prameyas. Paramātmā is one of the two kinds of this category. This very paramātmā may be called as Śiva, Īśvara, Paśupati, Vāsudeva, Prajāpati and what not, according to the will of the devotees. Their Īśvara has been very much Paurāṇic and that of the religious sects, and not synonymous with the Śiva of any philosophical order. Had they been faithful to any philosophical cult, they would have been dealing with either the three categories, viz., Paśu, Pāśa and Paśupati or the thirty six ones, Śiva, Śakti etc. as discussed in the Northern and Southern schools of Śaivism. No doubt, I may agree with Prof. Dasgupta when he says that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika was a school of Pāśupatas which paid more emphasis to evolving a system of logic and metaphysics.¹⁶

But from the very beginning, as early as the 3rd-4th C.A.D. Buddhist philosopher logicians like Nāgārjuna (250 to 320 A.D.) offered a 'bold challenge' to the Śaiva logicians in upholding their logical tenets. Among the Buddhist Philosophers upto Diñnāga (450-520 A.D.) points of controversy were relating to the members of syllogism, categories, means of valid knowledge, word and meaning etc. Works of Nāgārjuna and Diñnaga more or less dealt with almost the same topics as contained in Nyāya Sūtras and its scholium of Vātsyāyana. Nāgārjuna's

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- 11. Ed. Dr. K. N. Miśra, Śaḍdarśanasamuccayah (Varanasi, Chowkhamba, 1979) p. 11
 - 12. Ibid., pp. 90-91.
 - 13. Ibid., pp. 76-79
 - 14. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, Hist. of Ind. Phil. Vol. V Cambridge, 1955) p. 9, Ibid., p. 13
 - 15. As above No. 11, p. 91
 - 16. As above No. 14. p. 90

tract on logic—*Pramāna*—*viheṭana*¹⁷ or *vidhvamīṣana* now available in Chinese translations only, was a mere review of the common topics of the Ancient School of Brahmanic logic. Vasubandhu's three works on pure logic mentioned by Hwen Thsang are now lost and consequently their merits cannot be judged. Except these works upto 450 A.D. logic was not completely differentiated from general philosophy. During 400-500 A.D. Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu dealt with logic but their treatment of it was merely incidental being mixed up with the problems of Yogācāra and Vaibhāṣika schools of philosophy. Vasubandhu's repudiation of Īśvara as the creator of the world is incidental. Śāntarakṣita (6-7th C.A.D.) in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* and Kamalaśīla on its commentary refutes Īśvaravādins and condemn Ātmā, Puruṣa, Prakṛti etc. as the creator. Āryadeva in his *Catuhśatakam* (Xth chapter) criticises Ātmā as an eternal element. Dharmakīrti (7-8th C.A.D.) has boldly eradicated the Īśvara which is held as *one* and *eternal* creator. They discussed Īśvara while dealing with other points. They did not write separate logical tracts to refute Īśvara as propounded by the Naiyāikas; logic ran into philosophy and vice versa in their works.

It was about 824 A.D. when Kalyāṇarakṣita wrote Īśvarabhaṅgakārikā¹⁸ and criticised every point of the Naiyāikas. He showed that basic arguments launched by the Naiyāikas for proving Īśvara were full of fallacies. Jñānaśrimitra (11th C. A.D.) wrote a treatise Īśvaravāda¹⁹ in three broad chapters and criticised Vācaspati Miśra, Vittoka, Bhāsarvajña, Trilocana and Śatānanda bitterly showing fallacies in their arguments. His intelligent disciple Ratnakīrti too supported the views of his preceptor Jñānaśrimitra in his Īśvarasādhanadūṣana²⁰ and proved that the arguments put forth to prove Īśvara suffered from the fallacies of almost all the types.

Thus from Nāgārjuna onwards we find Īśvara introduced to the SBL in two ways. Firstly the scholars dealt with this item while discussing the creation of the world secondarily while refuting the contradictory propositions of the non-buddhistic systems. Secondly Buddhist logicians, in their independent treatises, refuted Īśvara of the Naiyāikas. Until logic became a separate branch of learning, the whole subject of the Dharma was put in a precise form.

Scholars of both the categories criticised and repudiated Īśvara's singleness, eternity, omniscience and creatorship. There mattered little for them whether

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- 17. S. C. Vidyabhusana : A Hist. of Ind. Logic (Delhi, Motilal Banarsiādass, 1971), pp. 257-8
 - 18. Tohoku Catalogue, Ref. No. 4247, she 200 a 2—201 a 2.
 - 19. A. L. Thakur, Jñānaśrimitra-nibandhāvalīḥ (Patna, KPJRI, 1959) pp. 233-316
 - 20. Ibid. Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalīḥ (Patna, KPJRI, 1957) pp. 32-57

Īśvara stood for *Śiva* or *Mahādeva* of the *Śaivas* or for *Vāsudeva* of the *Vaiṣṇavas* or *Prajāpati* of the *Paurāṇikas*.²¹ A treatise by Nāgārjuna entitled “*Īśvarakartṛtvān'rakṛti-Viṣṇorekakartṛtvānirākaraṇum*”²² extant in Tibetan Translation is suggestive of the fact that be it *Īśvara* or be it *Viṣṇu*, if conceived as the only creator of the Universe, is never acceptable to the Buddhist scholars.

Buddhist scholars, so furious about *Īśvara*, were not opposed to the word *Īśvara*, if that did not stand for an eternal creator, as they do suffix the term to the names like *Lokeśvara* or *Avalokiteśvara* whom they worship. Of course, in such compounds *Īśvara* means ‘lord’ or ‘master’ for them, otherwise Buddhists like Vasubandhu²³ would prescribe ‘perceiving sorrow as a commendable practice for a novice to avoid an inclination towards the eternal soul i.e. *Īśvara* etc.

It is not only the Buddhists who reject *Īśvara* as the creator but even the *Sāṅkhya*s too.²⁴ They also opine that the results are not obtained on the administration of *Īśvara*, but it is the Karma that produces them.²⁵ However the followers of *Patañjala Yoga* may meditate on *Īśvara* to attain their goal,²⁶ but their *Īśvara* is absolutely different from that of the Naiyāikas. Their definition may be, to some extent, agreeing with that of the Bauddhas.²⁷ To our wonder, *Rāmādvaya* a monk-scholar of *Sāṅkara* sect, condemns Udayana’s arguments one by one in his *Vedāntakaumudī*.²⁸ His logic and examples both, indeed, may differ from those of the Buddhists. Buddhist logicians may not agree with the nature and attributes of *Rāmādvaya*’s *Īśvara*, but may undoubtedly shake hands with him while rejecting Udayana’s *Īśvara*. Buddhists may, however, not accept and that they do, *Īśvara* or *Puruṣa* of Patanjali or Kapila but it seems that they are to some extent adjustable with them in some respects.

The case of ‘*Bhagawān*’ is not like that of *Īśvara* for the Mahāyāna Buddhists. It is a very honourable word in the Buddhist world and is used either independently as a synonym of Buddha or as an adjective used before or after the proper nouns. Etymologically it is made of two parts ‘*Bhaga*’ and ‘*Wān*’ (=masculine, nominative, and singular form of suffix ‘*matup*’) which literally

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- 21. Abhidharmakośa (Varanasi, Baudha Bharati) with sphutārthāvṛtti on kārikā 2 64, and Autocomm. 58
 - 22. Tohoku Catalogue. Ref. No. 4461, po. 312 b-314a4
 - 23. Vasubandhu, Abhidharmakośa, (Patna, KPJRI) on 58.
 - 24. Sāṅkhyasūtras 1.92
 - 25. Ibid., 5.2.
 - 26. Yoga sūtra, samādhi Pād 23.
 - 27. Ibid., 24.
 - 28. Vedāntakaumudi (Varanasi, B. H. U., 1973) pp. 578-608.

means possessor of 'Bhaṅga' i.e. might, prosperity etc. In the Buddhist world 'Bhagawān' is treated as an independent substitute for the Buddha.²⁹

Hindu and Buddhist lexicographers define the word a bit differently. Amarsingha in his Nāmalingā-nuśāsana gives seven meanings of 'Bhaga'³⁰ while Viśvakośa counts thirteen³¹ meanings and Medinikośakāra fourteen.³² The Buddhabhūmiśāstra gives six meanings of the word Bhaga i.e. fortune, splendour, glory, excellence, knowledge and exertion and ultimately opines that possessor of these attributes is Bhagawān. Beings, other than the Buddha, possessing one or more attributes, are also known as gods, goddesses etc. So far as the possession of attributes is concerned, there is nothing very much contradictory in both the groups but Mahāyāna Buddhists in general and Tibetan Buddhists in particular define 'Bhagawān' differently. They take meanings of 'Bhaga' and 'Wān' separately and finally take a special meaning by joining both the parts together. For them 'Bhaga' is made of Bhañja = to break, to kill, to destroy. Thus Bhaga for them means *destroyer or killer of afflictions, Karma etc.* and 'wān' means *possessor of the six attributes* stated above. In this way 'Bhagawān' is he who has destroyed the afflictions (Skt. kleśas), Karman, birth etc. and also is possessed of the six attributes. Heribhadrī in his Ālokaṭikā of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā states both the meanings.

As he has destroyed afflictions, karma, birth and the āvaraṇas of kleśa and Jñeyā which are the Vaipakṣikas, he is known as Bhagawān.

OR

The whole fortune, splendour, glory, prosperity, knowledge and exertion, these six are heard as 'bhaga'.³³

The possessor of these attributes is known as Bhagawān.

Śāntarakṣita too in his Pañjikā of the Satyadvaya-vibhaṅgakārikā by Jñānagarbha, which is extant only in Tibetan translations, so far, opines that He is Bhagawān because of destroying the four mātras or because of possessing the attri-

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29. Amarakośa (Varanasi, Chowkhamba), ch.1. kānda 1. śloka 13. Ratnakīrti uses Bhagawān for Buddha 5 times (p. 12, 18.24, 25,149) in his texts published under the title Ratnakirtinibandhāvalīḥ as detailed above ref. No. 20.
 30. ibid 3.3.26.
 31. Viśvaprakāśakośa 24.2.
 32. Medinikośa 22.12 (as quoted in the Rāmāśramī ṭikā, (Varanasi, Chowkhamba) on Amarakośa 2.6.76
 33. Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā with Ālokatikā (Darbhanga, MRI, 1960) p. 272.

butēs prosperity etc.³⁴ It is extremely interesting that the Tibetan translation of the word *Bhagawān* is *bcom-Iden. hdas*. It is a perfect literal translation, but means something particular. *bcom* is *bhaga*, *Iden* is *wān*. Every Tibetan scholar understands the meaning of these two parts as the destroyer of *māra* etc. and possessor of the six attributes together. When suffixed with the third part *hdas* (= surpassing or supreme or beyond) it stands for the Buddha only and not for any other person, even if adorned with superior qualities. Words like *legs.-Iden* etc. are used to denote other superiors possessing uncommon qualities. The *sgra. sbyor. bam. po. gñis. pa.*³⁵ (Skt. Madhyama Vyutpatti) defines *Bhagawān* in the same fashion and finally *bcom-Iden. hdas* means 'VICTOR-POSSESSOR SUPREME' and stands for the Buddha only. Here the meaning of the second half of the word *Iden* is almost like that of the Hindu lexicographers, but the first and last portions i.e. *bcom* and *hdas* mean quite differently. As Buddhists have been mainly renunciates, devoted to realise the falsity and sorrowfulness of the world, they practised to detach senses from worldly allurements and concentrate on 'voidness', so it is but natural that they should conceive their ideal to be the destroyer of devils, like desire etc. As Mahāyāna Buddhism is not nihilistic, because its supreme goal is not merely negative but positive, they had to conceive some virtuous attributes too to be possessed by the supreme one i.e. *Bhagawān*, which is Buddha. Thus Buddha *Bhagawān* is the embodiment of virtues devoid of all the vices. Hindus conceive their *Bhagawān* to embody all that is good and virtuous only and never think whether there may be any blemishes too to avoid and avert.

Buddha, the *Bhagawān*, is said to be in four form (=catus-kāyas).³⁶ Though a convinced Buddhist monk of the tradition would not like any classification in the bodies (Skt. Kāyas) of the Buddha, yet for making persons understand the truth, it is inevitable on the behaviourable level to make no use of words to denote which is beyond the reach of words.

The first, foremost or supreme and subtlest body is known as *Svabhāvakāya*. This kāya is *anakṣara* or *anirvacanīya* (=indescribable through words). This position, if compared, may be a bit similar to Brahman of Śāṅkara-advaita. It is the *paramīrtha sattā*. According to Maitreyanātha :

"Those dharmas, which are without Āsravas when they attain the visuddhi of all types, are the *svabhāvakāya* of the Muni and that is *prakṛtilakṣana*."³⁷

The second form of *Bhagawān* is known as *Jñāna-dharmakāya* or *dharmakāya*. It is of the form of *nispṛapāñcajñāna*. It is also without any Āsrava but is of the

34. Tenjur, dbu. ma., sa, page 16B (Sde-dge edn.).

35. Sonam Angdu, (Leh, Ladakh), B. T. Publications, 1973) pp. 8-9.

36. Abhisamayālaṅkāra, (Varanasi, CIHT Studies, Sarnath, 1977) p. 5.

37. ibid., p. 81

nature of *smṛtyupasthāna* etc. It is the embodiment of *bodhipaksas*, *vimokṣis*, *samī-pattis*, *kṛtsnas*, *abhibhvāyatanas*, *aranī*, *sarvākāras*, *Śuddhis*, *Vaśitās*, *balas*, *Vaiśā-radyas*, *smṛtyupasthāna*, *asammoṣadharmatā*, deterioration of *vāsanās*, Mahākarunā on creatures, *Āvenikadharma*s and *sarvākārajanatā* as well as *mārgajnatā* etc.³⁸ As *svabhāvakāya* is mere experience and the perfect non-dual existence, with the result, needs no mention who is to enjoy this position, while it is fact that the dharma-kāya may be perceived by the buddhas only. As it has multifarious deeds that pervade the whole universe and lasts till the existence of the world, this is said to be all-pervading (=Skt. *vyāpi*) and eternal (=Skt. *nitya*). This form does not act directly but through the reflections (=Skt. *pratibhāsa*) only.

A few maintain that there are only three *kāyas* and *svabhāva* and dharma *kāyas* are not different. In this position the Buddhas may perceive the two and both of the stages may be called with one name that is Dharmakāya.

Thereafter is dealt with the third *kāya* which is known as the *sambhogakāya*.³⁹ This *kāya* is said to be possessed of thirty two marks (=Skt. *lakṣaṇas*) and eighty sub-marks (=Skt. *anuvyañjana*). This is the personal God. This form may be visualized by the āryabodhisattvas only. Though it is a bit thicker than the former form, yet it is also subtle and can not be cognised by the layman or a śrāvaka. It is described to have the full human shape par excellence. Every organ, feature, pose, colour etc. of this body is of its own types, never to be observed in any body else. They are strictly the marks and submarks of the Buddha only. Through this form Buddha does not contact the layman, nor does he do any favour to him. This form has definite place (Skt. *kṣetra*), a definite mark (=Skt. *lakṣana*), a definite dharma (the mahāyānic only), a definite lot of attendants (=Skt. *parikara*) and a definite time (=Skt. *kāla*). For example the particular abode for Him is the *akaniṣṭhaloka* (=tib. hog. min. stug. po. bkod. pai. tsin) which He never leaves. His special marks are the 32 *lakṣaṇas* and 80 *vyañjanas* which are related only to Him. He has to preach an especial dharma and that is the *mahāyinadharma* only. Particularity of time for Him means that He may last for ever till the universe exists. His particular attendants are the āryabodhisattvas only.

Bhagawān, the Buddha of the *Akanīṣṭhaloka* may be compared with Viṣṇu, Śiva & Brahmā, the trinity of the Purāṇas, residing in Goloka, Kailāśa and Brahmalokas respectively, adorned with celestial ornaments, physical marks and weapons, surrounded by the divine beings for ever. They too, can not be visualized by ordinary persons, even by the sages and seers of lower ranks. *Bhagawān* is very much like the *Īśvara* of Patañjali who is untouched by the afflictions, karmas etc. As

38. ibid., pp. 81-82.

39. ibid., pp. 85-90

his Īśvara is different from the *kevalins* (=the finally emancipated ones), so is *Bhagawān* from *Arhats*, *āryabodhisattvas* etc. Vyāsa in his scholium on Pātañjala Yoga sūtra does not accept plurality of Īśvara, yet the Kāpilas accept many Puruṣas of the nature similar to *svabhāvakāya*. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary Tattvavaiśāradī⁴⁰ does not hesitate to accept the plurality of Īśvara. If the case were so, all the followers of the philosophical systems that hold many Īśvaras, will be nearer to Mahāyāna Buddhists who believe that many Buddhas i.e. Bhagawāns reside in the *Akaniśṭhaloka* and come down to the earth from time to time to help the creatures in the Nirmāṇakāya form. These Buddhas residing together are homogenous, have no differences of ideas & ideals, and all think and behave alike. The only difference among these identical beings is that their time of appearance on the earth is different and they come in different particular names. Actually it is this *sambhogakāya* only which may be an appropriate substitute for God. Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Prajāpati etc. because God of every religious and philosophical system has been conceived to be divine, supernatural, super-human etc. and it is he whom the devotees pray to bless them. Bhairava, Heruka, Tārā etc. are different forms of this very kāya.

But this *sambhogakāya* does not shower grace upon the devotees directly as it is visible to only a few ones. The form through which this kāya showers blessings on the needful is known as Nirmāṇakāya⁴¹ (=tib. sprul. sku.). This kāya is borne by the Buddha at his free will to serve the world. In true sense it is the form that is human-born and comes in contact with the layman even. However, it is not necessary that all may recognise his real form; though he lives with them, acts with them and behaves in a purely human way. Of course, His intention behind every act is to help, rather to uplift, spiritually and is always full of great compassion. Gotama Siddhārtha, the son of Śuddhodana & Māyā is one of these kāyas. These personalities look ordinary but live and act in an extraordinary way. The Nir-māṇakāya is almost like the incarnation (=Skt. avatāra) of the Purāṇas. Such avatāras are made of the common flesh and blood but behave uncommonly to establish a standard in the whole world for the general uplift. He remains exemplary.

This is all in nutshell what the Tibeto-Buddhist Sanskrit sources tell about God. It is seen that since the very inception of the ideology of a particular system to the end, scholars of the same sect, cult, system or order opine differently on the same topic. This is not owing to the difference in the individuality, but owing to the attacks and counter-attacks of the opponents. By and by faith is converted to re-

40. While commenting on the Vyāsa bhāṣya of the Sūtra 2.23, 24.

41. as in Ref. No. 36, pp. 90-91.

son and reason leads to logic and ultimately any proposition remains what logic proves it to be. It is very difficult, rather a matter of devoted and serious research to declare whether Hindus influenced Bauddhas or vice-versa, but it is clear that there has been a mutual exchange in between, from time to time, knowingly or unknowingly.

THE CONCEPT OF SELF-NATURES, MAINLY BASED ON MADHYĀNTAVIBHĀGA ŚĀSTRA OF ARYA MAITREYA

PRABHAKAR MISHRA

There are three self-natures, namely, *parikalpita*, *paratantra* and *pariniśpanna*.

The exact character of the *parikalpita* self-nature is determined with reference to the reality and unreality of *pudgala* (souls) and *dharma* (elements). The affirmation of the reality of soul and elements is called *samāropa* (superimposition) and their denial is called *apavāda* (negation). The yogācāra philosopher steers clear of these two extremes of superimposition and negation. The essence of the *parikalpita* self-nature consists in the avoidance of the two extremes, namely, superimposition and negation in respect of souls and elements. In other words, the understanding of the exact character of the self-nature of the *parikalpita* is possible only when the philosophies of superimposition and negation of the *pudgala* and the *dharma* are abandoned.

The *parikalpita* object is non-existent and unreal. But the unreality does not mean the absolute negation of all practical value of the *parikalpita* self-nature. The yogācāra philosopher does not accept the reality of anything over and above pure consciousness, but at the same time he does not deny the practical utility or pragmatic validity of the external objects of perception. The upshot is that the external objects are ontologically unreal but they have provisional reality in as much as they serve the practical purpose.¹

The true character of the *paratantra* self-nature is to be understood with reference to the knower-known, subject-object (*grāhya-grāhaka*) relationship. The subject as well as the object are non-existent as they have no ontological status but at the same time their provisional existence cannot be denied as they have practical utility. The error in the subject-object conception is due to its origin in the act of

1. MVS, p. 86.

Cf. आत्मरूपादयश्च धर्मास्तत्प्रतिभास विज्ञानव्यति रिक्तस्य तदालम्बनभूताः परमार्थतः सन्तीत्यभिन्नेशः समारोप दर्शनम् । व्यवहारतोऽपि न सन्तीत्यपवाददर्शनम् ।

superimposition of such relationship of soul (*pudgala*) and the elements (*dharma*) which are in themselves free from such relationship. The *yogācāra* philosopher rejects the act of superimposition as well as the act of negation in the determination of the *paratantra* self-natures of things.²

Technically speaking there is no scope for error in the case of the *parikalpita* object because it is non-existent whereas in the case of *paratantra* one the error is most apparent, in as much as the subject-object relationship is due to erroneous superimposition of the non-existent attribute on what is existent.³

The essence of the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature consists in the exclusion of the view that the *śūnyatā* is absolutely a positive or a negative entity. The affirmation of the positive character of *śūnyatā* is a case of super-imposition (*samāropa*) where as its denial is an instance of negation (*aparopa*). The *śūnyatā* is neither absolutely existence nor absolutely non-existence.⁴

The appreciation of the *parikalpita* self-nature is tantamount to the rejection of the view that the souls and the elements are real entities on the one hand, and admission of the view that they have not even the provisional reality that serves any useful purpose. There were philosophers who believed in the reality of eternal souls, such as the *sāmkhya-yoga*, *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika*, Jaina and similar thinkers. On the other hand there were orthodox Buddhists who accepted the reality of elements, physical and psychological. According to *yogācāra* philosophers however, the souls as well as the elements were purely imaginary entities enjoying only a *parikalpita* self-nature.

The *paratantra* self-nature relates to the causally determined elements which lie at the basis of the concepts of the knower and the known (*grāhya-grāhaka*). These two concepts are wrong notions though their basis is not unreal. The

2. Ibid. Cf. ग्राह्य ग्राहक प्रतिभास भ्रान्तिर्या धर्मेण पुद्गलेन च गृह्णते सा यदि तत्वेनैवास्तीत्य-भिन्निविश्वते एवं ग्राह्यग्राहकसमारोपः । अथ ग्राह्यस्येव ग्राहकस्याप्यभावमभिन्निविश्वते एवं ग्राह्यग्राहकापवादः ।
3. Cf. Ibid. p. 85.
 - (a) तस्माद्दसदात्मकत्वाद् भ्रान्तित्वाच्च परिकल्पितलक्षणमस्त्वम् ।
 - (b) Ibid; p. 86. ग्राह्य ग्राहकं प्रतिभासभ्रान्तिर्या धर्मेण पुद्गलेन च गृह्णते सा यदि तत्वेनैवास्तीत्यभिन्निवेश एवं ग्राह्यग्राहक समारोपः । अथ ग्राह्यस्येव ग्राहकस्याप्यभावमभिन्निविश्वते एवं ग्राह्यग्राहकापवादः ।

Also Cf. Ibid, p. 85 : यथा रुयाति ग्राह्य ग्राहकाकारेण नैतदेवं मायापुरुषादिवत् । अतो भ्रान्तिरिति ।
4. Ibid, p. 87 : यदि शून्यतां भाव एवेति समनुपश्यति, एवं भाव समारोपदर्शनं भवति । अथाभाव एवंयेवमभावदर्शनम् ।

paratantra self-nature, therefore, is a mixture of error and truth, the error being related to the appearance of the known and the knower, the truth being related to the basis, namely, the causally determined elements.

The *pariniṣpanna* self-nature consists in *śūnyatā* which is neither absolute existence nor absolute non-existence. *Śūnyatā* is neither absolute negation nor absolute affirmation. It is neither absolute-being nor absolute non-being.⁵

In *yogacara* philosophy, the concepts of *anityatā*, *duḥkhatā*, *śūnyatā* and *anātmatā* have acquired new meanings in the light of the concepts of the three-fold self-natures.

Anityatā as applied to the *parikalpita* self-nature stands for eternal non-existence (*nitya-asattā*). In the case of *paratantra* self-nature, *anityatā* refers to the origination and cessation of the causally determined elements. *Anitya* in connection with the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature stands for the casual and extraneous purity and impurity of the pure consciousness.⁶

Duḥkhatā in relation to the *parikalpita* self-nature stands for purely imaginary sense of suffering. Such suffering is technically called *upādāna duḥkhatā*, because it is due to the false belief in and clinging (*upādāna*) to the soul and the elements which are merely imaginary entities. In the *paratantra* self-nature *duḥkhatā* stands for three-fold suffering, namely, the actual feeling of suffering, suffering originating or resulting from the change occurring in things and suffering inherent in the composite nature. So far as the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature is concerned, the suffering of the *paratantra* self-nature, though in fact the latter ever remaining untouched by it.⁷

Śūnyatā as applied to the *parikalpita* self-nature means absolute non-existence (*abhāva*). In the case of the *paratantra* self-nature, it stands for the non-existence of the apparent subject-object relationship in substratum that is existant. In other words, it is non-existence of the mode of appearance (*atadbhāva*) and not absolute non-existence (*abhāva*) of the other thing itself. *Śūnyatā* par-

5. Cf. Ibid; p. 87

यस्य लक्षणस्य ज्ञानान्तं ते भावाभाव दर्शने प्रवर्तते तत्परिनिष्पन्नं स्वभावं तत्त्वलक्षणमिति ।
तच्च भावाभाव विमुक्तस्वभावम् । तत्त्वानादि परिनिष्पन्ने स्वभावे भावाभाव प्रदर्शनं न
प्रवर्तते ।

6. MV, III.5. Cel-6ab.

Asadantha hy anityārtha utpāda-vyaya-lakṣaṇaḥ.
samatamda bhāvena mūlatatheyathākramām !

7. Ibid; III. 6 :

Duḥkham ādāna-lakṣaṇākhyam
samabandhenāparam matam.

excellence belongs to the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature. It is *śūnyatā* inherent, pure and simple.⁸

As regards the *anātmatā* in the *parikalpita* self-nature, it has no character (*alakṣaṇa*). The latter being a pure entity, a figment of imagination. The *paratantra* entity has a character of its own, which, however, is peculiar and unique (*vilakṣaṇa*). The *anātmatā* in the case of the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature is identical with the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) and is *nairātmya* full and complete.⁹

Each of the four noble truths, namely *duḥkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (cause of suffering), *nirodha* (cessation of suffering) and *mārga* path leading to cessation of suffering, has also three self-natures.

We have already considered the three-fold self-natures of the noble truth of *duḥkha*.

As regards the threefold self-natures of *samudāya*, it is said that our natural inclinations, predispositions, instincts and habits (*vāsanā*) constitute the *parikalpita* self-nature. The rising (*samutthāna*) of *Karman* and the affliction and defilements (*klesa*) fall under the *paratantra* self-nature, and the non-separation (*avisaṃyoga*) of the cover from the truth (*tathatā*) of pure consciousness refers to the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature.¹⁰

Here the yogācāra philosopher's view of creation of the psychophysical world has found a clear exposition. There are inherent theories, propensities and urges that make up the *parikalpita* universe raised up by means of pure imagination. The yogācāra philosopher does not, however, say that there is no basis of such imagination. These are the causally determined elements, physical and psychological, that lie at the root of concepts, ideas and imaginations. This universal causality is recognised as the *paratantra* self-nature of things. If the *parikalpita* is pure appearance, the *paratantra* is a mixture of truth and appearance, causality is truth. Subject-object relationship is appearance. The causality is not without any basis of its own, which is beyond causality and also the substratum of the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature. Even a thing denoted by a name or a word has, it is said, the three self-natures. The simple thing denoted by a word has a *parikalpita* self-nature but it is not totally rootless and as such it has a *paratantra* character,

8. Ibid; III. 7ab :

अमावश्याप्तद्भावः प्रकृतिः शून्यता मता ।

9. Ibid., III. 7cd-8a :

अलक्षणं च नैरात्म्यं तद्विलक्षणमेव च ।

स्वलक्षणं च निदिष्टम् ।

10. MV, III. 8 cd :

वासना थ समुत्थानभविसंयोग एव च ।

in so far as it is an event. In fact, nothing can be uncaused according to Buddhism in all its branches. The *parikalpita*, thus, is ultimately not absolutely devoid of the *paratantra* natures. Similarly, the *paratantra* has also its root in the *pariniṣpanna*, though the latter is inherently devoid of any bearing on the *paratantra* and *parikalpita* self-natures. The ultimate reality, according to the yogācāra philosopher, is pure consciousness. But this consciousness is also the final basis of all appearances causally determined or simply casual in nature.¹¹

Similarly, the noble truth of *nirodh* is also three-fold. Things do not arise at all, being merely imaginary in nature, *parikalpita*. There is no origination of *parikalpita* in true sense of the term. In the same way there is neither subject nor the object, neither the knower nor the known. There is no real origination of the knower and the known. The *nirodha* qua *pariniṣpanna* self-nature consists in the elimination of the two defilements (*mala*), namely, cover of the attachment and the like (*ragadhyāvaraṇa*) and false notions (*parikalpanā*). The tranquilisation of the defilements of the attachment and the like is effected by uprooting the seed (*bija*) of the base by means of (*anāśrva*) knowledge. This is called *pratisamkhyā nirodha*. The tranquilisation of the defilement of imagination by means of the non-dual knowledge of the truth is called *tathatā*. This two fold tranquilisation is *pariniṣpanna* self-nature. This last *nirodha* is called *prakrti-nirodha*, i. e., *nirodha* inherent in the nature of things.¹²

The criterion of three fold self-natures is also applicable to the noble truth of the eight fold path (*mārgaṅga*). The *parikalpita* self-nature is to be known, the *paratantra* is to be known, and got rid of, *pariniṣpanna* is to be known, attained and realized.¹³ The *parikalpita* is unreal and non-existent and so it is only to be known, there being no need of its being abandoned in as much as a non-existent entity is ipsofacto, unfit to be abandoned. The *paratantra* is partly a real entity in its positive aspect of *Karman* and *Kleśa*. The unreal and non-existent aspect of this *paratantra* is to be known and the real and the positive aspect of it consisting in *Karman* and *Kleśa* is to be abandoned. As regards the *pariniṣpanna* self-nature or the *tathatā* it is to be known, attained and realized, there being nothing in it that needs to be abandoned.

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11. Cf MVS, p. 106 : रूपवेदने भावतस्तंस्कृतासांस्कृतमिति योनामाभिधेयो भावः सोऽपि परिकल्पित-परतंत्र-परिनिष्पन्नस्वभावो वेदितव्यः । कथम् ? तत्र रूपादि स्वभावप्रज्ञासत्वात् परिकल्पितः प्रज्ञप्त्यधिष्ठानभावात् परतंत्र प्रत्यये परतन्त्रत्वात् । तस्यैव रूपादिभावात्यन्तं विगतत्वं परिनिष्पन्नः ।
 12. MVS, p. 92 : मलं द्विविधं रागाद्यावरणं परिकल्पितश्च । तत्रांमास्त्वेण ज्ञानेनाश्रयाद्वीज उद्घृते……परिकल्पितमलस्वानुत्पादिका शांतिस्तथता ।
 13. MV, 9 Cd-10a :
परिज्ञायां प्रहाणे च प्राभिसाक्षात्कृतायपि ॥
मार्गसत्य समाख्यातम्

SAT CAKRA NIRŪPAÑAM—LOCATION AND DETERMINATION OF THE SIX CAKRAS OR LOTUSES

MANINDRA CHANDRA PANCHATIRTHA

The understanding of the Infinite in the Finite, the spirit in matter, the cosmos in chaos, has been the summum bonum or the ultimate end of life. It is no paradox to say that this little frail body has been the seat of an unthinkable energy capable of delivering the goods i.e., doing this, that and every-thing. How that may be possible will be the subject matter of this short dissertation consisting of ideas and language of the seers who have traversed the path of this region.

Spirit and matter, like light and darkness, are of contradictory nature and the two very often are not only misconstrued but also allowed to represent things in a way that counters their very essence. And all these emanate from mistakes technically called *adhyāsa*, defined by Śankara as “a semblance of the memory of something seen before in something else.” (*Smṛitirūpaḥ Paratra Pūrvadṛiṣṭāvabhāṣaḥ*) This has been subsequently further clarified by him as “the notion of something in something other than itself” (*atasminstadbuddhiḥ*). There has been no escape from *adhyāsa* as it persists throughout in the shape of anomalies, and thus baffles all definitions. And all this is due to ignorance (*avidyātma*). As long as our knowledge is covered with ignorance (*ajñānenā-vṛtam jñānam*), this must persist. But the meaning of life is to rise above it and make our best endeavours to overcome all obstacles in the way for the subservience of the end in view.

And the ultimate objective in life, that is the realisation of the Self is possible only on the attainment of knowledge (*tameva vidityā-timṛ̥tyumeti nānyah panthī vidyate ayanāya*). Bhakti and Karma may be preliminaries preparing the soil for the ultimate end in view. This aspect of the question has been emphasised in the very first *Brahmasūtra* (*Athāto Brahmajijnāsā*). Here ‘Athā’ refers to the preliminaries preparing the soil (for the ultimate end in view)—(a) discrimination of what is eternal and what not. (b) abstention from hankering after the fruit of action here on earth as well as in the life to come (c) practice of restraint of the senses, of knowledge (Śama) and also of action (Dama) etc. and finally (d) persis-

tent hankering after salvation (Moksha or Mukti). And Śankara has averred in unambiguous terms that salvation with the help of Karma or Bhakti or even with a combination of the two (*jñāna-karma Samuccaya*) is out of the question.

Niḥśreyasaphalantu Brahmajnānam. Na cānuṣṭhānāntarāpekṣam. (Śankara B. S. 1.1.1.) Jnānamekam muktvā Kriyayā gandhamātrasyāpyanupraveśa iha nāsti. (Śankara B. S. 1.1.4).

This aspect of the question is also implied in ‘ataḥ’ which speaks of a causal relation viz. since there is no scope for salvation with karma in the shape of sacrifices etc., *Brahmajijnāsa* is essential for the realisation of the ultimate end in life.

Now, though knowledge is the ultimate, indispensable cause for the attainment of self-realisation, there may be certain factors that contribute to knowledge, we propose to discuss here only one such aspect that leads to self-realisation through knowledge. This aspect is *Ṣaṭ-Cakranirūpaṇa* or the determination of the six Cakras or lotuses, stationed in different parts of the axis in the human body.

Determination of the six *cakras* or lotuses is a very abstruse subject and is accessible only to sages of a very high order. Lessons on the subject have to be taken from a teacher who is an adept in the process or there is every likelihood of omissions and commissions at every step with inevitable dangers. Different sages traversing different paths have attained success in their mission and have left their instructions for posterior generations in the line. The following is only a gist of their findings.

There is possibility in every man to attain godhood in life, subject, of course, to a strenuous and devoted pursuit of the same. His body is the seat of an immense possibility of supreme power. And if this power can be awakened from the dormant to the dynamic stage, he will definitely be endowed with the supreme fact in life. For this purpose, he must awaken the Kundalini Śakti in the body and carry it upwards from the *Mulādhāra* to the *Sahasrāra* lotus through successive lotuses in the process.

To be more precise, the six *cakras* or lotuses in the human body are *Mulādhāra*, *Svādhiṣṭhāna*, *Maṇipūraka*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddha* and *Ājnā* respectively from the bottom to the top. And above all, there is the *Sahasrāra*, a lotus with a thousand petals. That is the seventh heaven of Vedānta. Sri Purnānanda Swāmī has been the author of a remarkable book of the name of Shri Tattva Chintāmani consisting of twentyfive chapters. *Ṣaṭ-Cakranirūpaṇa* is only the sixth chapter of this voluminous book, of which the subject matter may be summarised as follows :

1. Description of Idā, Pingalā and Suṣumṇā Nādis	Ślokas	1- 3
2. The First Cakra—Mulādhāra	„	4-12
3. „ Second „ —Swādhiṣṭhāna	„	13-18
4. „ Third „ —Maṇipūraka	„	19-21
5. „ Fourth „ —Anāhata	„	22-27
6. „ Fifth „ —Viśuddha	„	28-31
7. „ Sixth „ —Ājnā	„	32-38
8. Sahasrāra and its merits	„	39-49
9. Movement of Kundalinī Śakti from Mulādhāra to Sahasrāra and back	„	50-54

Sat Cakranirūpaṇa is a spiritual matter and it has its corroboration from Āpta Vākyā (statement of purified or flawless souls) and as such it is the only authority. ‘Āpta’ is a technical term meaning those who have been rid of everything gross. Or, it may mean those who have been blessed with the attainment of Reality, mokṣa. Therefore there is no reason why they should indulge in lies. Such being the case, the personal experiences of such people are accepted as facts.

In every human body composed of the five elements, there is a fine, subtle body called *Sūkṣma* or *liṅga sarira* consisting of seventeen elements—the five prāṇas, the mind, intellect and the ten sense organs. The yogi by virtue of his psychic experiences has a knowledge of that body. This subtle body has got to be purified before worship and this is technically called *Bhūtaśuddhi*. And without this nobody acquires the right to worship. In fact a godly life alone is capable of worshipping the god. Like the seven regions in Brahmāṇḍa—*Bhūḥ*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svah*, *Mahaḥ*, *Janaḥ*, *Tapah*, and *Satyam*, there are seven chambers in the human body and these are the seven *Cakras* from *Mulādhāra* to *Sahasrāra*.

In the human body outside the axis and to its left there is Idā, a Nādi white in colour resembling the moon, an embodiment of nectar and surcharged with the attribute of Sattva. And to the right (of the axis) there is Piṅgalā predominated by Rajas, looking like the sun, as powerful as Rudra and emitting effulgence like the filaments of pomegranates. And in between the two within the axis there is Suṣumṇā predominated by Tamas, resembling fire and red in colour. Idā, Piṅgalā and Suṣumṇā are Yamunā, Sarasvatī and Ganga respectively. These three Nādis have assembled in Ājnā Cakra and then flown separately and again got united in Mulādhāra. This is why Ājnā Cakra has been called Mukta Triveṇi and Mūlādhāra Yukta Triveṇi. In Suṣumṇā there is the Vajriṇī Nādī and again in it there is the Citriṇī which is called Brahma-Nādī by some. In Citriṇī there is a Nādī

right from Brahmadvāra in Mulādhāra upto Paramaśiva in Brahmarandhra. The Śat-Cakra is like a knot of this Nādi. This Brahmanādi is very fine, as delicate as one thousandth part of a hair. The Suṣumṇā Nādi has penetrated the six cakras from Mulādhāra and has merged in the Sahasrāra. It is here where Paramaśiva abides. The sages by virtue of their psychic methods awaken Śiva in the Ājñā Cakra and thus attain immortality. If followed strictly in accordance with the rules laid down in the Śāstras, success is inevitable. According to the Rudrayāmala, the Sādhaka (aspirant after spiritual enlightenment) who delights in penetrating the six *cakras* is sure to attain success whether in the family life or in the forest.

Idā and Piṅgalā are also called Chitrini and Bajrā respectively. The Suṣumṇā Nādi extends from Mūlādhāra right upto the Head. It looks like a Dhaturā open on both sides and has thus two faces. The Piṅgalā Nādi (Bajrā) extends from Medhradeśa upto the head, but it is a little shorter in size than Suṣumṇā. The faces of Sahasrāra the thousand petalled lotus and Suṣumṇā are placed downwards and upwards respectively.

Chitrini (Idā) in Bajrā (Piṅgalā) is as effulgent as Praṇava. It is as fine as cobwebs and as such is perceptible only by yogis. It shines after having penetrated all the lotuses like Mūlādhāra in the axis. The Brahmanādi is in Citriṇī and it is this Brahmanādi that is the vacant space in it and constitute the path to Paramaśiva of the nature of Śuddhabrahma Kunḍalini. The Brahmanādi is shining like a string of lightning and is superfine like a cobweb in the mind of the Sādhaka, leading ultimately to pure knowledge and all happiness and is itself of the nature of pure knowledge. Here in the mouth of the Brahmanādi is the path to Brahman i.e. the entrance and outlet to and from Paramaśiva.

Mūlādhāra

The Mūlādhāra lotus is just on the conjunction of Kanda and Suṣumṇā and connected with the lower part of the foot of the penis (*liṅga*) i.e., to the mouth of Suṣumṇā. This lotus is of the colour of heated gold and consists of four leaves (*vādisānta—ya, Ša. Sa. Sa*). In the pericarp of this lotus, there is the region of the earth, rectangular in shape, yellow in colour and consisting of the brightness of lightning. It is surrounded on eight sides by eight spears of which the tips resemble the *nipples* of ladies' breast. In the midst of the dot (point) of the mystical letter (*Laṇ*) of the Earth (*Dharā*), there is Brahmā resembling a child with four hands and four faces. In his lap there is the King of the Gods, mounted on an elephant. Brahmā is radiant like the morning Sun. In this lotus of Mūlādhāra there is Dākini Śakti which has four hands, red eyes and which is as resplendent as many suns at a time and above all, which constitutes the *summum bonum* of life. About an inch (two fingers) above the mouth of Suṣumṇā and

under the root of the penis, there is the mouth of the Bajrā Nādi. There in the pit in the centre of the pericarp of the Mūlādhāra lotus shines a triangle. It is called Tripurā since Tripurasundarī rests there. This triangle is resplendent like a garland of lightning and is quite capable of fulfilling the desire of the devotee. The air called Kandarpa blows about it. There in the centre of the triangle rests the Śivalinga called svayambhū which is of the colour of heated gold with its face downwards and which is attainable only by knowledge and meditation. It is again full of lightning of the colour of new blossoms resembling the laughing whirlpool of a river under soft rays. The Kuṇḍalinī, superfine like the filaments of a lotus stalk and like Mahāmāyā incarnate, both above and below Śiva, with her lotus face covers the mouth of Brahmā. In other words, it covers the flow of nectar and drinks it. And a contact of that nectar sweetens its face also. That Kuṇḍalinī Śakti hums like an intoxicated bee, shines in the pit of the Mūlādhāra lotus like a bright garland of lights, holding all the while, all living creatures of the world with the fluctuations of her breathing. Besides, that Kuṇḍalinī Śakti flashes like a garland of new lightnings and encompasses the śivaliṅga three times and a half and rests like a snake in coil.

It has been said about the Supreme force (Parāśakti) which rests perpendicularly to the top of the liṅga in a parallel way above the coil of Kuṇḍalinī in the Svayaṁbhū liṅga, the supreme deity (Parāśakti), that she enlightens the pan of Brahmānda and others and rests in the Kuṇḍalinī as eternal knowledge incarnate. She is Māyā who is capable of making the impossible possible. She is an incarnation of Kalanāda (a low sweet tone) Śakti and inseparable from Kuṇḍalinī.

As a result of meditation on Kuṇḍalinī in the Mūlādhāra, a devotee may be an adept in all arts, without any disease, perpetually blissful, a man of flawless character and a worshipper of all gods in poetry and prose.

Gist : The Mūlādhāra lotus consists of four petals. It is of red colour, tinged with gold. In the pericarp of the lotus of four colours, there is the Dharāmaṇḍala, quadrangular in shape and surrounded by eight spears. Inside and below it there is the mystical syllable of Dharā in the central point of which there is the lord of the gods of yellow colour in the lap of Brahmā resembling a child and with four mouths and four hands holding a staff, a water vessel, a string of beads, and a promise of safety. In the pericarp above the red lotus, there is the Dākinī Śakti with four hands, red in colour and resting in the moon. She holds a spear, a bedstead, a sword and a goblet. In the pericarp there is a triangle beaming with the flashes of lightning. Inside it rests the Kāma Vāyu and the mystical syllable of Kāma of red colour. Above it, there is the Svayambhū liṅga of the colour of heated gold. Above it there is the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti of the shape of three and a half-folds. And above it rests Cit Kalā (lit, the digit of knowledge) in a perpendicular way at the top of the liṅga.

Śwādhiṣṭhāna

In the region parallel to the foot of the penis, there is another beautiful red lotus consisting of six petals (Bādilānta—ba, bha, Ma, Ya, ra, la) in the midst of the Suṣumṇā Nāḍī. In this lotus there is a circle resembling a lotus with a half moon white like the spotless autumnal moon with the mystical syllable “Bam” seated on a shark. In the lap of this syllable there is Viṣṇu who protects the three worlds. He is resplendent with the heaps of blue rays and with a beautiful frame clad in yellow robe and with the insignia of the celebrated gem obtained on churning the ocean (Kaustubha). The intoxicated Rākini, possessed of the beauty of the centre of a blue lotus, with her hands up with many weapons decorated with divine clothes and garments rests on the lotus. The devotee who meditates on this swādhiṣṭhāna lotus stands shorn of enemies, of lust, anger and others; the darkness of delusion is extinguished and he himself shines like the sun because of his beautiful compositions in prose and verse.

Gist : The Svādhiṣṭhāna lotus resembles the flashes of lightning and consists of six petals, with its centre (vindu) dazzling. In the centre of the pericarp there is a white disc of lotus resembling a lotus with eight petals. The mystical syllable Vaṣu of Varuṇa holding a noose in hand is there. In its lap there is youthful Viṣṇu with four hands holding a conchshell, disc, club and lotus and wearing a yellow robe on the Garuḍa. Besides he is decorated with the gem kaustubha shining with the brightness of ten thousand gems on the breast. In the pericarp of the lotus, on the Garuḍa there rests the three-eyed terrible looking over Rakini Śakti hankering after a flow of blood and with crooked teeth. She is of the colour of heated gold and holds a spear, a lotus, a drum and an axe, one in each of her four hands.

Maṇipura

The triangular aspect of Vanhi—Fire—should be meditated on the beautiful blue lotus (along with the moon) consisting of ten petals (dādīfānta ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa pfa) Outside that triangle, there is ‘Ram’ the symbolic representation of Fire, called Swastika. That symbol should be meditated on as resting on the very bright image of Rudra who rides a ram and looks like the morning sun and is with four hands. The creator and the destroyer combined, the giver of all desired objects of the people, the three-eyed old looking deity, signifying all protection with his hand and with his body besmeared white with ashes all over, lives in this symbol. The Lākini Śakti rests on this lotus. She is of the colour of heated gold and with rour hands and is decorated with yellow and other colours and is intoxicated. She is of bright features and is promoter of everything good. Meditation of this lotus in the navel region called *Maṇipura* makes a devotee capable of preservation and destruction. Sarasvatī always remains in his lotus face. In short, he is equal to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Gist : Manipura is a lotus consisting of ten petals and is in the region of the navel. In its pericarp there is a triangular red coloured fire place with the symbolic mark (of Swastikā), 'Rām' of red colour and resting on a ram and wielding in four hands Bajra (thunder) Śakti (lance, dart etc.), boon and promise of protection. In its lap there is Rudra mounted on an ox and with his body of the colour of blood and holding a boon and an assurance of protection with his two hands. He looks old with his body white being besmeared with ashes. In the pericarp (of the lotus) above the red lotus, there is the Lākinī Śakti with indigo colour and three faces each with three eyes. She wields Bajra, Śakti, boon and an assurance of protection in her four hands. Besides she has terrible teeth and hankers after food tinged with the blood and flesh of birds.

Anāhata

Above the Maṇipura Cakra in the region of the heart, the beautiful Anāhata Cakra, hexagonal in shape and bright like a Bandhuka flower consisting of twelve petals (Kadithānta—Ka, Kha, ga, gha, na, ca, cha, ja, jha, ña, ta, tha) rests there. And because of its wish yielding quality it gives more than what is required. The mystical symbol of Vāyu (Yam) of grey smoke colour is on the Krishnasāra deer. In that symbol there is the kindly disposed, sun like three-eyed god (Śiva) offering a boon and promising safety. It is here in this lotus that goddess Rākinī is stationed. She is three-eyed, yellow like a new lightning, good, adorned with all kinds of ornaments, dedicated for the good of the people, with a soft heart, wearing a garland of skeletons, holding with four hands a noose, a skull, a boon and a beckoning for protection. In the pericarp of this lotus, the triangular Śakti with its face downwards remains below the mystical symbol of Vāyu. Above it on the head of the Bānaliṅga, there is the lunar digit (crescent) with the Nāda Bindu (dot). In the midst of the dot there is a core of the shape of a void. Under the pericarp of the lotus in the region of the heart there is a red lotus with eight petals facing upwards. In this lotus, the individual soul of the shape of a swan is resting. In the midst of the pericarp of this lotus the bright filaments are shining because of their native grandeur. Meditation on this lotus in the region of the heart makes a devotee wise like Brihaspati himself and he is quite capable of creation, preservation and re-absorption of things. He becomes the supreme Yogi, accomplished master of the senses, omniscient by virtue of his meditation an adept in composition of prose, verse etc. and thus a rare gift to humanity and capable of entering the body of others.

Gist : The lotus in the region of the heart resembles a Bandhuka flower in its shine and consists of twelve petals. In its pericarp there is the atmosphere of smoky colour. The Solar circle is above it and above that there is the mystical symbol of Vāyu of four hands.

Again in its lap rests the three-eyed deity with two hands signifying a boon and promise of protection. Here in the pericarp, the Kākinī Śakti wearing a yellow robe and holding a noose, skull, and signifying boon and promise of protection rests in a red lotus. She is again adorned with all kinds of ornaments, has a heart moistened with nectar and she wears a garland of skeletons. In the triangle in the middle the Bānalinga Śiva of golden colour with a head of the crescent moon and a dot and intoxicated because of the generation of lust. Below it the human soul of the shape of a "hamsa" rests like the flame of a light where there is no air. It is of deep red colour and with its face upwards it is a lotus consisting of a pericarp and eight petals. That is the place for meditation (literally, mental worship) and it is decorated with a canopy and flags, the wish-yielding tree (kalpavṛkṣa), an altar studded with gems.

Viśuddha

The flawless blood-red lotus consisting of sixteen petals of vowels is accessible to a devotee with a bright intelligence. On a white elephant in that lotus there is the famous firmament of Viṣṇu who with a bright frame and wearing a white robe is there like a full moon. The three-eyed Sadāśiva, half-male and half-female with ten hands and bright five heads and wearing the skin of a tiger rests on the lap of the mystical emblem (insignia) always. There in the pericarp of the Viśuddha lotus, the Śāṅkhinī Śakti as white as a sea of nectar; in other words with white beams without any heat and spotless, shining in full circle, wearing a yellow robe and holding in four hands a noose, a book, a bow and an arrow, is the true entrance to salvation of a devotee whose senses have been purified by proper exercises. As a result of meditation on this Viśuddha Cakra the devotee is united with the Supreme Brahman and he becomes a poet, orator, wise man of placid temperament, the seer of all ages, immune from diseases and misfortune, immortal and capable of destroying all dangers.

Gist : The Viśuddha lotus with slightly smoky reddish filaments and consisting of all the sixteen vowels is at the root of the throat. The white circular region of the sky is in the pericarp. There is the triangular inner system (*maṇḍala*) in it. Above it there is the mystical emblem 'ham' of the sky. It is of white complexion, white vestiture, seated on a white elephant and holding a noose, a hook, offering a boon and signifying an expression of protection. In the lap thereof on a great throne on the bull there is Candraśekhara (Siva) holding the constant lunar digit on the forehead of white and golden colour, having five heads with three eyes in each and holding spear, axe (hatchet), sword, thunder, fire, snake, bell, hook, noose and assurance of protection in ten hands and wearing a tiger's skin, body besmeared with ashes, adorned with a chain of snakes, emitting nectar and with the face downwards. The white Śākinī Śakti with yellow robes, five heads with three eyes in each and holding a noose, hook, bow and arrow in her four hands, rests in its pericarp.

Ājñā : The lotus Ājñā is situated between the eyebrows. This lotus consisting of two petals 'Ha' and 'K-Kṣha' is snowwhite and its manifestation is subject to the attribute of devoted meditation.

In other words, the moon with its nectarous white beams is naturally white. The two letters also are white. The conjunction of the two leads to absolute whiteness. In the pericarp of the lotus, the Hākinī Śakti rests with six faces. The goddess holds learning, boon, assurance of protection, skull, drum and a rosary in her six hands. Behind this lotus with two leaves, there is the superfine mind which consists of decision and indecision and is beyond the grasp of the senses. Dazzling like a garland of lightnings, Śiva of the form of a corpse and called Itara rests in the triangle in the middle of the pericarp. It is from this very lotus that the thread of Brahman i. e., the Citrinī Nādī emanates.

The Hākinī śakti is in the pericarp of this lotus. Itara Liṅga is on it in the triangle. The Praṇava is in the triangle over it and the mind above that—this is the order of meditation. A devotee who meditates in this way becomes omniscient, seer of all things, a benefactor of all, well-versed in all śāstras and a follower of the monistic philosophy. And thus having obtained the supreme end is merged in the Supreme Soul in the end. In the triangle referred to before the success attained in the order of A and U etc. is naturally luminous like the flame of a light. Above that there is the lunar, digit and above the point pronounced by a nasal sound represented by 'ma'. And thus there is the full form of Praṇava (AUM). Above that there is another superfluous Nāda. It surpasses the whiteness of the white receptacle of Baladeva. In other words, the Nāda is extremely white. Because of the practice of Yoga of which the secret has been received by way of tradition from Gurus, in this place of perpetual (unbroken) beatitude, the concentration of the mind is easily possible. Because of this practice, the Yogi has mental experiences of burning sparks of fire in the atmosphere in the receptacle of Praṇava in the triangle. After perception of these flying sparks of fire, the devotee has perception of light of the Supreme spirit. And that light of a burning nature pervades the whole passage from Mūlādhāra. Here in this Ājñā Cakra, as in Sahasrāra, the Supreme Śiva rests. And that Śiva is the supreme wealth all compact, all pervasive and the master of creation, preservation and reabsorption. Here also rests the Supreme soul as it does in the solar and lunar regions of the lotus with a thousand petals in Sahasrāra in the shape of a sea. At the time of death the Yogi merged in the bliss of the self and having fixed his mind in the supreme status of Lord Viṣṇu leaves this body through the aperture in the crown of the head and attains supreme salvation.

Gist : The lotus in the Ājñā Cakra consists of two white petals. 'Ha' and 'Kṣa'. In the pericarp rests the Hākinī Śakti. She is white but her six faces are red with three eyes in each head. She wields a boon, assurance of protection, rosary, skull, drum and book in her six hands and she rests on a white lotus. In

the triangle above it rests the white Itaralinga of the nature of lightning. Above it in the triangle there is the supreme soul of the form of Praṇava (AUM), resplendent like a light. And that supreme soul shines from the Mūlādhāra right upto the aperture of the crown of the head like a burning light surrounded by sparks of light in the atmosphere. The subtle mind is above that. Above it in the lunar region the Supreme Śiva along with the Śakti rests in the lap of the Swan (signifying the union of the human soul and the supreme soul).

The Method of Attributing the Prāṇa in the place of Viṣṇu.

It is possible to ascertain the time of death and be merged in the Supreme soul. For this purpose, one must resort to yoga practice in a happy mood and hold the breath by kumbhaka and bring the human soul from the heart to the Mūlādhāra. Then as per procedure prescribed the Kuṇḍalinī must be taken up from the Mūlādhāra to the aperture in the crown of the head and be meditated on as being of the nature of lightning, an embodiment of joy and the nasal sound represented by a lunar digit with a point (Nāda) looking like a fine thread. The Haṇsa (swan) of the Supreme Soul which is nothing other than the breath of life should be merged in that Nāda and be brought to the Ājñā Cakra along with the individual soul gradually piercing through the lower ones. All the elements, material and non-material right from the earth to all others should be merged in the Kuṇḍalinī. The Kuṇḍalinī again should be merged with the individual soul and made one with the vindu (dot) which is there and which is nothing other than Śiva and Śakti combined and then rest there. Thereafter he will leave the body through the aperture of the crown of the head and be merged in the Supreme Soul.

Sahasrāra

As a result of worship of the feet of the Guru when the devotee can experience the Nāda, concentrated into a Vindu, at rest, his words become infallible. This is in fact the function above the Ājñā Cakra and below the lotus with a thousand petals. It is only such a devotee as is blessed with the advent of pure knowledge rendered all the more so by the Nāda being the form, peaceful, boon-giving with an assurance of protection, of the half-male and half-Female Śiva (Ardhanārisvara Śiva).

At the top of the Śankhinī Nādi where it lies exposed above Suṣumnā and below, final Beatitude (Nisarga) lies in the lotus with a thousand petals, which is whiter than the full moon. Nisarga is Eternal Bliss (Śiva) and rests above the aperture of the crown of the head. The fifty letters from A to Kṣa become a thousand when repeated twenty times. These letters are placed there downwards in that order. The lotus with a thousand petals consists of beautiful filaments like the rays of the early morning Sun and is an embodiment of ineffable joy. The ever smiling spotless full moon is in the pericarp of the lotus with a thousand petals

and bathes everything by its nectarous net of beams. And inside that moon a triangle shape of lightning flashes continuously. The supreme void of the Para Vindu is shining and is worshipped always by the gods because of its extreme secrecy.

The Śivaliṅga of the shape of a void is the top most secret since it is the chief nice source of the nectar of immortality, resplendent as the full moon and accessible only to meditation. The All-pervasive Supreme Śiva, the destroyer of the darkness of ignorance and a veritable philosopher's stone is extremely resplendent showering the nectar of blessings all the while. Lord Siva imparts instructions of self knowledge to the devotee of pure mind. The immanent Supreme Siva and the Gauri are in essence one and indivisible. He pervades all waves of joy.

This supreme place of Śiva is called Śivasthāna by the worshippers of Śiva, the place of the Supreme Lord by the worshippers of Viṣṇu, some again who consider them as one and the same call it Hariharasthāna. The worshippers of Śakti call it the place of the feet of the goddess. Those again who deem Śiva and Śakti as the same call it the place of Prakṛti and Puruṣa. In short, on account of the existence of all gods in this pericarp, the worshippers of a particular deity call it the place of that deity.

Owing to the knowledge of Sahasrāra, a devotee who has controlled his senses is free not only in this world but in all the three worlds. That great devotee is capable of going even to the sky and doing every work and composing literature in prose and verse.

The true nature of the sixteenth lunar digit called Amā in the triangle in the pericarp of Sahasrāra is being described as per the respective positions of the Vindus which are often nothing but the concentrated form of Nādas. Amā because of her conjunction has been the receptacle of that nectar. She is moreover resplendent like the morning Sun, completely unconcerned with anything, imperishable like the supreme vāc, superfine being like one hundredth part of fine fabrics of a lotus stalk consisting of very soft body like the streak of lightning with her face downwards, emitting lustre shining eternally because of the absence of wax and wane.

Of the sixteen lunar digits, the one called Amā is superfine like one thousandth part of a hair, contributor of consciousness to the human heart, slightly curved like the new moon, blazing like twelve suns at a time, red in colour, the digit of salvation.

In the lap of this digit of salvation is shining the Nirvāṇa Śakti equivalent to that of Brahman and is resplendent like tens of millions of suns, the sustenance of all, unique like the Mother of the three worlds, superfine like one multimillionth part of a hair and the receptacle of the ceaseless flow of love generated every moment.

In the void at the centre of the Nirvāṇa Śakti which is of the nature of the Parāvindu (the concentrated form of Nāda), is the place of the Supreme Brahman in its true essence without Māyā, superfine and beyond word and mind, accessible only to knowledge, available only to yogis, full of all eternal bliss. This is how the seers of truth explain it. According to Vedāntins, it is Brahman or Hamsa. Some call it indescribable self knowledge or Mokṣa and according to the worshippers of Viṣṇu it is the purest status of Viṣṇu etc.

Gist : The lotus with a thousand petals resting with its face downwards is formed of fifty letters beginning with ‘A’ and ending with ‘ksa’ in twenty revolutions and adorned with red filaments. In its pericarp there is Hamsa. Above it, there are gradually the Guru of the form of the Supreme Śiva, the solar system, the lunar region, the Mahāvāyu (the vast expanse), the aperture in the skull. And above that there is in the region of the moon a triangle of the shape of lightning called Mātrā Śankhīnī. In it there is the sixteenth lunar digit called Amā of red lying with its face downwards. In her lap there is the digit of salvation, red in colour with the face downwards superfine like one thousandth part of a hair. Below it there is the fire called Nibodha which is of the nature of unexpressed (Avyākta) Nāda. Above it in the lap of the digit of salvation there is the Supreme Vindu (point) being the combination of Śiva and Śakti. The Nirvāṇa Śakti of the shape of Hamsa being one multimillionth part of hair is the superfine ray, of which Hamsa is the life (jīva). The Brahmāpada (Status of Brahma) is the void in the concentrated form of Nāda.

According to Panchmashakha and others of the Āgamakalpadruma, in the pericarp of the lotus with a thousand petals in the region of the Moon, there is the triangle of A—Ka, tha and others. In it there are three vindus (dots) near the three angles. Below it there is ha (Hakāra) indicative of the male organ. The two points (vindu) above indicative of Visarga (ঁ) i.e., Sakāra is of the nature of Prakṛti. The Hamsa which combines the two manifests as the three points. In it there is the Amākala. And in its lap there is Nirvāṇa Śakti. And the Supreme Brahman of the nature of void is in it.

It has been said about Bhūta Śuddhi or onward elevation of the Kuṇḍalini that a devotee practising Yama, Niyama etc., i.e., a self-controlled good natured man of pure intellect should learn from the Guru the unveiling of the Path of Mokṣah. And thereafter by muttering the mystical syllable ‘Hum’ (Kurchabeeja) the worshipper should elevate the Kuṇḍalini by piercing that shape of liṅga and thereafter on opening the aperture of the Svayambhūlinga should take the goddess Kuṇḍalinī to the mouth of the Citriṇī Nādi (the Passage of Brahma).

The goddess Kuṇḍalinī having pierced through the three liṅgas—Svayambhū, Vāna and Itara and attained all the lotuses of Brahmanādi shines in the Supreme Śiva of Love (Rasa). Then she (Kuṇḍalinī) like shining subtle fibres makes provi-

sion for the Mokṣa of the devotee and this is perpetual bliss near Śiva of Supreme point in the pericarp of the lotus with a thousand petals.

The self-controlled wise king of Yogis while in communion with God by elevating the Kuṇḍalinī as per prior instructions and taking her to the doors of Brahman and merging it with the human soul leads her towards the foothold of Śiva of the form of the supreme point. Then by merging the Kuṇḍalinī with the overlord supreme point he should meditate on that point. Thereafter the supreme point also should be merged in the supreme Soul in the void within it and then meditate on pure absolute consciousness. Thereafter, "I am Brahman" i.e., in the monistic way he should feel the union of the individual soul with the supreme Soul, merge his thoughts therein and continue in meditation in absolute unconcernedness with anything other than the all-pervasive universal consciousness.

Kuṇḍalinī, the beautiful, after having drunk the supreme nectar of the colour of lac from Sadāśiva of perpetual bliss should come out from him and meditate while in the Citriṇī Nādī in the Path of Brahman. Thereafter she should think for a while of Śiva and Śakti and with the nectar emanating from the Supreme Śiva, enter the Mūlādhāra again and offer oblations to Kuṇḍalinī. In other words, the Kuṇḍalinī comes back to her original place in the same way as she had gone from Mūlādhāra to Sahasrāra. The sense is thus :—Kuṇḍalinī goes in the process of merging (laya) and comes back in the process of creation. The presiding deity in Kulakuṇḍalinī should be appeased as per instructions of the succession of *gurus*.

Having ascertained this supreme order, the self-controlled Yogi after practice of 'Śama' and 'Dama' (the sense organs of *jñāna* and *karma*) overcomes life, birth and reabsorption and rests in eternal and absolute peace because of the incessant flow of the blessing of the spiritual guide.

The sage, who is of a self-controlled nature and who reads at day time night or in the evening this flawless, correct and top secret, contributing to the knowledge of Mokṣa, has his heart always dancing at the feet of his desired deity, since he has been blessed with subscribing to the lotus feet of the Guru—the dispeller of all darkness.

"Pādukā Pañcaka"

(Five verses on Foothold or Pedestal)

Sadāśiva, the redeemer of the three worlds has said in a hymn (by way of instructions) on meditation of Śrī Guru—I worship in the pericarp of the lotus with a thousand petals consisting of twelve colours. The aperture leading to the Kuṇḍalinī near Śiva in the pericarp of the same lotus is adorned with the Citriṇī Nādī. As a lotus rests on a stalk, so this lotus rests on the Citriṇī Nādī as a stalk.

In the three angles of A, Ka, Tha, etc. in the pericarp of the lotus, the Guru should be meditated on. The lotus with a thousand petals and that with twelve petals are poised towards each other. In the pericarp the line consisting of sixteen letters beginning with A is called Vāmarekhā, that with Ka 'Jyeṣṭhā' and 'Tha' is Raudrī. These three are the lines of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva or the lines of the Guṇas—Sattva, Rajas and Tamas respectively. In the three angular points of the triangle there are 'Ha' 'La' and 'Kṣa'.

In the three angles, I meditate on the region of Maṇipīṭha with the concentrated point of Nāda of pink colour.

The place of Meru (the central axis) is the triangle above the Maṇipeeṭha in the Nāda Vindu above the station of Hamsa. As to their nature it is said : I have been meditating on the primeval age and that of Hamsa. Thus I have been meditating on the three flames of the consumer of the offering of ghee above the Maṇipeeṭha. And because of the clear expression of the flames consuming ghee, I have been thinking of the Maṇipeeṭha determined by name. The significance of the three flames is this : The seed of fire is the line Rama from South to North East (Dakṣiṇa to Īśāna). The line from North East to South West (Īśāna to Mārut) is Jyeṣṭhā and that is the seed of the point of the Moon. And the line emanating from the point of the Sun and connecting that of fire is the line of Raudrī. Thus the three angles connecting the three angular points form the triangle of Kāmakalā. The Guru is there. The Paramahaṁsa is the combination of Prakṛti and Puruṣa.

I am remembering the lotus feet of Nātha in the triangle of the Maṇipeeṭha. These two feet are like honey, constituting a share of the Supreme Nectar of pink colour and are cool like the nectarine rays of the moon. In other words, the worship of the lotus feet mitigates all sorrows and miseries as the nectarine beams of the moon assuages all heat. If the mind is concentrated on those two lotus feet, all desires are fulfilled.

The advent of all sins is done away with because of the worship of the sandals studded with gems and also with nails slightly red like new leaves bright like the moon.

The five hymns on Pādukā (Sandals) are extremely rare in the world since they have emanated from the mouth of Śiva of five mouths and also from the hidden mouth of Śiva, downwards—thus spoken by six mouths (Ṣaḍāmnāya).

The five Pādukās are :

1. Lotus
2. In place of the pericarp of the triangle consisting of A. Ka and Tha.
3. In it the region of the Maṇipīṭha of Nāda Vindu.
4. The Hamsa beneath it.
5. The triangle above the Peeṭha.

Otherwise

1. The Lotus
2. The Triangle
3. Nāda Vindu
4. Maṇipeṭha
5. The Haṃsa which has been transformed into a Kāmakaṭā

The Pañcavaktra Śiva is to be meditated on as :

1. Sadyojāṭa in the West
2. Vāmadeva in the North
3. Aghora in the South
4. Tatpuruṣa in the East, and
5. Iṣāna in the centre.

The Saḍāmnāya is the sixth mouth (Tāmasa) of Śiva. It lies hidden under the other five mouths and rests with the head downwards.

TANTRICISM AND THE SUN-CULT IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

V. C. SRIVASTAVA

Indian tradition views life as a *sādhanā* with twofold aims—*abhyudaya* and *nīḥśreyasa* which are subsumed in the fourfold aims of life—*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*.¹ The path of *sādhanā* may be pursued by different traditions of religio-philosophical culture according to the needs, qualities, stages and aspirations of the traveller. Broadly speaking, there are three such ways of *sādhanā*—the Vedic, the Purāṇic and the Tantric, which are not successive as is generally supposed as well as the latter two are not 'fungus' growth on the so called original Vedic tradition.² Without entering into the controversy of substratum theory and the problem of continuity and change in the Indian tradition it is suffice to say for the present that the Tantric tradition of *sādhanā* has a great antiquity going back to the Vedic and even earlier age⁴ and it forms an integral part of the organic component of Indian spiritual-cultural ethos.⁵ However, it was in the post-Gupta period that Tantric *sādhanā* became all pervasive⁶ due to many factors—socio-economic,⁷ religious and ideological⁸ so much so that there

1. Bhagavan Das in *Cultural Heritage of India*, ed. H. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1983, Vol. IV, p. 14, G. C. Pande, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1984, Vol. I.
2. Swami Pratyagatmananda, Tantra as a Way of Realization, in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 227.
3. J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, The Hague, 1965, Intr.
4. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Poona, 1977, Vol. V, pt. II, pp. 1031-1041.
5. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 227
6. C. Chakravarti, *The Tantras, Studies on their Religion and Literature*, Calcutta, 1963.
7. R. S. Sharma, Material Milieu of Tantricism, *Indian Society Historical Probing in Memory of D. D. Kosambi*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 175-189
8. See Gopinath Kaviraja, *Tantric Vañmaya me Śākta Dristi*, Patna, 1963 and A. Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London, 1965.

was rarely any cult of India which remained unaffected by this trend and there was no region of India which did not have the popularity of Tantricism of some form or the other.⁹ All the major sects and cults such as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Gāṇapatiya and Bauddha¹⁰ came to be dominated by the Tantric tradition.

The Sun-cult is one of those faiths of India which originated in pre-historic times, received ideological foundations in the Vedic tradition and developed its classical form under the combined pressure of the Vedic and Puranic lores and lastly adopted (after its identification with Śaivism) Tantricism in the early mediaeval and mediaeval periods.¹¹ The Sun-cult of India has received attention from scholars in the past¹² but the nature and the degree of Tantric influence on the Indian Sun-cult has not been given due attention so far. Two major works on Sun-worship are those of L. P. Pandey and V. C. Srivastava.¹³ Pandey has referred to Tantric influence on the Sun-cult on the basis of some Purāṇas and on the ground of Mārtanda-Bhairava images in a very brief manner without any reference to the nature and degree of this influence.¹⁴ Srivastava¹⁵ demonstrated the Tantric influence on the Sun-cult on the basis of the later chapters of the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa* by listing names of Tantric rituals like *dikṣā, mandala, mahāmantra, tattvanyāsa, mantranyāsa*, six *abhichāras* in the worship of the Sun as Śiva. However, one significant hypothesis was developed by him that there is an absence of the concept of a Saura-śakti like Prajñā of Tantric Buddhism and Umā of Tantric Hinduism which shows that Sun-cult was influenced by Tantricism outwardly only.¹⁶ No detailed discussion for the hypothesis could be done as the work was covering a long period from the pre-historic period to the 12-13th century A.D. Srivastava published a Hindi translation of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* where he translated with historical notes the later chapters also having Tantric influence on the Sun-cult¹⁷ but has no occasion to discuss the hypothesis. C. D. Pandey came to the conclusion in his recently published monograph—*Sāmba Purāṇa kā Sānskriti ka Adhyayana* that the Sun-worship was totally influenced by the Tantric tradition

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- 9. P. C. Bagchi, Evolution of the Tantras, in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 211-226
 - 10. *Ibid.*
 - 11. V. C. Srivastava, *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1972, pp. 264-266.
 - 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-18.
 - 13. *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1971, Srivastava, *op. cit.* Allahabad 1972.
 - 14. *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 121 143 and 159.
 - 15. *op. cit.*, pp. 264-266.
 - 16. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
 - 17. *The Sāmba Purāṇa*, Allahabad, 1975.

on the ground that it was dominating all religions and sections of Indian society at the time of the composition of the *Sāmba Purāṇa*.¹⁸ He has not analysed the specific question raised by Srivastava that the concept of a female Sakti of Surya was not developed. Moreover, the general dominance of Tantric tradition at the time of the composition of the later chapters of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* (1250-1500 A.D.) cannot be construed as the ground for the view that the Sun-cult was totally affected by the Tantricism in all its aspects, even if the statement of general dominance over all religions and classes is accepted. However, there are many religious systems and philosophical schools of this time which remained unaffected by Tantricism¹⁹, a feature which goes against the surmise that all classes and systems were dominated by Tantricism. Nevertheless, the question of the degree, nature and effects of Tantric impact on the Sun-cult in India needs fresh and detailed appraisal in the light of archaeological and literary evidences.

The archaeological sources for the impact of Tantricism on the Sun-cult are limited to the world famous Konark Sun-temple with Tantric scenes on the outer walls²⁰ and a few Mārtanda-Bhairava images. The period for the construction of the Konark Sun-temple may be placed during the middle of the 13th century A.D. The Mārtanda-Bhairava images such as from Rajshahi (Bengal) conform to the *dhyāna-mantra* variety of the Sun-god mentioned in the *Śāradātilakatantra*²¹—a variety which appears to have developed in the 12-13th centuries A. D.²² Some images of the consorts of Sūrya have been discovered²³ but they do not belong to the Tantric tradition.²⁴ Thus the archaeological sources that are available for the Tantric impact on the Sun-cult are very limited and are not very helpful in ascertaining the inner milieu of the Tantricism in relation to the Sun-cult. We may only state that the Tantric tradition came to exert influence on the Sun-cult in the period from the 12th century A.D. onwards and this was facilitated by the identification of Sūrya and Śiva and the evolution of the *dhyāna* variety of the Sungod such as Mārtanda-Bhairava, and eroticism of Tantric tradition came to be displayed in the Konark Sun-temple. We do not have evidence of an independent image of Sauraśakti round Chāyā, Saṃjñā, Uṣā, Sañdhvā, Nikṣubā, Rājñī, Suvarcasā,

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- 18. *Sāmba Purāṇa kā Saṅskritika Adhyayana*, Allahabad, 1986, pp. 125-131
 - 19. Jainism has very little Tantric impact. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 220-224. refers to the Buddhist Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, and Gānapatya Tantras, but not of Jainas.
 - 20. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, pp. 335-337.
 - 21. *Ibid.*, p. 319 Cf. *Śāradātilaka*, XIV, 41.2.
 - 22. *Ibid.*
 - 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262, Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91, 96, 108, 137, etc.
 - 24. *Ibid.*, none of them are in the *ālinganamudrā*.

Savarṇā, Prabhā etc. nor there is any depiction of Saura-śakti in any art-example of India.²⁵

Of the literary sources the Purāṇas are valuable guides in knowing the nature, degree and effects of Tantricism on the Sun-cult. The *Agni Purāṇa* devotes chapter 73 to the method of Sun-worship which is full of Tantric import. Here the Sun god has been identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The earlier chapters are concerned with Vaiṣṇava gods, methods of worship involving Tantric rituals etc. while the immediate later chapters are devoted to Śiva-Candī worship etc. involving Tantric methodology.²⁶ The chapters are quite late and may be assigned to the 11-12th centuries A. D.²⁷ at the earliest. It is also to be noted that this very Purāṇa (Ch. 51) mentions the iconographical features of Sūrya which are free from Tantric impact. Obviously this chapter is earlier and contains the earlier Purāṇic tradition of the Sun-cult. This Purāṇa has two other references to Tantric Sun-worship in the chapters—148 and 301.

The *Garuda-Purāṇa*²⁸ also identifies Sūrya and Śiva and mentions Tantric diagrams and mantra and even prescribes the worship of Dandī and Pingalā while worshipping Śiva. The chapter is later than 10th century A. D.²⁹ The *Nārādiya Purāṇa* prescribes in about 12 verses the worship of the Sun-god with his family and attendants through a Tantric diagram.³⁰ These verses are late interpolations and may be dated in the later centuries of the early medieaval period.³¹

The *Nārādiya Purāṇa*³² again mentions the worship of the Sun with Tantric rituals like *aṅga-nyāsa*. These verses are late interpolations and may be dated in the later centuries of the early medieaval India. The *Padma Purāṇa*³³ enjoins the use of Tantric mantra in the Sun-worship for the cure of mental and physical diseases. These chapters have been dated between the 10th and the 14th century A.D.

25. Cf. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-321.
26. See *Agni-Purāṇa-Garga Samhitā* anka of *Kalyana*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur and *Agni-Purāṇa* ed. Ananadaśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1960
27. R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Varanasi, 1975, assigns these chapters to a date later than the 9th century A. D. but these may be of later date than 11th and 12th century A. D. as it refers to full-fledged Śāktism.
28. *Garuda Purāṇa*, ed. Saraswati, Calcutta, p. 61.
29. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
30. *Nārādiya Purāṇa*, Sri Venkateswara ed. ch. 60, v. 25-36.
31. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 185 has dated chapters with smṛti materials between 875-1000 A. D. In view of this it may be dated later than 1000 A. D. as it contains pure Tantric material like *mandala* etc.
32. Ch. 69, vv. 7-24
33. Ananadasrama ed. ch. 76, vv. 51

There are references to a vast Saura literature but unfortunately none of them are available in full with the exception of the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*, which is the *magnum opus* of the classical Sun-cult in India. For our present purpose the later chapters of this Purāṇa are very relevant as they appear to have been thoroughly influenced by the Tantric tradition.³⁴ These chapters have been fixed chronologically between 1250-1500 A.D.³⁵ Within this broad category there appears to be more than one unit.³⁶ It is significant to note that the *Bhavisya Purāṇa* which has borrowed its chapters on the Sun-cult from the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa* has not taken any material connected with the Tantric Sun-worship as found in the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa*.³⁷ Thus the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* appears to be the only available source for knowing the nature, degree and effects of the Tantric tradition on the Sun-cult. However, the short description of Tantric Sun-worship in the *Agni Purāṇa* has to be taken into account as it appears to contain the Śākta variety of Tantricism more than the Tantricism of the Āgamānta variety. Before we analyse the available materials on Tantricism and the Sun-cult, it is relevant to point out that Tantricism had varieties within varieties³⁸ in the Indian tradition.

Analysis of the Tantric Milieu *Vis-a-vis* the sun-cult in India :

The *Agni Purāṇa* has three main descriptions of Tantric Sun-worship. In the chapter 73³⁹ it describes the method of the Sun-worship by means of *Aṅganyāsa* and *Karanyāsa*. First, the worshipper should imagine that he or she is the Sun-god and give *arghya* with the mantra—*Om Am Hridyāya namah* and touch organs of the body. In the temple Dandī in the south and Pingalā in the left should be worshipped. Ganeśa and Guru should be worshipped in the Tantric manner. In the centre of the *pīṭha* one should meditate on a lotus-shaped seat. On the four sides of the *pīṭha Vimala, Sāra, Ārādhya* and *Parama Sukha* and *Prabhūtāsana* in the middle should be worshipped. Thereafter, nine śaktis—Diptā, Sūkṣmā, Jayā, Bhadrā Vimalā, Amoghā, Vibhūti, Vidyutā and Sarvatomukhī (in the centre) should be worshipped as seated on the lotus—with *mantras* with Tantric import such as *ram diptāyai namah, rim sūkṣmāyai namah, rum Jayāyai namah, rem Bhadrāyai namah, raim Vibhūtāye namah, rom Vimalāyai namah, room Amoghāyai namah, ram Vidyūtāyai namah, rah sarvatomukhāyai namah*. After this it enjoins that the *pīṭha* of the Sun-god should be worshipped with the mantra—*Om Brahmā Viṣnu-*

- 34. R. C. Hazara, The *Sāmba Purāṇa* : A Saura Work of different hands, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 36, 1956.
- 35. R. C. Hazra, The *Sāmba Purāṇa* through the Ages, *Journal of Asiatic Society* (Calcutta), Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 91-111.
- 36. Hazra, *op. cit.*, 1956.
- 37. *Ibid.* Cf. Srivastava, *The Sāmba Purāṇa*, Intr. pp. 6-7.
- 38. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-226
- 39. *op. cit.*

$\text{Śiva-ātmakāya Saurāya Yogapiṭhātmane namah}$. Further invocation of the Sun-god should be done with the Tantric mantra with 9 letters—*om ham kham Khakholkāya namah*. After meditating the Sun-god and establishing him before himself *arghya* of water should be given with the *mantra*—*ham hiṁsaḥ Sūryāya namah*. Thereafter, different parts of the body should be worshipped by showing *Padmamudrā*, *Vimba-Mudrā* with *mantras* like *Om am Hṛidyāya namah*, *Om Bhuh Arkāya namah*, *śirse svahā*, *om bhuvaḥ sureśāya shikhāyai vasaṭ*, *om svahī kavacāya hum*, *om ham netratrayāyauṣaṭ*, *vaḥ astrāya phaṭ* for heart, head, hair, kavaca, eyes and weapons respectively. Thereafter, different *mudrās* should be shown. *Dhenumudrā*, *Gosringamudrā*, *traṣṇimudrā* for heart, head, hair and kavaca, eyes, and weapons respectively. Then the *grahas* should be worshipped with *mantras* as follows—*Om Som Somāya namah* for the moon in the east, *Om bum Budhāyā namah* for Budha in the south, *Om brim Brihaspataye namah* for Brihaspati in the west, *Om bham Bhārgavāya namah* for Śukra in the north, *om bhaum Bhāumāya namah* for Mangala in the south-east, *om sam Sanaiścarāya namah* for Śani in the South-west, *om ram rāhaye namah* for Rahu in the north-west, *om kem ketave namah* for Ketu in the north-east. These planets should be worshipped along with the Sun under the name of Khakholke. The Sun should be worshipped under the name of Śiva-Sūrya which may be translated as either welfare-giving Sun or the combined form of Śiva-Sūrya. In early medieval times Śiva and Sūrya came to be identified⁴⁰ and here we may have a reference to this trend under which Tantric influence could be introduced in the Sun-cult. The original *mantra* for the Sun-god is *om ham kham khakholaṅkāya namah* in the *Agni-Purana* which is different from the original mantras of the Sun-god found in the *Sāradātilaka* which may be read as—*om hrim gṛiṇih sūryāditya Śrim*. This clearly indicates that there were different traditions for the original *mantra* of the Sun-god in the Tantric form of the Sun-cult.

The *Agni Purāṇa* has another account of the Tantric form of Sun-worship in chapter 148 in connection with victory in the battle.⁴¹ The mantra is *om de kha khyam sūryāya sangrāmavijāyāya namah*. Bhagavan Sankara says to Skanda that following six letters are meant for six parts of the body in the battle for victory—*hram*, *hrim*, *hrum*, *hrem*, *hrom* and *hrah* which are meant for *anganyāsa* as follows—*hram hṛidyāya namah*, *hrim śirase svahā*, *hrum sikhāyai vasaṭ*, *hrem kavacāya hum*, *hrom netratrayāyā vauṣaṭ*, *hrah astrāya phaṭ*. The *mantra* for the worship is again the same as earlier—*om ham kham khakholkāya svahā*. The *bija mantras* for the six *anganyasa* are *sphum*, *hrum*, *hum*, *krum*, *om hrom krem*. Five deities under the name of Prabhūta, Vimala, Sāra, Ārādhya and Para-

40. D. K. Biswas, Sūrya and Śiva, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIV, 1948
cf. *The Śamba Purāṇa*, 1975, pp. 16-17

41. *op. cit.*

māsukha are to be worshipped in the *pīṭha*.⁴² It is difficult to be categorical about the exact nature of those deities because there are various literal meanings of these names, such as Prabhūta means a primary element in the Sāṅkhyas as well as one of the deities in the 6th Manvanataras, Vimala may mean a bright spotless deity or a magical formula recited over weapons, Sāra may mean the inner spirit of the Sun and Parama sukha may be symbolic of the godhood representing the highest bliss in the Tantric tradition. Ārādhya may represent the Sun, worthy of worship.⁴³ However, it is certain that these names are of the Tantric-Sāmkhya tradition. In the eight directions of the *pīṭha dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *aiśvarya*, *adharma*, *ajñāna*, *avairāgya* and *ānaiśvarya* should be worshipped. Here we have opposites of four values and both sides should be worshipped because the Tantrik *sādhanā* takes positive and negative both in the universe as the descent of Śiva-Śakti and therefore are not to be distinguished. *Vidyā Avidyā*, *Yoga* and *Bhoga*, *Pravritti* and *Nivritti* are to be equally respected and sublimated into the ascent of the *sādhaka* towards the Śiva-Śakti.⁴⁴

There is a provision for the worship of *anantāsana*, *simhāsana* and *padmāsana*, *suryamandala*, *somamandala* and *agnimandala*. Then nine śaktis—Diptā, Sūkṣmā, Jayā, Bhadrā, Vibhūti, Amoghā, Vidyutā and Sarvatomukhī should be worshipped. These nine śaktis of the Sun represent most probably the ‘heat’ of the Sun which is an integral part of the Sun as well as the creative aspect of the Sun. Thus these two features of the heat of the Sun are sufficient to make them śaktis of the Sun-god. Diptā, Bhadrā, Vidyutā, Vibhuti are connected with the heat⁴⁵ while Amoghā and Jayā are names of Durgā⁴⁶ also. Sukṣmā is the name of a śakti of Viṣṇu also but here in the context of the Sun-cult it may mean Śakti in the form of the supreme subtle soul of Sūrya.⁴⁷ It is significant to note that these names of Saura-śaktis are not found in connection with the Purāṇic account⁴⁸ of the wives of Sūrya—Saṃjñā, Chāyā, Suvarcalā, Rājñī, Nikṣubā, Uṣa, Pratyūṣā etc. Moreover, the difference between the Śaktis of the Sungod and the consorts of the Sungod has been maintained in the same Purāṇa in the same chapter when it enjoins after the worship of the Śaktis the adoration of Uṣā, Prabhā, Sañdhya, Chāyā,⁴⁹ along with Viṣṇu, and

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- 42. *Ibid.*
 - 43. It means ‘to be worshipped’ see M. M. Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Varanasi, 1986, p. 150.
 - 44. K. Mishra, *Significance of the Tantric Tradition*, Varanasi, 1986, pp. 63 ff.
 - 45. M. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 481, 746, 966, 978.
 - 46. *Ibid.*, p. 83, 412.
 - 47. *Ibid.*, p. 1241.
 - 48. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, pp. 261-262.
 - 49. vv. 7-1

8 gatekeepers, the Śungod along with Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa. It is pertinent to remark that the Purāṇic theistic tradition of worshipping consort of the Sungod is different from the worship of the Saura-śaktis in the Tantric-Śāktic tradition. One Śakti—Jayā mentioned here has been mentioned in the Tantric work—the *Sammoha tantra* as having an independent cult round her.⁵⁰ This work seems to have assumed its present Śāktic form around the fourteenth century A.D.⁵¹ If Jayā of *Agni-Purāṇa* is the same as Jayā of the *Sammoha Tantra* these passages may be assigned to the Śāktic stage of the development of the Tantric tradition around the fourteenth century A.D.—a date which accords well with the chronology established by Hazra.⁵² The reference to nine Śaktis of Sūrya in this Purāṇa appears to have been modelled on the pattern of Nava-Durgas—Kumārikā, Trimūrti, Kalyāṇi, Rohinī, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā, Bhadrā.

The *Agni Purāṇa* in Chapter—30i refers to the *bija mantra* of the Mārtanda-Bhairava and the worship of five images of the Sungod⁵³ with the following mantras—*ām sūryāya namah*, *im bhāskarāya namah*, *um bhānave namah*, *em ravaye namah*, *om divākaraṇāya namah* and meditation of Sūrya as seated in the north-east with his śakti in the left. It also refers Tantric rituals like *māraṇa*, *stambhana*, *āpyayana*, *śatruघātā*, *mohana*, *vaśikaranā*. Thus the *Agni Purāṇa* which was wholly influenced by the Tantric-Śāktic tradition developed the Tantric-Śāktic variety of the Sun-cult also whose salient points may be recapitulated here before we proceed further to analyse the Tantric milieu of the Sun-cult in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* :—

Firstly, there is a direct reference to 9 śaktis of the Sungod which are different in name and symbolism from the consorts of Sūrya.

Secondly, the Sungod has generally been invoked under his own traditional names, like Sūrya, Āditya, Bhāskara, Ravi, Bhānu, Divākara etc. and with one possible doubtful identification of Sūrya and Śiva and one reference to Mārtanda-Bhairava the Sungod is free from Śaivite influence.

Thirdly, Tantric rituals and symbolism have been used in full. It refers to Tantric *mantras*, *maṇḍalas*, *nyāsas*, *japa*, *dhyāna*, *cakra*, and mentions six Tantric acts like *Vaśikarana*, *māraṇa*, *stambhana*, etc.

The picture presented by the *Agni-Purāṇa* for the Tantric milieu of the Sun-cult is positively that of Tantric-Sāktic tradition rather than of Āgamānta Tantricism as there is no mention of the Vedas in these accounts. As indicated earlier, the accounts appear to have been related to the 13-14th century A.D.

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- 50. Quoted by *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 221.
 - 51. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
 - 52. *Op. cit.*, 1952.
 - 53. *Op. cit.*

The *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*⁵⁴ contains Tantric Sun-worship in its later interpolated chapters—39-43 and 47-83 which have been dated by Hazra between 1250-1500 A.D. First let us present a review of the main ideas of Tantric Sun-worship as developed in this sectarian Saura Purāṇa.

Firstly, let us analyse the concept of the Sun-god in these chapters in order to find out whether it conforms to the Tantric philosophy of the godhood.

The *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa*⁵⁵ describes the Sun-god as *sakala* and *niṣkala* both and the letters are parts of the body of the Sun-god and the creation. *A* and *Ā* are conducive of the *Karma-nirvāṇa*. *I* and *Ī* are located in the forms of *Vidyēśa* and *Yogeśa* in the navel of the Sun-god. *U* and *Ū* became two thighs of the Sun-god after they became *bijās*. *Ri* and *Rī* are two feet under the forms of *Rita* and *Satya*. *Likara* became *vipula*—probably the earth or a metre. *Ae* and *Ai* are two mothers of the Sungod. *Am* and *Ah* are two big skies. *G* and *Gh* are his maṇḍala. *Ṅ* is the charioteer. *C, Ch, J, Jh, Yñ* are respectively *pitrīs, gods and demons, entire universe, bondage, and creative power*. *T, Th, D, Dh* represent the powers of breaking the bondage, of removing the difficulties, of giving grace and of anger of the god respectively. *N, T, Th, D, Dh, N* represent respectively great ascetics like *Balakhilya, Bhrigu etc., Siddha and Gandharva, power producing Punya, power of control of senses, visible Brahmā and all pervasive ananta*. *P* is for indestructible, *PH* for removal of inauspiciousness, *B* is for auspiciousness, *Bh* is for dispeller, *M* is for the lord of the rivers, *Y* stands for the planets and stars and *R* is for the destroyer. *L, V, Š, Š, S, H* stand for indulgence in the senses, the creation, the removal of defects, *bija* (the secret words of *mantra*) the origin of metre and the eternal Brahmā. These are the *Bijas* of the Sun-god.

This is a typical Tantric version of the creation of the universe from the letters and the Sun-god has been conceived as the original power. The Sungod has been described in the same context in this Purāṇa as the *Śabdamūrti*⁵⁶. The creation of the universe by the Sun-god has been repeated in many other descriptions in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. In the chapter⁵⁷ it is stated that *Sūrya* consists of three elements—*bijatattva, varnatattva* and *yonitattva* which is visualised in the heart of a worshipper. *Sūrya* is *Sakala* and *niṣkala* as well as *Sakala-Niṣkala*.⁵⁷ In the

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54. The *Sammoha Tantra* refers to a vast literature of Saura Tantra—30 Tantras, 96 Upanantras, 4 Samhitas, 2 Upa Samhitas, etc. quoted by *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV p. 222 but no Saura Tantra has been found so far. The *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* is the only corpus of Saura Tantra.
 55. The *Sumba Purāṇa*, Venkateshwara ed., Ch. 40.
 56. *Ibid.*, ch. 41, v. 4 cf. J. Woodroffe, *The Garland of Letters*. pp. 214-227.
 57. Ch. 56, v. 2.

chapter 57 this original power is said to have created the universe by creating the *varṇas*. This creation of the letters has been detailed in subsequent chapters.⁵⁸

The supremacy of the Sun-god has been expressed by explaining the meaning of different names in the chapter 51. In the beginning this universe was without action, knowledge, smell etc. This unmanifested and undifferentiated cause was termed as *Pradhāna-Prakṛiti* which is the womb (*yoni*) of the universe. It is original, unborn, subtle and unexpressed.⁵⁹ This is also known as *Puruṣa*, *Parmeśvara*, which is encompassing the moveable and immoveable creation. It is the cause of the origin and dissolution of the universe. It is endowed with innumerable *guṇas*, but is One. He is *Nārāyaṇa* because he created water. He is *Hiranyaagarbha* because he is surrounded by *hiranya* from all sides. He is *Brahmā* because he is ever increasing. He is *Mahādeva* because he is great among gods. He is *Khakholka* because he is the cause of five elements. He is *Prajāpati* because he created the creatures. He was self-born, hence was called *Svayambhū*. He is the first *Puruṣa* with thousands of heads, hands, feet etc. The order of creation is like this—from unmanifested came *Prakṛiti*, from *Prakṛiti* came *Mahat*, from *Mahat* came *ahamkāra*, from *Ahamkara* came senses and thereafter creatures. Thereafter, the meaning of different names of the Sun-god have been detailed with a view to showing the supremacy, all-pervasiveness and original causal nature of the god in the typical Tantrik-Vedāntic manner. Such ideas are repeated in other chapters of the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. In some later chapters the Sun-god has been completely identified with Śiva such as in the Chapter 69. Here the aim is the attainment of *Śivaloka*. Then the god to be worshipped, is formless Śiva.⁶⁰ The worshipper must know the formless Śiva and his supremacy. In the chapter 71 it is again said that Śankara and Śiva-śakti are present in the Universe.⁶¹ The chapters from 55 to 83 are saturated with Śaivite influence where the ultimate power has been conceived as Śiva-śakti and the process of creation and rituals are Tantric Śaiva-śakti rather than pure Saura or pure Saura-Tantra. It is in conformity with the trend that Saura worship came to be identified with Śiva worship, so much so that a *Purāṇa* which is named as the Saura-Purāṇa is actually a Śaiva *Purāṇa*.⁶²

The concept of a female principle along with a male (*Puruṣa*) is a fundamental doctrine of Tantricism which became the central figure in the form of Śakti in medieval Śaktism.⁶³ Let us analyse as to how much this concept of a female principle in Saura Tantra is developed in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. It is well known

58. The chapters 57-61 are concerned with the letters.
59. Ch. 51, v. 126 ff.
60. Ch. 69, vv. 1, 17 ff.
61. Ch. 71, vv. 1-3,
62. Saura *Purāṇa*, *Ananandasrama Series*, 1924.
63. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-222.

that there were many wives of Sūrya in the Epic-Purāṇic tradition such as Samjñā, Chāyā, Suvarcalā, Rājñī, Nikṣubā, etc. which are mentioned as the wives of the Sungod in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* also but have not been referred to as the Śaktis of Sūrya. They are simply members of the family of the Sun and are developed in response to the anthropomorphisation of the Sungod. In the chapters influenced by Tantricism the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* has references to two types of Saura Śakti. The chapters which are generally free from Śaiva predominance refer to many Sauia Śaktis which are representative of the heat and light of the Sun.⁶⁴ In the chapter 43 which is free from Tantricism the Sun has been described as Prakṛiti and Purusa and in spite of Chāyā and Samjñā is without support and dependence.⁶⁵ This is a significant reference to initiate the discussion on the presence, nature and degree of a Saura-Śakti-concept in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. It shows that Chhāyā and Samjñā were not conceived in the Tantric-Sāmkhya fashion as the Śakti of Sūrya in earlier tradition of the Purāṇas. In the next stage when Tantra came to influence the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* some Śaktis of Sūrya came to be developed. These are, for example, the seven mothers (*Saptamātrikās*) under the names of Kṣubhā, Maitrī, Prabhā, Śyamā, Rochi, Dipti, Suvarcalā.⁶⁶ Some of these are well known names of the wives of Sūrya, such as Nikṣuba, Suvarcalā, Prabhā. Others have been made from such words as Mitra, ruchi, dipti connected with the Sungod. Mahāsvetā has also been conceived in Saiva-free chapters as the Sakti of Sūrya.⁶⁷ In the chapter 90 there is provision for the making of a *mandala* for Sūrya-initiation. In this *mandala* there is provision for the making of the images of Śaktis under the name of Mahākālī, Kalpikā, Prabodhīnī, Nilāmbarā, Ghanantasthā, Amritā etc.⁶⁸ In the *mandala* there is provision for the making of tools of Devī like Vajra, Śakti, Khadga, Pāśa, Gadā, Trishula etc.⁶⁹ There is a reference to the *bindu*⁷⁰ which is ultimate element produced by the combined power of Śiva-Śakti. The whole description of the *mandala-design* reminds us of the *anāhata cakra* in which there is a provision of 12 petalled lotus in the centre of which is seated Sakti with pāśa, kapāla etc.⁷¹ In the chapter 55 we have a reference to Devī

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64. *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*, Ch. 51, v. 75 refers to seven mothers some of which are expressive of the heat and light aspects of the Sungod such as Dipti, Rochi, Prabhā.
 65. *Ibid.*, Ch. 43, v. 17.
 66. *Ibid.*, Ch. 51, v. 75.
 67. *Ibid.*, Ch. 51, v. 65, 102, 105, 108, III, Ch. 50 cf. C. D. Pandey, *op. cit.* pp. 83, 86, 98, 114
 68. *Ibid.*, Ch. 39, v. 45.
 69. *Ibid.*, Ch. 39, v. 41.
 70. *Ibid.*, Ch. 39, v. 49 Cf. *Śarādātilaka*, ch. 1.
 71. Cf. J. Woodroffe, *The Serpent Power*, pp. 382-383, *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*, ch. 39

created by Śiva.⁷² There are mantras for invocation of Mahāśvetā, Chāyā etc.⁷³ The above analysis shows that the Śaktis of Sūrya could not be developed round the familiar names of Sūrya's wives though they continued to be worshipped along with other members of his family in the Tantra-oriented Sun-worship also. Secondly, seven mothers of the Sungod have been developed on the pattern of Vaiṣṇava tradition. Thirdly, philosophically we have the concept of a Saura-śakti in chapters which are not dominated by the Śaiva tradition, but these Śaktis are not to be found among the list of Devis and Śaktis in standard iconographical texts⁷⁴ and we do not have any actual extant image of Saura-sakti so far, though Mahāśvetā is found depicted below the Sungod and we have images of Sun-wives which are free from Tantric influence.⁷⁵ Fourthly, we have references to *Devī* in connection with Śaiva-dominated chapters but there also Śakti has not become the central point of attraction as it became in medieval Śākta tradition.

Tantra is no doubt a philosophy, but in actual life it is more popular as a practice and a ritual for obtaining certain *siddhis*.⁷⁶ The ritualistic aspect of Tantra has been quite well developed and followed in the later chapters of the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa*. In view of the comprehensiveness of the subject of Tantric rituals in this Upa-Purāṇa, it is not possible to discuss them in detail.⁷⁷ We will confine ourselves to the discussion of the salient points of these rituals with a view to showing the predominance of Tantric methodology for the Sun-worship. The chapters 39-41 of the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* are concerned with *Saura-dikṣā* which is wholly Tantric, as it utilizes Tantric mantras including Tantric *Gāyatrī Tattvanyāsa*, drawing of *mandalas*, *Yajñā* with *varṇas*, etc.⁷⁸ A special feature of Tantric *dikṣā* is the identification of *Guru* and the god as well as the meditative identity of the worshipper and the worshipped.⁷⁹ These features are well attested in the initiation of a Sun-worshipper as enunciated in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. For example it is mentioned in connection with the Saura *dikṣā* that the lord of the world—Sūrya resides where the *mandala*-knowing *ācārya* sits.⁸⁰ It is referred that the wor-

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- 72. *Ibid.* Ch. 55, v. 109.
 - 73. *Ibid.*, Ch. 51, v. 75, 114.
 - 74. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 103 ff.
 - 75. B. P. Pandey, *oy. cit.*, pp. 90-91, Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 308, 312, 316.
 - 76. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 219.
 - 77. For details see V. C. Srivastava, *The Samba Purāṇa*, Allahabad 1975, (Hindi Tr. with historical notes).
 - 78. *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*, Ch. 39.
 - 79. A.B. Ghosh, *The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras*, in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, 241-251
 - 80. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Ch. 39, v. 25.

shipper to be initiated should meditate on Sūrya in himself.⁸¹ Another Tantrik change in the Sun-worship lies in the changed names of 12 Adityas⁸²—Nara, Viśvātmaka, Śambhu, Namaskāra, Vaṣaṭkrit, Sambudha, Niṣkala, Jñānasambhava, Mana, Unimana, Viśvakartā and Mahānasattva in place of familiar dvādasādityas.⁸³ There are references to *nyāsas* like *tattvanyāsa*, *mantranyāsa*, *karanyāsa* etc.⁸⁴ There are specifications of different elements of Tantric worship—*āvāhana*, *sthāpana*, *rodha*, *sānnidhya*, *pādaprakṣalana*, *arghya*, *snāna*, *vastra*, *lepana*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *vibhūṣaṇa*, *dīpa*, *bali*, *arghya*, *japa*, *nyāsa*, *stavana*, *yajña*, *samhāra*, *śuddhi*, *pāta*, *vihāra*, *visarjana*,⁸⁵ which are described in detail in many Tantric works.⁸⁶ The ultimate aim of Tantric *sādhanā* like other *sādhanās* is *ātmajñāna* or *mukti* but it admits lower types of aims like worldly gains and achievements.⁸⁷ The *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* accepts *jñānayoga* of Śiva-Sūrya-tattva as the ultimate aim but admits *abhicāras* of the Tantric tradition also. It refers to *vasikaraṇa*, *ākarṣaṇa*, *śitru-stambhana*, and *Uccāṭana*.⁸⁸ These acts should be done in the cremation ground. There are references to a variety of Tantric *mantras* like *Kartari*, *śalakā*, *dakṣinā*, *churika*⁸⁹ etc. The mantras are full of Tantric symbolism. Various mudrās and japas of Tantric import have been used.⁹⁰ The word *Tantra* has been used not only for Tantric procedure but also for Tantric works.⁹¹ There is a very significant reference in the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* to the effect that there are various tantras and only this system as developed in this Purāṇa will give success and *siddhi*.⁹² It shows that there were many varieties of Tantric worship during this period and the Sun-cult as enshrined in the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa* adopted a particular type of Tantricism. There are several other references to Tantric rituals in connection with the Sun-cult in this Purāṇa.⁹³ Thus Tantra-oriented Sun-cult followed Tāntric rituals of a lower type also.

81. *Ibid.*, Ch. 40, v. 4.

82. *Ibid.* Ch. 39, v. 42 cf. 51, v. 67.

83. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, pp. 207 ff. cf. Rai, *Puraṇic Dharmā āur Samāja*, Allahabad, 1968, pp. 47-53.

84. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Ch. 39, vv. 57, 58 cf. *Jayākhya Samhitā*, *patala*, 11, *Prapāñcasāra*, 6, *Kulāṛṇavatantra*, 4.18.

85. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, ch. 50, cf. Woodroffe, *Principles of Tantra*, pp. 781-795

86. See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 223, fn. 1.

87. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-43.

88. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Ch. 1, 19; 67, 68.

89. *Ibid.* Ch. 81, vv. 20-21.

90. *Ibid.*, Ch. 48 details types of *mudrās*. Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* Vol. V, pp. 65-66, For *Japa* see *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Ch. 47.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*, ch. 41, v. 1.

93. See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1975.

It is desirable in order to know the nature of the Tantricism of the Sun-Cult to throw light on the attitude of solarsectarians of this tradition towards the rituals of the *Pancamakāras* on account of which Tantricism has become a bye-word for corruption,⁹⁴ and sexual laxity. There appears to be only one reference to the *Pançamakāras* and that too in a figurative sense in connection with the lotus.⁹⁵ As such we have failed to find any direct and expressed reference to the *Pançamakāras*. However, there are references to the offering of meat and fish in the oblations meant for the lower type of *sādhanās*.⁹⁶ The attitude towards sex, ethics and morality in this Purāṇa in context of Tantricism is definitely refreshing and moralistic. It preaches such qualities in teachers (*Guru*) as control of senses, expert in Vedic lore, protagonist of *Mānava dharma* implying the *Manusmṛiti*, and a sun-worshipper has to be vegetarian, expert in yogic practices, devoted to *dharma* and tolerance, liberal, of good family, devoted to the god and the Brahmanas, lover of Śāstras, non-indulgent in females, Brahmacārī, though with a lady, etc.⁹⁷ The classical orientation towards ethics may be seen in the ethical interpretation of *Aṣṭa-puṣpa*⁹⁸ as consisting of such ethical qualities as control of senses, non-violence, steadfastness, forgiveness, purity, love, modesty and truth which is typically Buddhist-Jaina or Yogic. In view of the above it is safe to assert that in spite of the marginal reference to Śaktis the degraded aspect of the Tantricism such as the *Pançamakāras* could not be developed as it came to be developed in Śaiva and Śākta Tantricism and Vajrayānism. The ethical aspect of the Sun-cult which had a long background in the Vedic and Purāṇic tradition⁹⁹ could not be submerged under the flood-water of Tantricism. Moreover, the Tantricism as enunciated in earlier chapters of the Tantra-influenced section of the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa* was pro-Vedic but in the later chapters which are out and out Śaivite-Tantric Vedas are not held in that esteem which was the case in the earlier sections.¹⁰⁰

In view of the above discussion it may be said that the Tantricism of the Sun-cult as developed in the later Purāṇas in early medieval and medieval period has distinctly more than one variety. In earlier chapters of the *Sāmba Upa Purāṇa*. Tantra of the Sun-cult is pro-Vedic and pro-Sūrya (as it is free from the Śaiva influence while the later chapters have Śaiva influenced Tantricism which is not pro-Vedic and Surya has been identified with Śiva. The concept of a Saura-Śakti is

94. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 211.

95. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Ch. 56, v. 4.

96. *Ibid.*, chs. 65, v. 14; 67, 8; 68, v. 20.

97. *Ibid.*, chs. 39, v. 20-22; 51, v. i 2 i; 5 i, v. i 96; 55, v. 4; 61, v. 50; 64, v. 29; 68, v. 22,

98. *Ibid.*, ch. 82, vv. 5-7.

99. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, pp. 53-53, 227 ff.

100. Hazra, R. C. *Studies in the Upa Purāṇas*, Vol. 1., p. 63.

found in both traditions but the difference lies in the fact that in Tantra of the earlier variety Saura-Śakti has been developed around the heat, light and rays of the Sungod symbolically, not around the female consorts of Sūrya, while in the later variety Śakti has been developed round Śiva-śakti. In spite of this ideological presence of a Śakti (which is of course marginal if we compare its position with Śaktis in Tantric-Śaktism) it is definite that due to naturalistic and ethical foundations of the Sun-cult no concrete example of a Tantric Variety of Saura-Śakti¹⁰¹ in the form of an image has been discovered so far, There are possibilities that such idea was not utilized in practice, in spite of the Konark erotics. Thus Tantricism was definitely of a sober variety in the Sun-cult of early medieval and medieval periods.

101. So far no Sun image of Tantric variety has been found. However some images of Danda with his śakti in Ālingana mudrā has been discovered from Bundelkhand region but remain unpublished as it has been informed by Dr. S. D. Trivedi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow in a personal communication. Even this discovery will not compensate for the absence of an image of Saura-Śakti in Tantric pose.

THE SVARASAPTAKA OF SĀMAGĀNA

G. H. TARLEKAR

The *Puśpasūtra*¹ (IX. 26) states that the *Kauthumas* sing a large number of Sāmans with five notes, some with six notes and only two with seven notes. This gives us the clear idea of the Sāman-scale with the seven notes. The numeral notation in the *Kauthuma gāna*-texts indicates these seven notes as 11, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in descending order. The numerals 11 to 5 are placed over the syllables of the text and are called *prakṛtisvaras*. The numerals 1 to 6 placed in the line of the text are called *vikṛtisvaras*. The *kruṣṭa* note indicated by numeral 11, never comes at the beginning and at the end of a Sāman. The *atīsvārya* note indicated by the numeral 6 never comes at the beginning of a Sāman. The *prakṛtisvaras* are those in which the textual syllables are chanted. The *vikṛtisvaras* are employed as *ālāpas*. The numeral 6 always denotes the *vikṛtisvara*. These numerals stand for the Sāmika notes *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atīsvārya* respectively. *Mandra* is called also as *pañcama* and *atīsvārya* as *śastha* and *antya*. The names *kruṣṭa* etc. are found in the *Sāmaividhānabrahmaṇa*, the *Bṛhaddevatā* etc. In the *Sāmavedasamihitā* the numerals 1, 2 and 3 are employed to indicate the *udātta*, the *svarita* and the *anudātta* respectively. The *udātta*, the *svarita* and the *anudātta* svaras of Vedic recitation indicate the high, the middle and the low pitches of utterance. The *Aitareyabrahmaṇa*² (II. 7) refers to the sevenfold utterance of speech which indicates the seven pitches that most probably gave rise to the seven musical pitches culminating in the seven notes of the *Sāmagāna*.

The *śikṣā*-works give us the relation between the three *svaras* of the Vedic recitation and the seven notes of Indian music. According to the *śikṣās* of *Pāṇini* and *Nārada*³ the notes Ni and Ga are originated from the *udātta*, Ri and

1. 'पञ्चस्वेव तु गायन्ति भूयिष्ठानि स्वरेषु तु ।
सामानि पद्मु चान्यानि सप्तसु द्वे तु कौथुमा:' ॥
2. 'सप्तधा वै वागवदत्' ।
3. *Pāṇiniśikṣā* (V. 12) } उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।
Nāradaśikṣā (I. 8.8) } स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते पद्मजमध्यमपञ्चमाः' ॥

Dha from the *anudātta* and Sa, Ma and Pa from the *svarita*. *Yājñavalkyaśikṣā*⁴ also states similarly. The *Nāradaśikṣā* gives the correspondence of the *Sāmika* notes with the notes of the *Gāndharva* (the *laukika* or popular music). The names of the seven notes, *ṣadja*, *rṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *dhaiyata* and *nīṣāda* are seen in the *Nātyaśāstra* (2nd cen. B. C. or even earlier to 2nd cen. A. D) which treats *Gāndharva* in detail. The scale of the *Gāndharva* is in the ascending order while the *Sāman*-scale is in the descending order which is of course, the earlier one.

The *Nāradaśikṣā*⁵ (I. 5.1, 2) states that the *prathama* (first) note of the *Sāman*-singers is the *madhyama* note of the flute, the *dvitiya* is the *gāndhāra*, the *ṛtīya* is the *rṣabha*, the *caturtha* is the *ṣadja*, the *pañcama* is the *dhaiyata*, the *ṣaṣṭha* is the *nīṣāda* and the *suptama* is the *pañcama*. If *prathama* etc. are understood as *kruṣṭa* etc. respectively, then the *Sāman* scale would be in the modern notation, Ma, Ga, Re, Sa, Dha, Ni and Pa. In his commentary⁶ on the *Nāradiyaśikṣā* I. 7. 1 *Bhaṭṭaśobhakara* explains *kruṣṭa* as the *saptama* i.e. the note *pañcama* (of the flute). The *Nāradaśikṣā*⁷ (I. 1.12) gives the *Sāmika svaras* differently also. It says that the *Sāman*-singers employ the notes *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *ṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra*, *kruṣṭa* and *atīsvāra*. It may be that *kruṣṭa* and *atīsvāra* are given last as they denoted the two extremities i. e. the highest and the lowest notes of the scale. The *Sāmātantra* does not include *antya* in the *Sāmika svaras*. The reason for this non-inclusion appears to be that the *atīsvāra* is not a *prakṛiti-svara*. It is obtained by the *Karṣaṇa* from *mandra*. The meaning of the word *kruṣṭa* denotes that it is the highest note in the scale. The word *kruṣṭa* is derived from the root *kruṣ* meaning to yell. From the *gātravīṇā*⁸ described in the *Nāradaśikṣā* (I. 7.3) it is seen that *kruṣṭa* is indicated by the upper part of the thumb as the highest note in the series. There is the variant reading *kṛṣṭa* (i.e. dragged or pulled). *Bṛhaddevatā*¹⁰ (8.113) states that the *atīsvāra* is endowed

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| 4. | <i>Yājñavalkyaśikṣā</i> | { | ‘उच्चौ निषादगान्धारो नीचौ कृषभद्यवतौ । |
| | <i>Svaraprakarana</i> | | शेषस्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेयाः पद्मजमध्यमपञ्चमाः’ ॥ ७ ॥ |
5. ‘यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोमध्यमः स्वरः ।
यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृष्टभः स्मृतः ॥
चतुर्थः पद्मज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।
षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः’ ॥
6. ‘क्रुष्टः सप्तमपञ्चम इत्युक्तः’ ।
7. ‘प्रथमश्च द्वितीयश्च तृतीयोऽथ चतुर्थकः ।
मन्द्रः क्रुष्टो ह्यतिस्वारः एतान्, कुर्वन्ति सामगाः’ ॥
8. ‘स्वरोऽनन्त्यः’ ॥ १ ॥
9. ‘अङ्गुष्ठस्थोत्तमे क्रुष्टः’ ।
10. ‘मन्द्रकर्षणसंयुक्तम् अतिस्वारं प्रशंसति’ ।

with the *karṣaṇa* of *mandra*. Thus the *atīsvārya* can be called as the *kṛṣṭa* note. If we accept the order of notes in the *Gāndharva Ni* would be the note obtained by pulling upwards from Dha. But *karṣaṇa* normally indicates "pulling downwards." This pulling downwards from Dha would give the note Pa that is the lowest note in the *Sāman*-scale. This Pa note can be called as the *kṛṣṭa* note.

The *Pāriśikṣā*¹¹ of *Yajurveda* says that the *gāndhāra* and the *madhyama* are originated from the *ucca* (i.e. the *udātta*), the *sadja* and the *r̥ṣabha* from the *nihata* (i.e. the *anudātta*) and the three notes, *pañcama* *dhaiyata* and the *niṣāda* from the *svarita*.. The ascending order *anudātta*, *udātta* and *svarita* is accepted in this. In the *Māṇḍūkiśikṣā*,¹² the notes indicated by the *gātravīṇā* are stated as follows :

Kṛṣṭa is indicated by the thumb outward (*bāhya*), the *madhyama* at the thumb, the *gāndhāra* at the index finger, the *pañcama* at the middle finger, the *sadja* at the third finger, the *dhaiyata* at the little finger and the *niṣāda* below it. This description is similar to that of the *gātravīṇā* given by *Nārada*. *Nārada*¹³ says that the *kṛṣṭa* is to be indicated by the top part of the thumb, the *prathama* by the thumb, the *gāndhāra* by (the tip of the thumb touching the middle part of) the index finger, then the *r̥ṣabha* by (the tip of the thumb touching the middle part of) the middle finger, the *sadja* by (the tip of the thumb touching the middle part of) the third finger, the *dhaiyata* by (the tip of the thumb touching the middle part of) the little finger and the *niṣāda* by (the tip of the thumb touching) the base of the little finger, In the *Māṇḍūkiśikṣā* the *pañcama* is stated to be indicated by the middle finger. The descending order points to the note *r̥ṣabha*. This *śikṣā*

11. As quoted by Dr. Siddheswar Varma—

'गान्धारको मध्यम उच्चजातः पड्जर्जभौ द्वौ निहतोद्भवौ स्तः ।
सपञ्चमो धैवतको निषादस्त्रयः स्वराश्च स्वरितात् जाताः' ॥

See—'Sāmagāna'—by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar;
Journal of the Music Academy, Madras; Vol. V, 1934, pp. 2-16)

12. 'बाह्याङ्गुष्ठं तु क्रुष्टं स्यादङ्गुष्ठे मध्यमः स्वरः ।

प्रदेशिन्यां तु गान्धारौ मध्यमायां तु पञ्चमः ॥ १ ॥

अनामिकायां पड्जस्तु कनिष्ठायां तु धैवतः ।

तस्याधस्तात् योज्यः स्यान्निषादं इति तं विदुः ॥ २ ॥

(*Māṇḍūkiśikṣā*—Editor, Bhagavaddatt; Dayanand College, Lahore,

13. *Nāradosikṣā* (I. 7. 3,4)— 1921; p. 3)

अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे क्रुष्टोऽङ्गुष्ठे तु प्रथमः स्वरः ।

प्रदेशिन्यां तु गान्धार क्रृषभस्तदनन्तरम् ॥

अनामिकायां पड्जस्तु कनिष्ठायां च धैवतः ।

तस्याधस्तात् योज्यास्तु निषादं तत्र विन्यसेत् ॥

also says that the *nīca* (low) note is *śadja* and the *ucca* (high) note is *niśāda*. It is so in the ascending *Gāndharva* scale Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni. The statement regarding the relation of the three Vedic *svaras* and the seven notes of music found in the *Pāriśikṣā* differs from that of the three *śikṣās* namely of *Pāṇini*, *Nārada* and *Yājñavalkya*. The *Pāriśikṣā* statement cannot be satisfactorily explained.

These *śikṣās* give the names of the notes as *śadja*, *rśabha*, etc. which were well-known in the *Gāndharva* music. *Mataṅga* says that the notes are born of the *Sāmanveda*. Instead of stating the origination of the *Sāman* notes from the three Vedic *svaras* *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* these *śikṣās* have given the seven notes of popular music as originated from them. The reason appears to be that during the period of the *śikṣās* the scale *śadja* *rśabha* etc. was so thoroughly established outside the pale of *Sāman* music, that the *śikṣās* preferred to state the musical scale with the names of the notes *śadja* *rśabha* etc.

We have to understand the correspondence of the seven *Sāmika* notes with the seven notes of the popular music with the help of the *Nāradaśikṣā* only.

In the field of recitation, the position of the *svarita* was between the *udatta* and the *anudātta* in the beginning. It appears that in the period of the present *Rgveda-samhitā*, the utterance of the *svarita* in its first stage rose higher than that of the *udātta* and then was lowered.¹⁵ The *Taittiriyaprātiśākhya* (I.41) states that the *svarita* has its first part higher than the *udātta*. When the *Rgvedic svaras* of recitation were rendered musically in the chanting of the *Sāmanveda*, the *udātta*, the *anudātta* and the *svarita* were heard as the musical pitches corresponding to the modern notes Sa, Ni and Re respectively. This is corroborated by the tradition of the *Rgvedic* recitation at present. The Vedic *pracayasyara* is not a totally different *svara* as such in regard to the recitation. It is the name of the *svara*, which is employed in the case of *anudāttas* that follow the *svarita*, the utterance of which is similar to that of the *udātta*.

The position of *svarita* as higher than the *udātta* is clearly perceived in the Vedic recitation, when the *svarita* is on a long vowel, e.g., ‘*varényam*’, ‘*dharmaṇi*’ etc. As per the *Taittiriyaprātiśākhya*¹⁶ (I.42-45) the utterance of *svarita* in its second part was similar to that of *udātta*, or was lower than that of the *anudātta* or similar to that of *anudātta*. So the musical equivalence of *svarita* would be the

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14. ‘सामवेदात् स्वरा जाता:……………’ ।
Bṛhaddeśī-p. 20
15. तस्यादिरुच्चैस्तराम् उदात्तादनन्तरे यावदधं हस्त्वस्य ।
16. उदात्तसमः शेषः ॥ ४२ ॥ अनन्तरो वा नीचैस्तराम् ॥ ४४ ॥
अनुदात्तसमो वा ॥ ४५ ॥

notes Re, Sa, Dha and Ni. Prof. C. R. Sankaran in his article—‘The Concept of Key-note in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*’ (the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol. 14. 1940) has pointed out the identification of *pracaya* with the *tritiya-svara* which is *r̥ṣabha*. He says that the word ‘*dhṛ̥ta*’ in the *sūtra* ‘*dhṛ̥tapracayaḥ kaundinyasya*’ (*Tai. Prā.* XV. 3) is a significant term for key-note. He states that in ancient Indian music the string of *vīṇā* on which the melody was played was not tuned to Ma as it is now, but to Ri. The terms for the three higher pitches in relation to the central note Ri are *utkṣipta*, *utkṣiptatara* and *utkṣiptatama* (high, higher and highest respectively) and for the three lower pitches *avakṣipta*, *avakṣiptatara* and *avakṣiptatama* (low, lower and lowest respectively). Therefore the highest note would be Pa corresponding to *kruṣṭa* (*utkṣiptatama*). He says that when Ri is taken as *sadja*, Dha would be *pañcama*. The name *pañcama* given to *mandra* (i.e. Dhaivata) can thus be shown to be significant. In this explanation of Sankaran, it should be noticed that this fifth position of Dha from Re is in the ascending order. The *Sāman*-scale is in the descending order.

In the opinion of scholars like Pandit L. S. Dravid, Shri. C. P. Desai and Pandit Mahadevasharma Shastri, numeral 7 over the syllable denotes the note Pa, the highest note in the *Sāman*-scale.

At the time of the sacrifices, there used to be three to six *upagātrs* who chanted the syllable ‘ho’ with the *mandra* svara, in elongated manner. This chanting was called as *upagāna* which continued till *nidhana* (the last division of the *Sāman*). In the *Mahāvrata*, there was the *upagāna* by the wives of the sacrificer, accompanied by *vīṇās*. If we can take into account the fact that this *upagāna* served as the drone, it is possible to infer that the concept of consonance was recognised by the *Sāman*-singers in due course. This is corroborated by the concept of *udūha*. In the *udūha* the notes *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atīsvārya* were rendered by the notes *prathama*, *dvitīya* and *tritiya* respectively. The consonance of fourth as that between the *prathama* and *caturtha* is easily perceived in vocal music. The *mandra* note as per the *Nāradaśikṣā* is Dha. Its consonant note would be the *tritiya* (i.e. Re). Similarly the consonant note of *atīsvārya* (i.e. Ni) would be the *dvitīya* (i.e. Ga) and that of *caturtha* (i.e. Sa) would be *prathama* (i.e. Ma). The *kruṣṭa* or *kṛṣṭa* note (i.e. Pa) would have its consonant note *caturtha* (i.e. Sa).

Thus on the basis of consonance, the seven *Sāmika* notes arose out of the three Vedic *svaras*. The statement of the *śikṣās*, that the notes Ni and Ga are originated from the *udātta*, Ri and Dha from the *anūdātta* and Sa, Ma and Pa from *svarita* has the basis of the concept of the consonance. For Ni-Ga, Ri-Dha, Sa-Ma and Sa-Pa are the pairs of consonant notes.

At present the *Sāman*-chanting is available of three *śākhās* mainly. The *Kauthuma*, the *Rāṇayaniya* and the *Jaiminiya*. The study of this chanting reveals

that the notes heard approximately correspond to the modern notes. Ma, Ga, Re, Sa, Ni, Dha, Pa. In the absence of the *upagāna* the concept of consonance is as good as lost. As the *Sāman*-singers do not have any instrument like *vīṇā* or flute for accompaniment the notes heard are mere approximations. The note Ma occurs mostly as *sparśasvara*. The notes Ga and Ni appear to be of flat variety and Re and Dha of both flat and sharp varieties. In the Havik *Rañāyaniya*, the order Sa Dha is mainly seen. In the Tamilnadu *Jaiminiya* and South *Kauthuma* the regular order Sa Ni is found. So the inverse order Sa, Dha, Ni of the *Nāradasikṣā* may be due to the *Sākhābheda*. If in the *kṛṣṭādi*-series of the *Nāradasikṣā*, the word *prathama* is understood as the *madhyama* note, then *kṛṣṭa* would be higher than the *madhyama* note. But in the present practice, the highest note heard is Ma. If the reading *kṛṣṭa* is accepted then the lowest note heard which is Pa can be called as the *kṛṣṭasvara*. But the *Sāmavidhānabrahmaṇa*, the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Nāradasikṣā* etc. give *kṛṣṭa* as the highest note of the *Sāman*-scale, which is higher than the *prathama*. The problem of the *Kṛṣṭasvara* still remains to be satisfactorily solved on the basis of the study of the *Sāman*-chanting available at present.

CORDOPHONES (*TATA* INSTRUMENTS) IN THE WORKS OF KĀLIDĀSA

SUSHMA KULSHRESHTHA

Kālidāsa was familiar not only with various systems of philosophy, several schools of religious belief, Politics, Economics, Erotic Science, Dramaturgy but also with different Fine Arts as is revealed from his works. Music and Dance occupy a prominent place in Fine Arts—‘*Gitam vādyam tathā nrtyam trayam Saṅgītamucate*’. Music includes Music vocal, Music Instrumental and Dance. Kālidāsa has referred to all of these three at a number of places in his works in the course of his narratives and descriptions as well as in the usage of similes and metaphors.

In the present paper, an attempt is made to show Kālidāsa's knowledge of *Tata* Instruments and Instrumental Music. He seems to be familiar with all kinds of musical instruments which have been classified into four groups as follows :

Tata Instruments (Cordophones)

Musical Instruments using stretched strings—be they of grass, animal gut or metal wire and which are played by fingers (e.g. Swaramaṇḍala, Tambūrā) or by the help of Koṇa or Trikoṇa (e.g. Viṇā, Sitāra and Saroda) or Gaja (e. g. Violin, Sārangī, Isarāja and dilarubā) or stick (e.g. Santūra) are called Tata Instruments (Cordophones or Stringed Instruments). Among the *Tata* instruments, Kālidāsa has referred to Viṇā, Vallakī, Parivādini and Tantri at a number of places in his works. Our Śāstras mention numerous varieties of Viṇā. In the very famous verse of Meghadūta—‘Utsange Vā malinavasane’, Kālidāsa has used the words ‘Viṇā’ and ‘Tantri’. Three types of Viṇā—Ekatantri, Dvitantri and Tritantri are mentioned in the Śāstras. Lord Brahmā was the expounder of Nāṭyaveda and teacher of Bharatamuni. His Viṇā was Brahmi. The other names of Brahmi Viṇā are Ghosa, Ghosaka, Ghosavati and Ekatantri. We find detailed description

of Ektantri Viṇā in the *Saṅgitaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva. Ekatantri is considered to be the mother of all the Viṇās. The very touch and holy Darśana of this bless the beholder with Bhukti and Mukti.

As there were no Sārikās (Frets) in Ektantri, all the Mūrcchanās and Śrutis were always present there—

‘Śrutayo’ tha svarā mūrcchanā nānāvidhās tathā.
Ekatantrikavīṇāyām sarvam etat pratiṣṭhitam’.¹

It seems, Kālidāsa wants to refer to Ekatantri by saying—

‘Tantrīmārdrām nayanasalilaiḥ Sārayitvā kathan cid
bhūyobhūyaḥ svayam api kṛtām mūrcchanām vismarantī.’²

The Viṇā known as Ghoṣaka, Ghoṣāvati or Brahmī upto the times of Bharata, Mataṅga and Nārada came to be called as Ekatantri during the times of Nānyadeva, Sudhākalaşa and Śārṅgadeva. We get the reference of nineteen types of Viṇās in the *Saṅgitamakaranda* composed by Nārada. They are Kacchapī, Kubjikā, Citrā, Vahantī, Parivādīnī, Jayā, Ghoṣāvati, Jyeṣṭhā, Nakulī, Mahatī, Vaiṣṇavī, Brāhmaṇī, Raudrī, Kūrmī, Rāvaṇī, Śarasvatī, Kinnarī, Sairandhrī and Ghoṣakā. Originally, there was only one type of Viṇā which was multiplied in different types of Viṇās with different number of strings in them and also with different ways of playing in due course of time. This fact is brought out by Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa*—

Tantrībhedaiḥ Kriyābhedair viṇāvādyam anekadhā.³

The best reference to Viṇā and playing on it is made by our poet in the following verse which has been uttered by Yakṣa to his cloud-messenger wherein he describes his love-lorn beloved Yakṣī—

‘Utsaṅge vā malinavasane saumya nikṣipya viṇām
Madgotrāṇkam viracitapadam geyam udgātukāmā.
Tantrīm ārdrām nayanasalilaiḥ sārayitvā kathañ cid
bhūyobhūyaḥ svayam api kṛtām mūrcchanām vismarantī.’⁴

‘Or, desirous of singing aloud, O good one, a song, the words of which are so arranged to as to contain my name, after having placed a lute(Viṇā) on her lap covered with a dirty garment and somehow turned the strings wet with the water of her eyes (tears), but again and again forgetting the Mūrcchanā (melody) although com-

1. Bharatabhāṣya—Nānyadeva (Manuscript)
2. Meghaduta 2/25.
3. Mānasollāsa—3/572.
4. Meghadūta—2/25.

posed by herself.' Kālidāsa has successfully described the love-lorn state of Yakṣī by this verse which is totally based on Music and especially Instrumental music. The following words used in this verse are important from the point of view of music—

1. Viṇā
2. Tantri
3. Sārayitvā
4. Utsaṅga
5. Mūrcchanā
6. Madgotrāṇkam Padam
7. Geyam
8. Udgātukāmā

In the ancient times, playing on Viṇā was very popular. There are different measures mentioned in the Śāstras to get relief in love-lorn state. Playing on Viṇā is also one of them as is found in the following—

“Devatāpūjanam Kuryāt Kuryād vā nibhṛte balim.
Likhet Kāntapratikṛtim pāṭhayecchukasārikām.
Vādayecca tathā viṇām gāyed gītam tadaṅkitam.
Gaṇayet sāvadhidinam tiṣṭhet saṅkalpa-sangamaiḥ.
Evaṁvidhair vinodaiś ca ramaṇena Vinā’balā.
Vinayec ca vyathām tivrām Saṅgamāśāvalambanāt.”⁵

In the verse ‘Utsange Vā malinavasane’, Kālidāsa refers to playing on Viṇā and singing a song which contains the name of Yakṣa. By doing this, Yakṣī wants to get some relief in her state. As soon as the Yakṣī wants to play on viṇā, tears come out of her eyes. The strings of Viṇā get wet and become incapable of being played on. Here, the poet has used the term ‘Tantri’ which reflects Yakṣī’s capability of playing of Viṇa. Here, we get two types of readings. The first is ‘Tantri-mādrām’ which proves that the Viṇā being played by Yakṣī had only one string. It is difficult to play on Ektantri as there is only one string on it and on the same string, the player has to bring out all the svaras. The other reading is ‘Tantrirārd-rāḥ’ which has been accepted by Pārvābhuyuda, Bharatamallika, Sanātanagosvāmi Rāmanātha, Haragovinda, Kṛṣṇapati, Wilson, Vallabhadeva and Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara. Vallabhadeva writes in his commentary ‘Pañcikā’—

5. Meghadūtam (with Pañcikā and Subodhā)—2/21 quoted in Subodha commentary, P. 152.

“Aśrubhir netrajalair ārdraḥ knūtās tantrīḥ kleśena sārayitvā yojayitvā svayam
api dattām mūrcchanām sāraṇām vismarantī.”⁶

Proving the propriety of this reading, says Bharatamallika in his commentary ‘Subodhā’—

‘Tantrīriti bahuvacananirdeśena Parivādinīparivādanakauśalasya Sūcitatvād
Vaḍagdhyam dhvanitam’.⁷

If second reading is accepted, the Viṇā being played by Yakṣī was one which contained a number of strings. The commentary of Bharatamallika specifically mentions that Viṇā being played by Yakṣī was Parivādinī. Amarakoṣa says—‘Viṇā tu Vallaki Vipañci Sā tu tantrībhīḥ saptabhiḥ parivādinī’. We get the reference of Parivādinī Viṇā for the first time in Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamīśa.⁸

Kālidāsa has used the term ‘Parivādinī’ for the Viṇā of Sage Nārada—

‘Athā rodhasi dakṣiṇodadheḥ Šritagokarṇaniketam-īśvaram.
Upavīṇayitum yayau raver udayāvṛttipathena nāradah.
Kusumair grathitām apārthivaiḥ Srajan ātodyaśironiveśitām.
Aharat kila tasya vegavān adhvāsaspṛhaye’va mārutaḥ.
Bhramaraiḥ kusumānusāribhiḥ parikīrnā parivādinī muneḥ.
Dadṛṣe pavanāvalepajam sṛjati vāśpam ivānjanāvilam.’⁹

‘At this time, the sage Nārada was going by the path of the Sun’s return from the north to sing in harmony with his lute unto Īśvara, who had taken his abode in the temple of Gokarṇa on the shores of the southern ocean. It is said that a violent gust of wind took away a garland hung on the top of the Viṇā and was strung together with celestial flowers as if with the desire of fragrance. The Viṇā of the sage, which was surrounded by black bees moving after the flowers, was seen, as it were, to shed tears caused by the insult given by the wind and soiled with collyrium. (The same garland fell on the breasts of Indumatī, the beloved of king Aja and caused her death).

Kālidāsa uses the term ‘Parivādinī’ for the Viṇā of Sage Nārada whereas according to our Śāstras, ‘Mahatī’ is the Viṇā of Nārada. Hemādri, the famous commentator of Raghuvamīśa quotes—

‘Viśvāvasos tu bṛhatī tumbaros tu Kalāvatī.
Mahatī nāradasya syāt sarasvatyās tu kacchapi.’¹⁰

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6. Meghadūta (with Pañcika and Subodhā)—2/20, p. 145.
 7. , , , —2/20, p. 146.
 8. Bhāratīya Saṅgīta Vādyā, p. 46.
 9. Raghuvamīśa—8/33-35.
 10. Ibid. —8/35, p. 755.

The famous poet Māgħa also refers to Mahatī as the Viṇā of Nārada in his Śiśupālavadha—

'Raṇadbhirāghaṭṭanayā nabhasvataḥ
Pṛthagvibhinnaśrutimaṇḍalaiḥ svaraiḥ.
Sphuṭibhavadgrāmaviśeṣamūrcchanā-
mavekṣamāṇam mahatīm muhurmuhuḥ.'¹¹

We can come to the conclusion that the Viṇā known as 'Parivādini in the time of Kālidāsa came to be known as 'Mahati' afterwards.

Yakṣī, the heroine of Meghadūta is an expert Viṇā-player who spends the days of her sorrow with the help of playing on Viṇā. She wants to sing a song also which contains the name of her beloved husband. At this moment, she remembers him and the tears suddenly come out of her eyes which wet the strings of Viṇā making it unfit for playing. The expert Yakṣī puts to tune the strings of the Viṇā. She, with utmost capability, tunes the strings of the Viṇā and makes it fit for playing. Kālidāsa was aware of the fact that wet strings get unfit for playing. This proves his sound knowledge of Music.

Kālidāsa compares the corpse of Queen Indumatī with a 'Vigatatantrī Viṇā', the strings of which are to be tuned as they are not in order. As a player puts the Viṇā in his lap to tune it in the same way, King Aja is having his beloved in his lap—

'Pratiyojayitavyavallaki-
Samavasthām atha Sattvaviplavāt.
Sa nināya nitāntavatsalah
Parighyo'citamaṅkamanganām.'¹²

'The King who was exceedingly devoted to his wife, having held her up, who through loss of consciousness was in a state similar to that of a Viṇā, the strings of which are to be put to tune, took her on his lap which was already familiar to her.'

Here the poet has used the word 'Vallakī' for 'Viṇā'. Kālidāsa is at home in the procedure of tuning the instruments that is why he uses such similes. When Pārvatī used to speak in her soft and sweet voice, cuckoo's voice appeared as harsh as the notes of a 'Vigatatantrī Viṇā' to the ears of listeners :

'Svareṇa tasyām amṛtaśrute'va
Prajalpitāyām abhi jātavāci.
Apy anyapuṣṭā Pratikūlaśabdā
Śrotur vitantriniva tādyamānā.'¹³

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11. Śiśupālavadha—1/70
 12. Raghuvamśa—8/41
 13. Kumārasambhava—1/45

'While Pārvati, who had a musical sound, spoke in a voice that distilled nectar as it were, even the female cuckoo—was to the ears of the listeners full of jarring notes, like a harp, out of tune, when played upon.'

Agnivarṇa, the last king of Raghu dynasty is an expert musician who always keeps Viṇā in his lap—

‘Añkamañkaparivartano’cite
tasya ninyatur aśūnyatām ubhe.
Vallakī ca hṛdayaṅgamasvanā
Valguvāg api ca vāmalocanā.’¹⁴

The young damsels of King Agnivarṇa's harem were experts in playing on Viṇā. Practising themselves in fine arts the young damsels who were pained both by the flute because their lower lips were bitten in the amorous play by him with his teeth and by the Viṇā lute because their laps were marked by the impressions of his nails, charmed him with their crooked glances—

Veṇunā daśanapiḍitādharā
Viṇayā nakhapadāñkitoravahī.
Śilpakārya Ubhayena vejītā-
stam vijimhanayanā vyalobhayānā.’¹⁵

Singing songs with the accompaniment of Viṇā arouses feeling of sexual love. This idea is expressed thus by our poet at a number of places—

‘Suvāsitam harmyatalam manoharam
Priyāmukhochchavāsavikampitam madhu.
Sutantrigītam madanasya dīpanam
Śucau niśīthe ‘nubhavanti kāminah.’¹⁶

× × ×

‘Savallakikākaligītanisvanai—
rvibodhyate Supta ivādya manmathah.’¹⁷

Kālidāsa has used two terms—‘Viṇā’ and ‘Praviṇā’ for Viṇā—players—

‘Siddhadvandvair jalakaṇabhayād viṇibhis tyaktamārgāḥ’.¹⁸

× × × ×

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- 14. Raghuvāṁśa—19/13
 - 15. Ibid. —19/35
 - 16. Ṛtusamhāra —1/3
 - 17. Ṛtusamhāra—1/8
 - 18. Meghadūta —1/49

'Viśvāvasuprāgraharaiḥ pravīṇaiḥ
Saṅgiyamānatripurāvadānah.'¹⁹

Singers and players have very high regard for their musical instruments, that is why they take care to keep them in the best places free from damp etc. The couple of siddhas bearing lutes in their hands leave the path of the cloud from fear of the drops of water.²⁰ Yakṣi also wipes the string of her Vīṇā which is wet with her tears.²¹

The following are the Vīṇā-players mentioned by Kālidāsa—

1. Yaksī
2. Sage Nārada
3. Viśvāvasu
4. Siddha-dvandva
5. King Agnivarna and his young damsels.

Thus we find that Kālidāsa was well-versed in different types of musical instruments prevalent in his time. He had not only the theoretical knowledge of these instruments, but also expertise in their practical performance, otherwise, he could not have successfully described minute intricacies of the various instruments and their playing in his works particularly in poetry. It also appears that Kālidāsa had also knowledge of other types of music i.e. vocal music (*Gāyana*) and dancing (*Nṛtya*). He had mastery over the knowledge of *trividha sangīta* and its various aspects such as occasion of playing particular musical instruments, their co-ordination with singing and dancing etc. To understand the real meaning of various words used by Kālidāsa in his poetry in the context of music, it is desirable to have an interpretation based on *sangīta-śāstra*, otherwise it is difficult to appreciate the poetry of Kālidāsa in its real perspective.

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19. Kumārasambhava—7/48
 20. Meghadūta—1/49
 21. Meghadūta—2/25

VENA : A MYSTICAL HYMN OF THE ATHARVA VEDA

BETTINA BÄUMER

(Atharva Veda II, 1¹)

1. Vena has seen the Supreme, hidden in the cave,
wherein all things assume one single form.
All that was born the spotted cow yielded.
The hosts that have found the light shout forth their joy.
2. Now may the knower of Immortality, the Gandharva,
reveal that supreme abode, hidden in the cave !
Three-quarters (of the Real) are stowed away in secret.
The one who knows them shall be the Father's Father.
3. He, our Father, our Begetter, is also the Connection.
He knows all ordinances and every being.
It is he alone who assigns to the Gods their names.
To him all beings go in search of instruction.
4. In a flash I have encompassed Earth and Heaven and approached
the first-born son of sacred Order. As the Word
abides in the speaker, so he abides in all beings.
The supporter of all things—in truth, is he not Agni ?
5. I have encompassed all beings, may I behold
the far-extended thread of sacred Order,
there where the Gods, having attained deathlessness,
proceed together towards their common origin !

Without mentioning once the word Brahman, this hymn is one of the most complete expressions of that Atharvanic *Brahmavidyā* which is a clear forerunner of the Upanisadic wisdom. In this hymn, every word has a mystery, or in accordance with the word Brahman itself every word is a mystery. As the very first line suggests, a supreme vision is at the origin of this hymn, and although the

1. I thank Mrs. Mary Rogers for putting my translation into Poetic English.

poet uses symbols and words which have come down to him by tradition, the freshness and originality of his experience is not diminished. The ecstasy of the seer is of extreme lucidity, and it is in this transparency that the essence of things is revealed to him. He does not give any name to this ultimate mystery—for only the gods who are of an inferior order have names, he being their name-giver (v. 3)—he only points at it. He says *tat*, ‘that’—a pronoun which is traditionally used for the ultimate, the supreme (*paramam*, without any completing noun!), Brahman. He also points towards it by calling him ‘Father’, and more personally ‘our Father’. ‘Father’ is no name, no designation of ‘that’, it is only a pointer towards the source and origin (*yoni* of v. 5) of all, and at the same time a term of relation. He is the only one (*eka eva*) who is the connection (*bandhu*, v. 3), the bond underlying that thread which is stretched out in the universe as the thread of holy order (*rta*, v. 5), of which the sacrifice is the external manifestation (*agni* in v. 4).

As the title itself suggests, he also points to ‘that’ by speaking of a supreme ‘abode’, *dhāman*—which is by no means limited to a spatial conception. The seer in his vision passes through various ‘states’ through the different degrees of his own consciousness and of the universe. It is only in the highest (*paramam*) of all these levels of experience that he can perceive things in their unity (*eka—rūpa*, v.1). This realm is secret, not accessible to all, because it is hidden in the ‘cave’ (*guhā*, v. 1,2). in the most intimate recesses of the beings, known only to ‘Vena’ or to the Gandharva. Again ‘Vena’ and ‘Gandharva’ are not to be understood as names either of a seer or of a semi-divine being. They are names standing for certain degrees of wisdom, for certain experiences—and yet the names are not irrelevant. In this hymn Vena and Gandharva are almost synonymous. The subject of the vision is Vena which does not mean that a *r̥si* of this name has had a vision, but rather that whosoever, poet, sage, saint, mystic perceives reality in this supreme state, he is Vena. And Vena is not an intellectual, not a thinker, but, according to traditional etymology, the loving one (in later Indian terms, the *bhakta*)—for only Love reveals what is revealed in this hymn. Here too, the Gandharva comes very close to Vena, being intimately connected with love. The other aspect of the Gandharva is his relation with sound, and with music (later he becomes, in the plural, the heavenly musicians). No revelation is possible without sound, without the word, without music. Therefore, the Gandharva who incorporates all these aspects of the ‘Word’ (*vāc*) is requested to proclaim that (*pra tad vocet*, v. 2), i.e. to give sound, words, music to the unspeakable, to the speechless vision of Vena. Verse 1 already contains an allusion to ‘sound’ but in another context, the first two *pādas* refer to the ultimate mystery, the second two to the mystery of the universe (*idam*). The first half alludes to the Father (made explicit in v.3), the second half to the mother, symbolised by the mythical cow, *pr̥snī*, which in later terms could be called *prakṛti*. Vena is the acosmic sage, and the cow is the cosmic

mother, she only can give ‘milk’, i.e. the nourishing essence of things, to the beings. And in between these two extremes again the ‘sound’, the voice of the praising hosts of heaven is mediating. There is no other link between the unitive vision and the cosmic fertility but ‘sound’, the upward going songs of praise, and the downward going words of revelation, proclaimed by the ‘Gandharva’. Again no sound, no voice, no word, can originate without a previous intuition, knowledge, experience. The ‘hosts’ of v. 1 have ‘known’ (or ‘found’, the same root *vid-*) the light (*svar*, also heaven as the abode of light), and the Gandharva is the one who knows the immortal (*amṛtasya vidvān*, v. 2).

The theme of ‘knowledge’ is as central in this hymn as it will be in the Upanishads. ‘Knowledge’ here implies Love (cf. etymology of Vena), it implies a search, a quest, an interrogation of reality (*samprāśna*, v. 3), it implies vision (vs. 1 and 5), and it implies universality embracing heaven and earth and all beings (vs. 4, 5). There is no real wisdom without these four factors.

And again, although the poet is carried away in the exaltation of the one who knows the mysterious, hidden part of reality, (the three steps or quarters : *triṇī padāni nihitā guhāsyā...v.2*), placing him above the Father, he immediately recognises that ultimately there is only one subject of this highest knowledge i.e. the Father himself. He alone knows things as they *are*, he alone is capable of naming even the gods, to him alone the beings go with their queries and search (v. 3). This explains also the ambivalence of the subject of the visions and experiences described in this hymn. The ‘I’ here is one only—the seer is identified with the Father (cf. v. 2d), for only the source can attain, visualise, experience, the Source. No ‘external observer’ can penetrate this supreme mystery, can see the common origin of the gods (v. 5). Only when the ‘observer’, the seer himself becomes the Father, can he see with the ultimate vision of the Father (vs. 2.5). Then the knowledge is no more an ‘ascending’, an inquiring knowledge, (v. 3d) but a ‘descending’ knowledge. He approaches the ‘first-born of Order’ (*prathamajām ṛtasya*, v. 4), i.e. the first manifestation of *ṛta*, which is revealed in the two great mediators : *vāc*, the word, sound, speech, and *agni*, the Fire, the transformer of oblations. Both are in the Vedas frequently called the first-born of *ṛta*. Again it is essentially with the Word and with Fire, *vāc* and *agni*, that the thread of the sacrifice is stretched out, in order to reconduct *through* the sacrifice the whole of reality back to its source (*yoni*), to immortality (*amṛta*, v.5). The cycle is complete.

GACCHA TVAM BHĀRATE VARŠE : AN OFT-QUOTED ŚLOKA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

T. GOUDRIAAN

It would hardly be original to assert that the study of Tantrism is one of the most intriguing tasks of Indology as well as the history of religions. There has been a time when Tantrism was considered unworthy of the attention of serious investigators. But the situation has changed remarkably since then, and the Tantric tradition has become better known through the concentrated efforts of some devoted scholars among whom Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj holds a place of honour.

Nevertheless, this field of study is still beset with some misunderstandings, several unfounded assertions being repeated and seriously discussed with vague argumentation. Such situations are often a consequence of insufficient knowledge of the early Tantric texts themselves.

As an instance I shall briefly deal with a detail which has to do with the unsolved question of the origin of Indian Tantrism.

In the Preface to the first volume of the famous Catalogue of the Nepalese Durbar Library, Pandit Hara Prasād Śāstri briefly discussed the literature of the Kubjikāmata.¹ His survey seems to be the first introduction in a non-Indian language to the Kubjikā school and its literature. After an enumeration of some manuscripts of the school, the learned Pandit remarked that the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta had recently been enriched by "two copies of the Kubjikāmata, one in Gupta and the other in Newari character". He estimated the former to have been written in the sixth century, "but it may be a century later". In the next paragraph some preliminary conclusions were drawn from

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1. Hara Prasād Śāstri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts (Extra Number) : A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*. Vol. I, Calcutta 1905, p. LXXVIIIf.—I could not consult H. P. Śāstri's remarks in his earlier Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900), and in IHQ, IX, p. 358.

these findings, and a few quotations are given which he held to prove the secondary and non-Vedic character of the school. One of these quotations runs as follows ("Gupta" manuscript, fol. XI B) :

Gaccha tvam bhārate varṣe 'dhikārāya sarvataḥ /
piṭhopapīṭhakṣetreṣu kuru sṛṣṭir anekadhā //

Gaccha tvam bhārate varṣe kuru sṛṣṭis tvam īdrśaḥ /
pañca vedāḥ pañcaiva yogināḥ piṭhapañcakam //

Ekaikasya parivārān kathayāmi samāsataḥ /
 × × ×
etāni bhārate varṣe yāvat piṭhāny asthāpyate /
tāvat na me tvayā sārdham saṅgamañ ca prajāyate //

This instruction in a Sanskrit which defies grammatical rules is said to have been given by Śiva to Devī. The conclusion drawn by H.P. Śāstri is that the tradition of the Kubjikāmata must have come from outside India. The Pandit made no further attempt at this place (but he might have done so at other places) at corroborating this standpoint. Perhaps he was of opinion that Śiva's instruction to Devī to create a series of Piṭhas etc. in Bhāratavarṣa was the mythological counterpart of a historical introduction of the cult into the Indian subcontinent from elsewhere with or without divine intervention. The usual characterization of the school as "Paścimāmnāya" might easily lead to the further assumption that the supposed non-Indian place of origin should lie in a Western direction. Such a theory on closer inspection turns out to be untenable, as will be pointed out below.

Also some other contentions made by Pandit Hara Prasād on these pages of his Catalogue are contradicted by the facts or apt to create misunderstandings. Thus, it should be made clear that the two Calcutta MSS. referred to above contain two different versions of the Kubjikāmata. The Newari MS. (dated Nepali Samvat 827 = 1706-07 A. D.) contains the version of 3500 ślokas called Kulālikāmnāya. The existence of this version is only casually referred to by the author of the Nepalese Catalogue although it is by far the most frequently attested one in the MSS.² The "Gupta MS." contains another version of 6000 ślokas called Śatśāhasra.³ The ascription of this incomplete and undated MS. to the Gupta period is unfortunately not correct. The MS. is not written in Gupta characters, but in a specimen of Śāradā script, as has been shown on good grounds by Dr. K. R. Van

2. The version of 3500 ślokas is in course of being edited by J. Schoterman and the present author from the Institute voor Oosterse Talen at Utrecht.
3. The first five chapters of this version have been edited by J. Schoterman, *The Śatśāhasra Saṃhitā (Chapters 1-5)*, Leiden 1982 (Thesis Utrecht).

Kooy of Utrecht.⁴ The legend of the "Gupta" MS. of the Kubjikāmata has, however, continued to turn up in scholarly literature. Mistakes made by influential scholars are indeed liable to be repeated by later generations content to rest in the unstable shade of authority. This is not in the least meant to detract from the merits of Pandit Hara Prasād who has done so much important work in the field of Sanskrit philology. All scholarly work runs the risk of being corrected by the outcome of later research (which would not have been possible without its preliminary findings); but hypothetical statements should not be presented by later authors as established facts.

A selection from later discussions of the subject may serve to illustrate this point.

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (Hara Prasād's son) held that "the introduction of Śakti worship in religion is so un-Indian that we are constrained to admit it as an external or foreign influence. Some of the Tantras also support this view."⁵ In a note he refers i.a. to the passage from the Nepal Catalogue discussed above : "That the Tantra came from outside India is suggested by the verse *gaccha tvam bhārata varṣe adhikārāya sarvataḥ | pīthopapīthakṣetreṣu kuru sṛṣṭim anekadhā*." This is the first śloka of the passage quoted above; one might note that the quotation differs on two points from that given by H. P. Śāstri (adhikārāya and sṛṣṭim); these seem to have been silently emended.

In his oft-quoted book on the Tantras, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi devotes some pages to the question of the "Foreign Element in the Tantra".⁶ Bagchi made a collection of indications which according to him "point out that mystic practices of foreign origin crept into the heterodox class of Indian Tantras at a very early date". He also referred to the same stanza : *gaccha tvam . . anekadhā*, which he translated as follows (he does not quote the text) : "Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred place of primary and secondary importance". For Bagchi, the stanza was "very significant", while it "points out that the Kubjikā School. . , is probably of foreign origin". Chintaharan Chakravarti⁷, in one of the more reliable books on Tantrism,

4. K. R. van Kooy, *Die sogenannte Guptahandschrift des Kubjikāmata-tantra*. In : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement III, 2 (Vortrage, XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975), Wiesbaden 1977, p. 881-890. The article is regrettably written in German.
5. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford 1932, p. 43.
6. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I, Calcutta 1939, p. 45f.
7. Chintaharan Chakravarti, *The Tantras*, Calcutta 1963, 1972, p. 47.

again quoted the first pāda : *gaccha tvam bhārata varṣe*; he was ready to accept H. P. Śāstri's opinion without comment. The reference forms part of a passage where arguments for a non-Indian origin of Tantrism are enumerated.

P. V. Kane, however, was much more cautious in his discussion of the subject.⁸ He rightly denied—while paying due respect to Pandit Hara Prasād—that the śloka from the Kubjikāmata (which he quoted in the same wording as B. Bhattacharyya) could serve as proof that the tradition of Tantra came from outside India because “the passage does not affirm that tantra principles were then unknown in India.” On the contrary, Kane argued, the fact that Piṭhas and Kṣetras are mentioned is an indication of the existence of Tantrism in India before the śloka from the Kubjikāmata had been uttered. For Kane, the śloka only records the origin of an existing situation in prophetic—actualizing language, “just as the Purāṇas speak in a prophetic vein about what is past.”⁹ Improving upon P. Ch. Bagchi, Kane gave another translation of the śloka :

“Go thou to the country of Bhārata for exercising dominance on all sides and bring about new creation in various ways in piṭhas, upapīṭhas and kṣetras.”

Kane was, however, not in a position to cast doubt upon the “Gupta” character of the Calcutta MS. of the Kubjikāmata (cf. his note 1665 : “...written in late Gupta characters, i.e. about 7th century A. D.”). Already earlier, J. N. Farquhar had echoed H. P. Śāstri's contention,¹⁰ adding the conclusion that “a formed Śākta theology and ritual were already in existence about A. D. 600.” This may be correct, but, as we saw, the Kubjikāmata cannot be adduced as a proof for it.

In the recent period, the argument for an extra-Indian origin of Tantrism on the ground of the śloka *Gaccha tvam ...* is summarily rejected by V. V. Dviveda.¹¹ A sound position is also taken by S. C. Banerji who refers to the different opinions

8. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, V, 2, Poona 1962, p. 1033f., note 1665.
9. An important difference—overlooked by Kane—is that in the Purāṇic *vāmyānucarita* section the future is used for the description of historical dynasties (e. g. of Magadha), while the Tantra applies both imperative and future in a revelation of the mythical origin of divine presence in the world. Cf. Romila Thapar. *Ancient Indian Social History*, New Delhi 1978, p. 331f.
10. J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920, repr. Delhi 1967, p. 199.
11. Vraja Vallabha Dviveda, *Āgama-mīmāṃsā* (in Sanskrit). New Delhi 1982 (Lāl Bahādur Śāstrī Kendriya Saṃskṛta Vidyāpiṭha, 40-tamaṇ puṣpam) p. 4.

on the matter,¹² implicitly taking sides with those who contradict H. P. Śāstri's hypothesis. In general, Banerji is sceptical towards agrumentations for extra-Indian provenance of Śāktism or Tantrism. But the old hypothesis is continued and even amplified by S. Chattopadhyaya,¹³ who accepts that the term Paścimāmnāya (which functions in a mythical cosmography) may indicate a historical provenance from the West; he supposes the Pamir region (which he identifies with Mount Meru) to be the place of origin of the Kubjikāmata. For him, the "Gupta" MS., along with other similar MSS. in "traditional" (read : "transitional" ?) Gupta scripts "show that Tantrism came to the forefront in the Gupta age....". It is better to draw such conclusions, if possible, only from inscriptional or archaeological evidence or allusions by contemporary authors (as is also done by Chattopadhyaya in the next paragraph, where, however, again unfounded assumptions are made about a still earlier origin of Tantrism).

In one of the most recent books on Tantrism,¹⁴ N. N. Bhattacharyya again collects the evidence for non-Indian provenance of Tantric tradition. He refers to H. P. Śāstri's view that Tantrism was of non-Indian origin; Śāstri did not say so in the quoted passage from the Nepalese Catalogue (where he only surmised such an origin for the Kubjikāmata), but in a later publication.¹⁵ The contention found there that Tantrism would have been brought from Western Asia by the Magi priests is likewise unfounded and must be based upon a misunderstanding of an allusion in the Kubjikāmata. Bhattacharyya wisely considers Śāstri's theory to be hypothetical, but he is still ready to give much weight to other similar arguments for the non-Indian origin of Tantrism.

A last instance. In his well-known book on Tantrism, A. Bharati seems to express contradictory views on the subject.¹⁶ He rightly states that the origin of several rites (especially those which were considered amoral or antisocial) is too readily sought outside India, but then (p. 66) without further comment refers to the "Kubjikā Tantra"¹⁷ (which he without argumentation places in between the 12th

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12. S. C. Banerji, *Tantra in Bengal*, Calcutta 1978. p. 35.
 13. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Reflections on the Tantras*, Delhi a. o. 1978, p. 51.
 14. N. N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, New Delhi 1982, p. 89.
 15. H. P. Shastri *Introduction to N. N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism*, Calcutta 1911, p. 10f.
 16. Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London 1965 (1st ed.), p. 65f.
 17. I. e., the Kubjikāmata (tantra). The Kubjikā Tantra is a different, more recent, text from Bengal and should not be confounded with the former.

and 14th centuries), repeating Bagchi's translation. He notes that Śiva gives the order to "go to India" to Devī from his residence which must be Mt. Kailāsa in Tibet, but this would imply a Tibetan origin for practically the whole of Hindu Tantric literature !

It is now time to study the śloka "*Gaccha tvam...*" in its proper context. This means that we first have to consider the evidence of the *Kulālikāmnāya* version of 3500 ślokas of the Kubjikāmata which seems to be the original and most authoritative text of the Kubjikā school. In this version, the context is as follows. The first two chapters describe how Śiva (Bhairava) temporarily transmits the "grace of authority" (*ājñānugraha*) to Devī so that she will be able to act as his deputy in establishing the Siddha lineage on earth : 1, 45f. *siddhakramam̄ nirācāram̄ tathāpi kathayāmi te....atra kalpe mayā tubhyam̄* (viz. *dattam*), *tvam̄ punar mama dāsyasi*. Only after Devī has finished her task of creating the tradition of spiritual power in Bhāratavarṣa will she again be united with Śiva : 1, 50 *yāvan na bhārata varṣe, adhikāram̄ prakurvasi / tāvan na te mayā sārdham̄ samgamo 'tra bhaviṣyati* (the citations quoted from this version are taken from the preliminary critical text). Devī, however, for reasons which are not wholly clear from the text, is reluctant to comply with Bhairava's designs, and this leads to a lively marital dispute described in very singular style in 2, 9f. Bhairava's view prevails, and Devī declares herself prepared to fulfil her mission. This whole scene seems to find place on the Candra-parvata which lies in the centre of the Candradvipa, as appears from the last stanzas (66f.) of Chapter 1 and from 2, 22. This Candradvipa can hardly refer to the region within the estuary of the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta in Eastern Bengal which was previously known under that name (because of the reference to a "mountain"). It might refer to some region of the Himālayas or, more probably, to a mystical continent outside Bhāratavarṣa where the divine pair is thought to reside. Besides, we have also to reckon with a microcosmic interpretation of such terms, as is made clear by the Śaṭsāhasra on several places, e. g. in 1, 29 (Schoterman's ed., p. 50) : the Candraśilā lies at the level of the Brahmarandhra where the Santānabhuvana taught by the school is located.

In our passage, the context is clearly mythical, extra-temporal (cf. the term *pūrvasantāna* in 2, 119); this means that an order "go to Bhāratavarṣa" cannot be interpreted in geographical or historical terms. Devī is to create the religious history of the subcontinent; she does not arrive from another country, but she appears from mythical time, condensing herself as it were to mundane proportions. It would be wholly out of place to consider this context as an allusion to a historical event clothed in mythological garb. The second chapter of the *Kulālikāmnāya* further describes how Devī roams over the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, establishing the *ājñā* on several places (destined to become Piṭhas of Kṣetras), among which figure the Śri-parvata, Odḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrnagiri and Kāmarūpa. On these occasions she

installs manifestations of herself as tutelary deities of these places, and utters prophecies about their future greatness. In the microcosmic sphere, this must be interpreted as a suffusion of the yogic body (a mystical Bhāratavarṣa) with the essence of the Śakti—such at least seems to be the probable hypothesis.

At the end of the chapter, the text summarizes the circumstances of Devī's mission in unclear language. We quote vs. 119 :

Pūrvasantānadevena, yad uktam bhārataṁ vraja /
tadāvasāne kubjeśi, ubhābhyaṁ melakam tv iha //

"What has been said by the God of (in ?) the former tradition : 'Go to Bhārata'—at the end of that (mission), O Kubjeśi, the union of both (Śiva and Śakti, was destined to find place) here". The word "here" seems to refer to the mystical Candradvipa, but another interpretation is possible. The following stanzas (120-122), equally unclear, differentiate the roles of God and Goddess in the process; moreover, they seem to imply a (periodical ?) repetition of the establishment of the ājñā on the sacred places of Bhārata :

Tat kṛtam sakalam devyā, ājñānandāvabodhakam /
āgatā tu punas tatra, pūrvarūpānuyāyinī //
Devo 'pi pūrvasantāne, śiṣyāḥ suravarārcite /
śrīmadodramahesānam, kṛtvā cājñām punar dadet //
Vraja tvam bhārate varṣe, itaḥ prabhṛty anugrahaḥ /
uddapiṭhe punah sthātum, kuru sṛṣṭim anekadhā //

The exact interpretation is problematical, although the general purport is clear as delineated above. Uḍḍa or Odra is mentioned here as the first of the series of the "classical" four Piṭhas. That Bhairava is accorded the status of a religious pupil (*śiṣya*) agrees with an earlier formulation by Bhairava himself (2,18cd) : *tvam gurur mama deveśi, aham te na vicāroṇāt*, expressive of the mutual transference of spiritual authority. It should be further noted that for "to go", the Sanskrit of this version uses *vraja*, not *gaccha* (*vraja* being required in the metre in 2,119b quoted above); the use of *gaccha* is characteristic for the Śaṭsāhasra

The Śaṭsāhasra in general gives the impression of being an amplification and clarification of the doctrines of the Kulālikāmnāya. It is more explicit in several respects, gives paraphrases (besides extensive repetitions), explains symbolisms, etc. At the beginning of Chapter 4, with reference to the present subject, it expressly mentions the "pervasion of the Piṭhas in the body" (*pīṭhavyāptiḥ, śarīragā*, 1b).

In the next stanzas of Ch. 4 (2-11; ed. Schoterman, p. 126), the Śaṭsāhasra paraphrases the description of Devī's mission to Bhāratavarṣa from the second chapter of the Kulālikāmnāya. We quote a few stanzas (text as established by Schoterman) :

(2) pūrvam̄ devyāś ca saṃvāde ca parasparam /
saṃvāde niścaye jāte sambandhe guruśiyayoḥ //

“Formerly, during the mutual dispute between God and Goddess, when a decision was reached on their mutual relation as teacher and pupil,”

(3) tasmin kāle idam̄ vākyam ato vadati niścayam /
gaccha tvam̄ bhāratae varṣe adhikārāya sarvataḥ //

(4) piṭhopapīṭhakṣetreṣu kuru sr̄ṣṭim anekadhā /
pratiṣṭhayed yadā kāle putrāḥ putryāś ca pālakāḥ //

“At that time, He spoke this decisive word : ‘Go thou into Bhāratavarṣa for (establishing) spiritual dominance everywhere, and perform creation in various ways on the Piṭhas, Upapiṭhas and Kṣetras. When in course of time sons, daughters and protectors will be established (?). . .’ (the numbers of these epigones are given in 5 and 6ab).

(6cd) gaccha tvam̄ bhāratae varṣe kuru sr̄ṣṭim tvam̄ idṛśam //
“Go thou to Bhāratavarṣa and perform the following creation :”

(follows a continued description of Devī’s retinue in the various Piṭhas, including a number of Devas and Yognis). The passage is rounded off with vss. 10c-11b :

Etāni bhāratae varṣe yāvat piṭhāny asthāpyate //
tāvan na me tvayā sārdham̄ saṃgamaṇ ca prajāyate /

“Before these sacred places have been established (?) in Bhāratavarṣa, the union between You and Me will not be realized”. Except for the enumeration of the retinue, which is not found in the Kulālikāmnāya, the Śaṭsāhasra does not add new points of view about the subject. As has been said already, it seems to paraphrase and amplify the version of 3500 ślokas. It is interesting to note that the text quoted by Śāstri, the literal text of the Śāradā (pseudo-Gupta) MS. from Calcutta, is corrected in a few details by Schoterman on the evidence of two younger MSS. in the same way as was done by B. Bhattacharyya. This points to an attempt at “polishing” activity in the younger period of transmission of the text, a phenomenon which can also be observed in the tradition of the Kulālikāmāya. The relative frequency of strange, ungrammatical forms in the older MSS. seems to indicate that their scribes were closer to the Siddha tradition, while some of their successors were influenced by the ordinary Brahmanical tradition of Sanskrit training. This point should be a subject of further investigation. A final conclusion from the above should be that the texts of the Kubjikā school offer no evidence, in the passages quoted above nor elsewhere, of extra-Indian origin. The same can be held for Indian Tantrism in general which may have undergone some marginal extraneous influence here and there, but which as a whole should without any doubt be considered as a genuine aspect of the Indian religious tradition.

AN OLD TEXT OF THE RĀMA DEVOTION : THE AGASTYASAMHITĀ

HANS BAKKER

In the course of my inquiry into the history of the main centre of Rāma *bhakti*, Ayodhyā, I came repeatedly across references to a text that evidently had to be considered as one of the basic scriptures of the Rāmaite faith, entitled the *Agastyasaṁhitā* (AgS.). A glance in the helpful bibliography of the *Pāñcarātrā-gama* compiled by Daniel Smith showed that there were at least two texts of this genre bearing that name : a supposedly ‘authentic’ Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā containing the dialogue between Agastya and Brahmā and a so-called ‘apocryphal’ work telling the dialogue of Agastya and Sutīkṣṇa. To complicate matters the New Catalogus Catalogorum specifies no less than ten entries under the title “*Agastya-saṁhitā*”. From a further investigation, including the consultation of the three articles that have already been written on this subject by Raghavan, Daniel Smith, and Bhattacharya, it appeared that for our purpose actually one text was relevant, namely the *Agastya-Sutīkṣṇa-saṁvāda* of which a printed edition by Rāmnārāyaṇḍās published in Lucknow in 1898 as well as an English abstract based on a south Indian MS in Telugu characters by Daniel Smith were at our disposal. The edited text and the synopsis run parallel for the most part except for the last *adhyāyas* where substantial differences occur. The printed text counts 33 *adhyāyas* whereas *adhyāya* 32 is considerably inflated with various, partly prose, materials.

Although it was clear from the outset that the Lucknow edition was unreliable, not to mention the enormous amount of text-corruptions and printing mistakes, practical reasons led us to adopt this text as the basis for our investigation into the development of Rāma *bhakti*. The first result of this investigation have been published in my book on Ayodhyā, and in the present context I should like therefore to confine myself to a short survey of some of the main points followed by a report on subsequent research.

With regard to the literary genre to which this text belongs the following should be observed. If we accept the Saṁhitās of the Pāñcarātra as being prin-

pally characterised by the emphasis they lay on the doctrine of Viṣṇu's quadruple manifestation in *vyūhas* and the emanation therefrom of many subordinate *vibhavas*, our text does not belong to the corpus of the Pāñcarātra. Rather it aligns itself with the broad tradition of the Bhāgavatas, initiated by the *Bhagavad-gīta*, which stresses the paramountcy of one or several of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* and of which the cosmology is consequently less intricate. On the other hand the AgS. shares with the majority of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās a Vedantic, that is not Sāṃkhyistic worldview of the *bhedabheda* type. Of the ten principal subjects that were distinguished by Schrader as typifying the Saṃhitās, our text comprises at least six, viz. *mantraśāstra*, *yantraśāstra*, *yoga*, *pratiṣṭhavidhi*, daily ritual (*āhnikā*), *varṇāśramadharma*, and *utsava*, which is more than many 'authentic' Pāñcarātra texts.

Like their Śaiva counterparts, the Saṃhitās are supposed to comprise four sections, namely a Jñānapāda, a Caryāpāda, a Kriyāpāda and a Yogapāda. Testing our text on this criterion we found that the first 23 chapters could actually neatly be arranged under these four headings : *adhyāyas* 1 to 4 expounding general Vaiṣṇava tenets (Jñānapāda) of which the paramountcy of Viṣṇu's *avatāra* as Rāma is most conspicuous, *adhyāyas* 5 to 8 treating various ways in which different social groups can worship him (Caryāpāda), *adhyāyas* 9 to 18 specifying various religious rituals (Kriyāpāda), and *adhyāyas* 19 to 23 describing yogic practices to attain *mukti* (Yogapāda). Taking the end of chapter 23 as a dividing-line, we observe that, apart from supplements to topics treated earlier, two of the principal subjects are added newly, namely *utsava* (three chapters devoted to Rāmanavamī), and *pratiṣṭhavidhi*.

From the point of view of the history of religion the text's greatest innovation seems to be contained in the first two sections, the Jñāna and Caryāpāda. After the acknowledgement of doctrinal tenets of a general orthodox Vaiṣṇava character, the text claims the supremacy of Rāma over all other forms of Viṣṇu, actually equating Rāma with Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and, from a philosophical standpoint, with *parabrahman*, which ends in a replacement of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa by Rāma in the rest of the text. This again entails a reformulation of all kind of rituals in the Kriyāpāda section such as worship of a *yantra*, consecration and worship of idols, fire sacrifices (*homa*), and ceremonies of initiation, all structurally well-known from the Pāñcarātra literature—though they seem to have been simplified, but now filled in with a Rāmaite pantheon.

However, there is more. Besides the path of yoga and meditation and the path of ritual worship, the AgS. acknowledges in its Caryāpāda three other ways to reach the final goal.

The worship of Rāma by means of tulasī leaves is open to everyone, regardless of his social status. The AgS. devotes a whole chapter to the *māhātmya* of

tulasī leaves. The devotee should worship the leaves and adorn himself with a tulasī garland. The *iapa* of Rāmaite mantras is said to yield *mukti* very quickly, or, if one is not yet free of all sensuous desires, one may temporarily obtain *bhukti* in this world. This in particular applies to the *kirtana* of the six syllable mantra : *rām rāmāya namah*, for “in the Kali-age the whole mass of sins is destroyed by *samkīrtana* alone.” This brings us to the third device for reaching god, viz. the singing of his Name. Singing the praise of Rāma (*kirtana*), remembrance of him (*smarana*), and listening to the story of his deeds (*śravana*), are all more or less concomitant with the practice of repeating his Name. It is explained in the Saṃhitā that the sages in older times brought about the *avatāra* of Rāma on earth by uttering his Name. Due to his Name those become Rāma who say “I am Rāma”, *rāmo’ ham*, and “even sinners who say ‘Rāma, Rāma, Rāma’, truly even them he pulls out of the pool of their millions of sins”, and the text adds to this : “therefore all those who constantly say ‘Rāma, Rāma, Rāma’, will reach *bhukti* and *mukti*. ”

This doctrine of the Name connects the Saṃhitā with another early Rāmaite text, the *Rāmarakṣāstotra*, of which the nucleus must predate the AgS. since the latter explicitly refers to it when it remarks : “those who have to do without gurus or the ritual process of initiation, should worship the leaf of tulasī while reciting the *Rāmarakṣā*.” The *Rāmarakṣā* itself declares : “The world is protected by the Name of Rāma which is the unique victorious mantra. Accomplishment in all pursuits is easily attainable for him whose voice pronounces (it).”.....“May my mind always abide in Rāma; O Rāma, save me ! Saying ‘Rāma, Rāma, Rāma’ I abide in heart-thrilling Rāma. O beautiful-faced Lady (i.e. Pārvatī), the Name of Rāma is equivalent to the *Thousand Names*. ”

Now the leading question is, of course, in which period these texts should be dated. There is a widely accepted opinion among scholars, which in particular has been advocated by Professor Vaudeville, according to which “....there is evidence of the name Rāma being used in Yogic sects to designate the supreme Being or the ultimate Reality—even though the Yogīs considered themselves as Śaiva.” And in a later discussion on the origin of the Rāma creed Professor Vaudeville added : “In South India the worship of Rāma and Sītā is always associated with Śaivism. In northern India there are only a few such cases, as with the Rāmanandī ascetics. In yogic terminology the word Rāma does not refer to Rāmacandra.” So far we can more or less accept the argument, but is the conclusion drawn from it also correct ? “It appears to me (i.e. Vaudeville) that Vaishnavism in the Rāmanandī tradition is only a later interpretation. The *Rāma* *mantra* is a very old tradition; only at a later moment, when its origin was no longer understood, was the Vaisnavite interpretation brought in, possibly because of the immense influence of Tulasi Dās’ *Rāmacaritamānasā* in Northern India. Was not Rāma also worshipper of Śiva ?”.

It is true that the Rāma mantra seems to have been in use in Śaiva circles, and the AgS. appears to refer to that when it tells the myth of Śiva's fruitless austeries in Vārāṇasī until he was initiated in Rāma's six syllable mantra. Śiva then practised the *japa* of this mantra which led to Rāma bestowing on him the capacity to grant *mokṣa* to his followers and to all visitors of Benares which was since known as Muktiṣetra. This myth has been borrowed from the Saṃhitā by the *Rāmottaratāpaniyopaniṣad*.

However, the *Rāmarakṣaśṭotra* and the *Agastyasamhitā* are Vaiṣṇava texts dating from before Tulsī Dās and it might be evident from this example that it would be of great significance for the history of north Indian religion in general to know when this Rāmaite form of Hinduism began to emerge and within which tradition.

Earlier we have dated the integral (uncritical) text in the twelfth century on account of two considerations mainly : 1. There is archaeological and epigraphical evidence for an independent cult of Rāma beginning to develop in the twelfth century. 2. One *adhyāya* dealing with Rāmanavamī is quoted in its entirety in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* which thus provides a *terminus ad quem* of A. D. 1260, whereas this Rāmanavamī vow is still unknown, it would seem, to the learned minister Lakṣmidhara of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra one century earlier. The reference in the Saṃhitā to the *Rāmarakṣaśṭotra* and its quotation in the *Rāmottaratāpaniyopaniṣad* are of no use for establishing a date since these texts themselves are of unknown antiquity, although the *Rāmarakṣa* would endorse an early date since it is handed down among the Sanskrit text on Bali.

The chronological argument combines with a topographical one. The only place mentioned in the Saṃhitā is Vārāṇasī of which a sort of *māhātmya* is told in connection with the myth of Śiva's initiation. In that context the Lolārkatīrtha is mentioned as the place of action. We know that in the 12th century Vārāṇasī became virtually the political and religious capital of north India during the reign of the Gāhaḍavāla kings, several of whom bestowed large grants on the Lolārka-tīrtha and its inhabitants. The Lolārka therefore seems to have been an important religious centre in the century preceding the establishment of Muslim power. Could it have been the cradle of this new Rāmaite form of Vaiṣṇavism ?

So far all our reasoning presumed a text that could be considered as an integral whole. This, however, is certainly a false assumption. The only way to expose the different chronological layers is to collate the MS evidence, hence the critical edition of the *Agastyasamhitā* has been made the subject of a current research project of our Institute.

From the New Catalogus Catalogorum 15 complete MSS are known to be extant in present-day library collections. Of these we have collected six so far, to which one MS from the Nepalese Microfilm Collection in Berlin should be added. In addition to these complete MSS there are quite a few incomplete ones of which we possess two. Yet many of these ‘incomplete’ MSS have an additional title such as *Rāmamānasapūjā* (14 MSS), *Rāmanavamikathā* (4 MSS), and *Rāmakavacavajrapañjara* (2 MSS), and it would seem likely that these might have been originally independent treatises which came to be ascribed to the AgS. and were eventually included. This supposition becomes almost a certainty when we collate these tracts with the complete codices. It turns out that the *Rāmamānasapūjā* agrees with the 33rd *adhyāya* of the printed Lucknow edition and is not found in our MSS. The same applies to the *Rāmakavacavajrapañjara* which agrees actually with the inflated portion of the 32nd *adhyāya* of this edition that is equally unknown to the MSS. The case of the *Rāmanavamikathā* is more complicated. As far as we have been able to check the *Rāmanavamikathā* treatise consists of three chapters and as such makes up *adhyāyas* 26, 27 and 28 in half of our MSS. These are the MSS that contain 32 *adhyāyas*. Two MSS, however, have only 23 chapters and hence do not contain a *Rāmanavamikathā*. As we have noted earlier, there seems to be a break between the first 23 chapters and the following ones. The MS evidence thus reinforces our surmise that the original Samhitā consisted only of 23 *adhyāyas*. Not only do the two oldest extant MSS represent this shorter version one dating from AD 1594, copied in Gauḍa (Bengal) and like the other one written in a type of Nāgarī that has been designated as ‘Jain-Nāgarī’, i. a. characterised by its *prsthāmatrā akṣaras*—but also the text at the end of this chapter seems to indicate that it was originally meant to conclude the Samhitā; so we read :

“This is the Truth, this is the Truth, may one not disregard the Truth. Rāma is the Truth, the absolute, there is nothing beyond Rāma. O knower of the secrets of all learned books, thus have I told you magnanimously this fulfillment of all wishes named *Agastyasamhitā* which, with regard to the contemplation of the inner soul, destroys nescience by the flame of its light, which always yields enjoyment and final release, and which is beneficial to a long life without disease; may it purify, internally as well as externally, when heard, seen, or copied. The man who looks merely once so far only as its beginning or its middle or its end, even if his soul is sinful, he shall accommodate himself to becoming *brahmā* when he passes away... In whose house this book is copied or treated with due reverence, he shall prosper in a long life without disease, his power shall increase day by day, and his family shall flourish in sons, grandsons, great-grandsons etc.”

Thus the content as well as the MS evidence leads to the concept of two archetypes, an older one being a text of 23 chapters and a later reworked and enlarged

version of 32 chapters including the three dealing with Rāmanavamī. One MS actually seems to represent a transitional phase containing the first 23 *adhyāyas* plus the three chapters dealing with the birthday celebrations omitting the intermediate *adhyāyas* 24 and 25 as well as the last four chapters.

To the '32-chapters-archetype' additions have been made again. One of these ornated recensions is represented by the printed Lucknow edition, another by the south Indian MS that was recapitulated by Daniel Smith, and a study of the MS descriptions in library catalogues seems to suggest that this extended version is peculiar to a south Indian tradition. A collation of the MSS also showed that the reference to the *Rāmarakṣāstotra*, the Lolārkatīrtha in Benares, as well as these remarkable doctrinal innovations such as the *samkīrtana* of the Name Rāma belong to the oldest stratum of the text. However, it can also be proven that the *Rāmottarāpanīyopaniṣad*, which borrows from the 7th *adhyāya* and, of course, Hemādri's *Vratkhaṇḍa* which quotes the 26th chapter (*iti agastyasamhitāyām rāmanavamīvratam*) both derive from the later archetype of 32 *adhyāyas*. That the three *Rāmanavamikathā* chapters belong together seems to be secured, despite the fact that Hemādri only cites the first of them, by the *Kālanirṇaya* (c. AD 1350) which quotes from the third. Consequently the dating of the *Saṃhitā* in the 12th century, which was chiefly based on Hemādri's testimony and Lakṣmīdhara's silence, only applies to the later version of 32 chapters. The original treatise of 23 *adhyāyas* along with the nucleus of the *Rāmarakṣā* may date back to a still earlier period, although the lack of any circumstantial archaeological and epigraphical testimony would make a date before AD 1000 rather unlikely.

The conformity of our text with the Pāñcarātra literature may indicate that it originated in northern Pāñcarātra or rather Bhāgavata circles that were tending towards a more personal devotion to a humanized god. A comparison of the Rāmanavamī ritual and the description of the celebration of Kṛṣṇa's Janmaśṭamī strongly suggests that the former was modelled on the Kṛṣṇa festival. It may have been composed and added to the *Agastyasamhitā* when the celebration of Rama's birthday was already widely accepted, and evidently this was the case at (the end of) the twelfth century.

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THE BLACK SPOT IN THE MOON, SALT, SEED AND THE DEVAYAJANA

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In the current *adhiyajana-adhidaiva* equations the fire or the fire-altar is connected with the sun. There is, however, also a relation between the place of sacrifice (*devayajana*) and the moon, especially the black spot in the moon, according to some texts. This relation is different from the fire-sun equation. The two items 'black spot in the moon' and 'place of sacrifice' belong to a pattern of exchange between heaven and earth. In some texts this has lead to the strange situation that the black spot in the moon and the Devayajana are not only equated, but also become entirely fused in the moon. In the process of exchange the earth has transferred its place of sacrifice to the moon. I shall try to show how equation or identification and exchange have become mixed up.

First we should examine the equation. In this connection some verses from the Mantrabrahmana (1, 5, 10-13) are illustrative. They are quoted i.e. in the Gobhila Grhya Sutra (2, 8, 4 and 7) as well as in the Kausitaki Upanisad (2, 8 and 10). The application and the exact text and meaning of the verses are not quite certain. So much is clear that the moon is worshipped in connection with the prospects of progeny. The verses are recited on different occasions : before cohabitation, a short time after the marriage ceremony; after conception, in order to prevent miscarriage and to obtain a son; after birth, in order to secure continuation of life. As circumstances may require, the man touches the heart (or belly) of his wife or the earth. A regular worship of the new moon may be the follow-up. The worship of the new born moon for the benefit of the new born son is based on a purely magical equation. The vocative *susime* in this case refers to the new moon Amavasya.¹ In another version and application *susime* seems to refer to the wife whose hair has been parted in the *simantonnayana* ceremony. This is not the place to discuss all the variants. For the present purpose the following mantra, to be recited after the birth of a son on the third day of the light half of the moon, is interesting :

1. Cf. Atharvavedasamhitā 7.79 and 7, 81, where likewise wishes concerning progeny are expressed.

*yad adas candramasi kṛṣṇam pr̥thivyā hr̥dayam śritam |
tad aham vidvāṁś tat paśyan mā'ham pautram agham rudam ||*

The mantra more or less has the function of a *satyakriya*². The truth declared by the father refers to the equation of the heart of the earth and the black spot in the moon. The heart³ of the earth seems to be the Devayajana or the Vedi (especially the Uttaravedi) which are elsewhere called the navel⁴ and the head or top⁵ of the earth. This statement of truth guarantees the continuity of the life of the child which is endangered at the beginning of a new month, since according to some theories the waxing moon is considered to grow by the smoke of cremated people.⁶ Since the Vedi represents the earth, the black spot in the moon likewise is the earth. The moon represents the primeval waters and the black spot the earth emerging from these waters in the form of the cosmic hill or the axis mundi.

On account of a doubtful mantra it is difficult to draw far-reaching conclusions. However, the Mantrabrahmaṇa offers one more verse in which something (unspecified) of the earth is regarded to be situated somewhere in the moon :

*yat pr̥thivyā anāmṛtam divi candramasi śritam |
vedāmṛtasyāham nāma māham pautram agham riṣam ||*

The position of this verse (Mantrabrahmaṇa 1, 5, 11) in Vedic literature is confirmed by a text outside the *grhya* sphere, namely Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1, 2, 5,

2. I. e. "a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished" (Burlingame's definition, JARS 1917, p. 429 ff.).
3. The heart also figures in one of the other mantras : *yat te susime hr̥dayam hitam antah prajāpatau....*(Mantra Br. 1, 5, 10; GobhGS. 2, 8, 4; KauṣU. 2, 10; cf. KauṣU. 2, 8).
4. H. Krick, *Das Ritual der Feuergründung*, Vienna 1982, p. 48; 109; 306, n. 788.
5. KS. 24, 4; MS. 3, 7, 3; TS. 6, 1, 8, 2; 6, 2, 9, 3, The equation of Vedi and the total earth is very current. The Uttaravedi is the earth emerging from the primeval waters. See Krick, o. c., p. 116-117.
6. This theory is not only found in the well-known *pañcāgnividya* (in connection with the *pitṛyāna*), but also (in connection with the discussed mantras) in KauṣU. 2, 8 : "Cause not thyself to swell forth with our vital breath, progeny, cattle ! He who hates us and him whom we hate—cause thyself to swell forth with his vital breath, progeny, cattle !" (transl. Hume). Cf. also AV. 7, 81, 5 : "He who hateth us, whom we hate—with his breath do thou fill thyself up" (transl. Whitney); TĀ. 1, 14, 1-2 *asau ya āpūryati sa sarvesām bhūtānām prāṇair āpūryati*.

18 sa yad asyai pṛthivyā ānāmṛtam̄ devayājanam̄ āśit tac candramasi nyādadhata
 tad etac candramasi kṛṣṇam “They accordingly removed to the moon what imperishable place of worship there was on this earth. That now is the black (spot) in the moon : hence they say. ‘In the moon is the place of worship for this earth’. The context does not refer to an exchange between heaven and earth. The gods placed their possessions in safety in the moon before their battle with the Asuras. This is the black spot in the moon. The text concludes : “Therefore they say that the *devayajana* of the earth lies in the moon”. It is obvious that the compound *devayajana* is analysed here as the *yajana* (place of sacrifice) of the gods rather than as the place where one offers to the gods. Though the human beings do not play a role here, it is clear that the *devayajana* is transferred from earth to heaven. The equation of the Devayajana and the black spot in the moon has been replaced by a transference of the Devayajana to the moon, but there is no exchange between heaven and earth.”⁷

The motif of the exchange between heaven and earth is already found in the oldest Vedic literature⁸. Rain comes from heaven and the earth evaporates water. This interdependence may adopt ritualistic aspects. The gods give rain, the human beings burn their offerings and thereby produce evaporation. Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa 1, 291 formulates this interdependence as follows : *itahpradānād dhy asau loko jīvati. yā hita āhutayo gacchanti, tā asau loka upajīvati (. . .) amutahpradānād dhy ayam loko jīvati. yā hy amuto vr̄ṣṭih pradīyate, tām ayan loka upajīvati.* Since rain was regarded as a result of this sacrificial evaporation, a cyclical movement was imaginable. See KS, 25, 5 *yā vā ita āhutir udayate, sāmuto vr̄ṣṭim cyāvayati;* ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 22 *ito vā ayam ūrdhvam̄ retah siñcati dhūmam̄. sāmūtra vr̄ṣṭir bhavati. tām aśāv amuto vr̄ṣṭim* (sc. *siñcati*). In these quoted passages the cycle is not complete. In the non-ritualistic exchange there was indeed a complete cycle. Heaven

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7. According to Krick, o. c., p. 126 the transference of the Devayajana to the moon by the gods forms a secondary adaptation of the myth of the exchange or marriage between heaven and earth which will be treated below : “Die Beziehung zwischen Vedi und Mondfleck, die von ŚB mit einer sekundär (...) erfundenen Geschichte gedeutet wird, beruht nach dem Hochzeitsmythos darauf, dass es eben der Opferplatz (*devayajanam*) war, den die Erde als Gegengabe für das Salz in den Himmel versetzt”. One might as well assume that the equation of Devayajana and the black spot in the moon was secondarily adapted in the myth of the exchange between heaven and earth.
 8. See Lüders, *Varuṇa I*, Göttingen 1951, p. 308 ff.; K. Klaus, *Die altindische Kosmologie nach den Brāhmaṇas dargestellt*, Bonn 1986, p. 102 ff. Originally the evaporation from the earth was ascribed to the activity of the sun. So there was not a real exchange between heaven and earth, since the earth itself was not involved.

sends rain; the earthly water is evaporated by the sun; the vapour is converted into rain and the cycle starts anew. In the quoted passages the heavenly conversion of the smoke of the fire is explained. The earthly conversion of the rain into an oblation still has to be established.

Rain produces fertility and subsistence. Cows eat grass and then produce milk. This milk is offered. See ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 10-11 "That which affords (the means of) subsistence is of two kinds; namely, either rooted or rootless. On both of these which belong to the gods, men subsist. Now cattle are rootless and plants are rooted. From the rootless cattle eating the root plants and drinking water, that juice is produced. Now when he offers in the evening after sunset, he does so thinking. 'I will offer to the gods of this life-giving juice : we subsist on this which belongs to them'" (transl. Eggeling).⁹ Here the conversion of rain into the libation is explicitly described, but there is no reference to the conversion of the libation into rain and the cyclical aspect is not emphasized. This is done by ŚB. 9, 3, 3, 15 17, where the conclusion runs ; "thus circulates this perpetual, never ending food of the gods."

The conversion of rain into food not only produce milk but also seed and consequently new living beings. It is especially this chain of mutations which was further developed into a theory of cyclical transformations : the water doctrine or the theory of the five fires (*pañcāgnividya*).¹⁰ Before this doctrine was presented in the Br̥had Āraṇyaka and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad in connection with the transmigration theory single elements were already put forward in older texts. AB. 6, 36 observes that from food seed is produced. It was a current conception that food is based on rain. See, e. g. ŚB. 3, 7, 4, 4 "For when it rains, then plants are produced here on earth; and by eating plants and drinking water that sap originates and from sap seed, and from seed beasts" (transl. Eggeling). According to some texts rain comes from the moon and consequently the moon is associated with (the production of) seed.¹¹ ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 4 declares : *eṣa* (sc. *candramāḥ*) *vāi retaḥ*.

This very moon is not only the source of seed in older Vedic texts, it is also the place where dead people or rather their *prāṇas* (cf. the *dhūma* of the sacrifice) end. See n. 6. Obviously the cremation transfers these *prāṇas* to the moon. This produces the cycle of transmigration, as found in the *pañcāgnividya*.

It is clear that in this cycle or rather ellipse the two turning-points are the moon and the Devayajana (where one offers milk or cremates the corpse of the deceased).

9. See Bodewitz, *JB. I*, 1-65, Leiden 1973, p. 252, n. 7.

10. Bodewitz, o. c., p. 243-253 (with further references); Klaus, o. c., p. 107-112.

11. Gonda, *Change and Continuity*, The Hague 1965, p. 43 and 48; Bodewitz, *ZDMG Suppl. I*, 1969, p. 843 ff.; Krick, o. c., p. 125.

The exchange between heaven and earth is also expressed without clear cyclical implications in the myth of the marriage between heaven and earth,¹² where the streams running between heaven and earth are not primarily described as each other's result. There is a pure exchange. The reason for this different outlook lies in the context of the myth. It is connected with the transposition of metres or rather of Sāmans.¹³ The ritual *vyūha* has a mythical counterpart in the cosmic *vivāha*. Since, however, both parties, Heaven and Earth, Bṛhat and Rathantara, give *śulkas* to each other, there is no reference to the marriage of father heaven and mother earth. Women are exchanged¹⁴ and the *śulkas* paid for them illustrate the interdependence of heaven and earth or their exchange of goods.

Heaven gives salt ground, earth smoke, heaven rain and earth the Devayajana, according to the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa rain and smoke, resp. cattle and the Devayajana are exchanged and the text concludes that the dark spot in the moon is this Devayajana.¹⁵ The basic pattern is clear and we may compare AB. 4, 27, 6 *dhūmenaiveyam amūm jinyati, vr̥ṣṭyāśāv imām*. Salt ground and cattle are the result of rain. We may compare the starting-points of the water doctrine discussed above. In the present context cattle, or rather its seed, forms the end of the chain of transformations. The intermediate station between seed in cattle and rain is not just food. It is salt which is indispensable for cattle and stimulates its procreation.¹⁶ In this case there is no cycle as in the *pañcāgnividya* or a theory about the circulation of food. There is no reference to the animal sacrifice. Reciprocity, parallelism and exchange are emphasized.

The black spot in the moon does not increase through the libations or the *prāṇas* of the cremated deceased; nor does it decrease through the rain sent to earth. It is the moon itself which waxes and wanes, not the dark spot in the moon. This dark spot sends the rain, not itself. The Devayajana forms an excellent counterpart. It cannot be sent to the moon as the product of the smoke. It transfers the oblation and therefore it is illogical to transfer it to the moon, as the Brāhmaṇas do.

A similar motif is found in connection with the preparation of the fire altar, where the salt ground (*ūṣāḥ*) belongs to the *sambhārāḥ* of the altar.¹⁷ When heaven

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- 12. Bodewitz, "The 'marriage' of heaven and earth (JB. 1, 145-146; PB. 7, 10, 1-9; AB. 4, 27, 5-10)", *WZKS* 26 (1982), p. 23-36.
 - 13. See Bodewitz, o. c., p. 24 on the exchange of the finales of the two Samans Naudhasa and Śyaita which themselves are exchanged by Bṛhat (heaven) and Rathantara (earth). The transposition of the metres only plays a role in the version of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which is less original than that of the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇa.
 - 14. Bodewitz, o. c., p. 36.
 - 15. AB. 4, 27, 7.
 - 16. H. Falk, *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*, Freiburg 1986, p. 81-84.
 - 17. Krick, o. c., p. 123 ff.

and earth became separated they exchanged something by way of sacrifice (*yajñiya*). In the Yajurveda Samhitas the items exchanged are called *yajñiya*, which Keith¹⁸ translates by "what is worthy of sacrifice" and Krick¹⁹ by "opferwürdige Teil." H. Falk²⁰ interprets *yajñiya* as "Opferplatz", which is definitely wrong. We will deal with (and criticize) Falk's arguments below.

Heaven gave salt ground to the earth, the earth gave the black spot in the moon to heaven. Therefore the priest who scatters down the salt ground (one of the *sambhāras*) should think of the black spot in the moon. He should even think : "The black spot in the moon should be here."²¹

Now the question arises how it is possible that in the myth of the exchange between heaven and earthly Devayajana can be imagined to have become situated in the moon. My supposition²² that instead of *devayajana* we should read *devayājña* has to be given up, since *devayajana* occurs in too many passages. Falk²³ even wants to adapt his interpretation of *yajñiya* to the occurrence of *devayajana* in passages dealing with the exchange between heaven and earth : "Die Übersetzung von *yajñiyamit* 'Opferplatz' wird einmal durch die Ortlichkeit des 'Schwarzen im Mond' naoeleget, anderseits gebraucht das AB (4, 27, 7) in seiner Version der Trennung anstelle von *yajñiya* das eindeutige *devayajanam*. Ein Fleck mit Salzerde galt somit als Opferort, weil er Himmel und Erde heilig war."

Some mistakes should be corrected here. The term *yajñiya* refers to what is given by heaven as well as earth and consequently is not identical with the earthly Devayajana. Moreover salt ground is not completely identical with the Devayajana. It is not a spot; it is one of the *sambhāras* used for the preparation of the fire altar. The Yajurveda Samhitās do not refer to the Devayajana. They only mention the black spot in the moon and salt ground. It is true that in the Maitrāyanīya version the item exchanged is called *priyam dhāma*, but this expression does not denote a spot, as some scholars assume. See e.g. Krick, o. c., p. 129 in her translation of MS, 3, 2, 3 : "Diese beiden (Welten) waren einst beisammen. Als sie sich trennten, sprachen sie : 'Eine liebe Stätte (*priyam dhāma*) soll uns gemeinsam sein (=jeder soll sein liebstes Gut dem anderen übergeben)'). Die Wasser sind der opferwürdige, reine (Besitz) der Erde, sie wurden jene (Wasser des Himmels; im Mond ?). Die Salzerde ist der opferwürdige, reine (Besitz) des Himmels, sie wurde

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- 18. *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittirīya Sanhitā*, Part 2, Cambridge (Mass.) 1914, p. 406 (TS. 5, 2, 3, 3).
 - 19. O. c., p. 124.
 - 20. O. c., p. 80.
 - 21. See e. g. ĀpŚS. 5, 9, 7,
 - 22. "The 'marriage'....", p. 27, n. 14.
 - 23. O. c., p. 80.

diese (Salzerde auf Erden). Indem Wasser und Salzerde (hier bei der Schichtung verwendet) sind, gewinnt er sich das Opferwürdige, das Reine von beiden (Welten)". It is true that Krick corrects her translation "liebe Stätte" by "liebstes Gut", but see p. 130: "Salzerde ist die liebe Stätte des Viehs (wo es sich gerne aufhält) (...) Zur G-Schichtung nennt KS (XX 1 : 18, 13) die Salzerde 'die liebe Stätte des Himmels' : Damit wird der Weltenvertrag angedeutet oder der Salzboden allgemein als Ort für den *hieros gamos* (als *Vedi/devayajana*) bestimmt". For a correct interpretation of *priyam dhāma*²⁴ in the quoted passage see Klaus, o. c., p. 34: "Es soll uns ein lieber Besitz gemeinsam sein" (note: "Das heisst: Anlässlich unserer Trennung wollen wir jeder etwas, was wir gern haben, dem anderen geben").

It should also be observed that *yajñiya* is used here as an adjective together with *medhya*. It refers to what is offered rather than to the place of offering. Moreover this *yajñiya* offering of the earth is not (as in the parallel Saṃhitās) the black spot in the moon, but water. The earth evaporates water, which in the moon becomes condensed as rain. Heaven (the moon) pours out rain which on earth becomes salt through evaporation.

The transference of the Devayajana is not found in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās. It first turns up in the Aitareya and the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa. Its application is secondary. One may assume that the equation of the black spot in the moon and the Devayajana or *Vedi* (=the earth), which is the basis of the *satyakriyā* mentioned at the beginning of this paper, was an old conception. The identification became mixed up with the motif of the exchange between heaven and earth. Thus a rather nonsensical transference from earth to moon was produced. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa perhaps tried to make a more lucid explanation of Mantrabrahmaṇa 1, 5, 11 *yat prthivyā anāmṛtam divi candramasi śritam* and to react on the two passages in AB. and JB. (1, 2, 5, 18 "hence they say; 'In the moon is the place of worship for this earth' ") by introducing the motif of the gods who placed something (i.e. the Devayajana) in safety before their war with the Asuras.

The Devayajana and the black spot in the moon are equated. Salt ground has been explained to be a product of the moon. The equation of salt ground and the black spot in the moon, however, is hardly acceptable. There is another equation which may explain the connection between moon and salt from another point of view. Salt and moon (rather than the black spot in the moon) can be equated on account of their similarity. Both are white. See also Falk, o. c., p. 84, n. 262: *indor lāvanyahāriṇī* (Kathasaritsāgara 80, 9) ist eine Frau, die den strahlenden Salz-Glanz des Mondes übertrifft!".

24. See also Gonda, *The Meaning of the Sanskrit Term dhaman*, Amsterdam 1967, and Bodewitz, *JB. I, 1-65*, p. 46-47, n. 6.

ŚIVA MYTHS—ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA AND TRIPURĀNTAKA

S. S. JANAKI

Introduction

Śiva is one of the gods of popular Hinduism. Evidence of early forms of Śaivaite religion is available to us in the Paśupati-Yogīśvara of the Indus people and the red god Sivan of the proto-dravidians. The worship of Śiva, both in his aniconic and anthropomorphic forms has been prevalent since early times. The permanent image (Dhruva-bera) in all Śiva temples is the Liṅga made of stones surmounted upon a Piṭha or Piṇḍikā (pedestal). Besides the Liṅga there are mobile metal image. All these with specific shapes and different iconographical details, represent some aspect of the Lord. The proper understanding of the Symbolism provides the basis for the uninitiated devotee for further concentration and meditation, while the initiated is enabled to understand the image in its full significance, in its spiritual *tattva*. The life-strength of symbolism and symbolic figures is inexhaustible, especially when carried forward by a highly conservative traditional culture and civilization as that of India.

A large number of Śiva-myths which contain these symbolistic ideas in a covert manner or in nutshell are available from the Rg Vedic period down to the present times. Through varied symbols the myths bring out the many facets of the complex personality of Śiva, the earliest god in the Trinity. There are of course variations in the myths' narration as they move through different types of literature and media like Veda, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Āgama, Kāvya, Epigraph, dance-drama, visual arts and oral communication, intended for varied types of audience. The conceptualisation is sometimes overlapping, at other times conflicting, or not clear enough. Also there are the different strands or levels of interpretation. The literal meaning and a historical study of the myths are interesting but do not very much help us in the proper understanding of the *tattva* in-laid in the myths.

In this connection it is felt that a correlation of the myths with the ideas about Śiva as embedded in the Śaiva Āgamas may be useful. For, the large corpus of the Śaiva Āgamas like the Kāmika and Kāraṇa, and the simplified Upāgamas and Paddhatis (recasts), provide a fund of information about Śiva, His concept and

the mode of worshipping him. Thanks to the Institute of Indology, Pondicherry we have now the Critical editions of the more important texts under this category. The two well known forms of Śiva,—the Lord as the destroyer of the Three Towns (Tripurāntaka) and the composite form along with His Complementary Śakti as Ardhanārīśvara are studied in this paper in the light of the Siddhānta Āgamic material primarily.

Ardhanārīśvara-Myth

The Ardhanārīśvara is the well known composite image with Śiva's form on the right side, and Śakti's on the left. The context for the emanation of such a form is mentioned in the Purāṇas, with slight variations. According to the account in the Śiva Purāṇa, Brahmā first creates the male Prajāpatis, who could not further continue the creation activity. At this desparate moment Śiva appears before Brahmā in the form of Ardhanārīśvara. Thereupon Brahmā requests the Śakti-part of Ardhanārīśvara to give him a female to proceed with the act of creation. In other accounts, sage Bhṛṅgi's fervent devotion to Śiva in preference to Śakti results in the coming to being of Ardhanārīśvara form. According to this account both Śiva and Pārvati at their Kailāsa abode are circumambulated and saluted by all divinities except sage Bhṛṅgi. This sage is pledged to worship only one Being, and that is Śiva himself, whom Bhṛṅgi considers as both mother and father. Pārvati tells Bhṛṅgi that she alone as Mother is responsible for the sage's skin, flesh, blood etc. By his innate powers, Bhṛṅgi gives up those very parts of the body like skin and flesh, and like a skeleton worships only Śiva. The divine couple then appears before the sage in a combined form as Ardhanārīśvara. According to one version Bhṛṅgi still not wanting to offer worship to Śakti, goes round only the Śiva-part by converting himself into a bee (Bhṛṅga), piercing a hole though the composite Ardhanārīśvara. According to another version, Bhṛṅgi glorifies the composite mūrthi.

Interpretation : Two motifs clearly emerge from the Ardhanārīśvara myths, namely, the union of male and female forms, and the process of creation. As is obvious the terminology used is not to be understood in its literal sense and at the human level. But how then is it to be interpreted ?

We may now see this problem in the light of Śaiva Āgamic texts and the Śiva Purāṇa. According to these texts Śiva or ParaŚiva is the Supreme Brahman, the undifferentiated formless entity, *niṣkala*, *sūkṣma* and *tattva*. In this highest stage, the Supreme has no beginning, no limit. It is indestructible etc. and in it all created beings merge their bodies which they had obtained as their fruit of actions (*Karma-phala*). But things cannot be at standstill for long. At the end of *Pralaya* or *Samhāra*, the first flash or throb of this Para Śiva takes place in order to create the Śuddha tattvas, Śuddha bhuvanas, etc. and to remove the *mala* of the Yogis. At this moment is evolved Parā Śakti or Mahāmāyā as a thousandth

part of Para Śiva. In a like manner Ādi Śakti is evolved from Parā Śakti, and similarly Ichchā, Jñāna and Kriyā Śaktis. Each of these Śaktis is responsible for specific accomplishment-Kriyā Śakti produces the faculty in souls enjoying the Karmaphala; Ichchā Śakti enables the proper understanding of māyā and the objects brought into existence by Māyā; Ādi Śakti destroys mala, māyā and karma; Parā Śakti is of the nature of Cit, through which the souls are enabled, to attain the knowledge of the Supreme Śiva, of the nature of Sat, Cit and Ānanda. All these Śaktis are in the Nishkala State of Śiva, are comparable to heat in fire; coolness in water, fragrance in flowers, and light in the lamp, in being invariably associated with Śiva.

A second stage in this evolution is reached in the five Sadāśiva-tattvas, emerging from the five Śaktis Parā, Ādi, Jñāna, Ichchā and Kriyā. We are now in the level of Śiva in combined state of form and formlessness (*Sakala* and *Niṣkala*). Of these five *tattvas* we may note that the Kriyā-Śakti gives rise to Īśāna tattva or Karma-Sādākhya which is the most important of the tattvas and which encompasses the other four.

पराशक्तेदर्शांशेन शिवसादाख्यसंभवः ।
पराशक्त्युद्भवत्वाच्च शुद्धतत्वाच्छिव उच्यते ॥

—Vātūla Āgama

The Karma tattva exists as the liṅga set upon the pīṭha or pīḍikā (pedestal). According to the Śiva Purāṇa, liṅga is Śiva as Cit and the Pīṭha is Śakti.

पीठमम्बामयं सर्वं शिवलिङ्गं च जिनयम् ।

It may be noted here that the formless Śiva condescends to take the Sadāśiva form to facilitate the devotees and Yogins concentrate and meditate upon Him. A more important purpose is causing the cosmic evolution to happen after the cosmic annihilation.

शिवश्च तत्त्वमियुक्तो मूर्तिश्चैव सदाशिवः ।
तयोर्योगेन यद्रूपं तद्रूपं भावमुच्यते ॥
सततं चैव भावत्वात् सादाख्यमिति कथ्यते ।
सर्वेषां ध्यानपूजार्थं निष्कलं सकलं भवेत् ॥

—Anantaśiva's com on Siddhāntasārāvali.

सुष्ठुयर्थं सर्वतत्वानां लोकस्योत्पत्तिकारणात् ।
योगिनामुपकाराय स्वेच्छया गृह्णते तनूम् ॥
तथैव योगिनां चापि ज्ञानिनां मन्त्रिणामपि ।
जपपूजानिमित्ताय निष्कलं सकलं भवेत् ॥

—Vātūla Śuddha

After Śadāśiva-tattva the next stage is the evolution of the Maheśamūrthi from the Sādākhya or Sadāśiva tattva. It is the Maheśa-mūrthi who is the direct agent in the actions of creation (sr̥ṣṭi), preservation (sthiti) and reabsorption (laya). He is of course the mūrti with form and limbs (Sakala), and manifests himself to the devotees, in different forms like Candraśekhara, Ardhanāriśvara, Bhikṣatana and Kāmadahana.

कर्मेशस्य सहस्रांशात् महेश्वरसमुद्भवः ।
महेशं सकलं विद्यात् सृष्टिस्थितिलयात्मकम् ॥

पञ्चविंशतिभेदेन मूर्तीनां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
—Vātūlaśuddha

It is clear, therefore, that according to the Śaiva Āgamic and Purāṇic doctrines, there are three evolutions from the Supreme Śiva level :

1. The Śakti that emerges as the first flash from the Supreme Śiva at the Parama ākāśa level in complete absorption and repose.
2. The Sadāśiva tattva of form and formlessness and
3. the Maheśa mūrthi with fully represented forms.

The Śakti is the primeval creation to come out of the Great Cause, and from Śakti to matter, everything has its origin in the Śiva Tattva. However, Śakti at the supreme phase is not at all distinguishable from Para Śiva. And it is the same Supreme Śakti which goes by different names like Ichchā, Jñāna and Ādi, just as the same heat in fire is called the melter of metals, burner of fuel, and cooker of food.

यथा अग्ने: शक्तिरेकापि लोह-काष्ठ-लवण-ओदनादि-विषयोपाधिभेदेन द्राविका-दाहिका-स्फोटिका-पाचिकाभिधानं उपैति, तथा शिवशक्तिरेकापि शुद्धाशुद्धत्वविषये ज्ञेयकार्य-उपाधि-भेदोपचारात् ज्ञानशक्त्यादि-शक्तिभेदं प्राप्नोति । परमार्थतः वस्तुभेदो नास्तीत्यर्थः । उक्तं च—एकेवानेकतां याति शिवशक्तिरूपाधितः ।

—Anantaśiva's com. on Siddhāntasārāvali, V. 4.

करणं च न शक्त्यन्यत् शक्तिर्नाचितना चितः ।
विषयानियमादेकं बोधे कृत्ये च तत्तथा ॥ इति ॥

—Mṛgendra, Vidyā pp. 123-4.

As rightly mentioned by Zimmer (p. 188, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilisation), “Brahman, the pregnant neuter is a plenitude—not male or female but male and female and Śiva is its personification”. This Śiva-state is pure experience for the highest Yогin and beyond the faculties of mind and feelings.

The moment one realises this he is freed from the shackles of life. The next evolution of Sadāśiva form or Tattva will be within the reach of Yogins and highly devoted persons. The ardhanārīśvara mūrthi in full physical form can be seen, enjoyed, praised and experienced by ordinary devotee. From the Nishkala Para Śiva state to the Sakala Ardhanārīśvara state it is the same symbolism of Life—both universal life and individual, as an incessant interaction of co-operating opposite and in the process of evolution. There are many ways of representing the differentiation of the Absolute into antagonistic yet co-operating pairs of opposites. Zimmer (*Ibid.* p. 137) has pointed out that the oldest and most usual of these is that based on the duality of the sexes and that this sort of representation is to be found in other cultures as well Father Heaven and Mother Earth, Uranos and Gaia, Zeus and Hera, the Chinese Yang and Yim, and Yab-Yum formula in Tibet.

Śiva as Tripurāntaka : This is one of the oldest myths about Śiva, as the destroyer of three towns, in which lived the most powerful demons Vidyunmāli, Tārakākṣa, and Kamalākṣa, sons of Tārakāsura. They secure a boon from Brahmā that they should occupy the three castles—the golden in heaven, silver in air and iron on earth—wherefrom they should move as they desired and that after a thousand years the three castles should unite into one and should be only destroyed only with a single arrow. Indra and other gods are no match for the terrible demons. It is only Śiva who accomplishes this feat of demolishing the castles with a single arrow. In this dreadful task all the divine beings give to Śiva half of their own strength and also help him in the actual fight in diverse ways. Even the epithet Mahādeva or Maheśvara is supposed to have been given to Śiva only on account of his accomplishing this impossible task.

Interpretation : Originally the Tripura-myth had a cosmo-symbolical dimension. Rudra regained for the gods a universe from which they had been ousted. His mythical arrow was equivalent in efficacy with the *upasad* rites performed by the gods with Agni as their agent—

त्रिपुरसंहारकत्वं तैत्तिरीयश्रुतौ उपसद्—अर्थवादे स्पष्टं प्रतिपादितम् ।

—Nilakanṭha Dikshita, *Sivatattva-rahasya*, p. 80

Rudra-Śiva in the Vedic period is frequently described as a Bowman and hunts man in early Vedic literature, especially in the Yajurvedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. His bow Pināka and unique arrows are also frequently referred to. The name Pināka itself is considered significant, only because in the context of burning the Tripura cities, Śiva covered the entire heaven with his blazing fiery arrows—

त्रिपुरदहनसमये शरानलज्वालया विहितवान् नाकं पिनाक इति ।

—Nilakanṭha Dikshita, *Ibid* p. 44.

In the Śivasahasranāma as found in Upamanyu-upākhyāna (Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana, 17th Chap) the commentator Nilakaṇṭha describes the Pināka bow, in one context as like the mountain and in another, as a great bird with heads, big body, and sharp poisoned claws.

Or perhaps no burning by Śiva is really meant here. The Tripura even may be allegorical ‘Pura’² could mean a body of the individual, and hence its three constituent types—Sthūla, Sūkṣma, and Kāraṇa. Śiva is of course the destroyer of this triple body, as the dawn of Śivajñāna removes the shackles of samsāra and grants Mokṣa (Śivatattva-rahasya, p. 80).

Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣhita (Śivatattva-rahasya, pp. 44-5) also mentions that the burning of the Tripura was caused by Śiva by his mere glance. Quoting the Liṅga Purāṇa, Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣhita states that the gods like Soma, Vishnu, Kālāgni and Vāyu, who were established in the arrow of Śiva, request Śiva to use the arrow only as conferring His grace on these divinities. Śiva too agrees to this request and burns the Tripura by the arrow.

यथोक्तं लिङ्गपुराणे—

सोमश्च भगवन्विष्णुः कालार्णिवर्युरेव च ।
 शरे व्यवस्थिताः सर्वे देवमूचुः प्रणम्य तम् ॥
 दध्मप्यथ देवेश वीक्षणेन पुरत्रयम् ।
 अस्मद्द्वितार्थं देवेश शरीरं मोक्षुमिहार्हसि ॥
 अथ संसृज्य धनुषा ज्यां हसंस्त्रिपुरार्द्धनः ।
 मुमोच बाणं विप्रेन्द्रा विकृष्ट्याकर्णमीश्वरः ॥
 तत्खणात्तपुनर्दग्धं त्रिपुरं तच्छर्चिषा । इति

These are the interpretation in the Purāṇas and Itihāsas about the burning of Tripura. As regards the arrows or *astras* it could be mentioned that the arrows are able to accomplish the required task only if they are used with specific mantra-recitation. In Śiva’s case, as his body itself is constituted of mantras (*Mantra-mūrti*), the arrows seek his *anugraha*. It may be noted that in the worship of Śiva also, both daily (*nitya*) and on specific occasions (*naimittika*) like *Dīkṣhā* and *Utsava*, *Astra* and *Astra Mūrti* with specific mantras play an important role.

The action of ‘burning’ is also significant in as much as the early Rudra(s) are conceived as Agni, who has abode in sky as Sun, in the atmosphere as lightning and on earth as fire. In fact this is the reason as to why Rudra is called Tryambaka

1. Taittiriya Saṃhitā, I. 2.11 (A.S.S. Vol. I. 330.1)
2. त्रीणि पुराणि शरीराणि । “पुरसंज्ञे शरीरेऽस्मिन् शयनात्पुरुषो हरिः” इति विष्णुपुराण-वचनात् ।

or 'one with three mothers.' As a form of Agni, and as one who has his provenance in the three worlds, Rudra alone is capable of accomplishing Tripuradahana. Therefore, Rudras are described in the *Śatarudriya* as residing on earth, in the firmament and in heaven and that they carry food, wind, and rain as their arrows:

नमो रुद्रेन्म्यो ये पृथिव्यां येऽतरिक्षे ये दिवि येपाम् अन्नं वातो वर्षसिपवः ।

The concept of *Ekādaśa Rudras* is only symbolic of the innumerable manifestations of Rudra, an essential factor in the *Viśvarūpa* aspect of the Almighty.

To conclude, it may be seen that the Supreme Brahman as Śiva, is not only a composite form of male and female as seen in the Ardhanārīśvara episode, but also a combination of good and evil. Every flash from the Yogi God, every arrow from Śiva's bow is quintessentially identical with that divine substance of eternal repose and peace. As pointed out by Zimmer (Myths and Symbols p. 187) "Śiva's arrow is the vehicle of his energy, not less than the liṅgam; the two are the same".

KṛṣṇA SAGA IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

UPENDRA THAKUR

Like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* was also widely popular in many countries of South-East Asia. Most works of literature and art in those countries draw heavily upon the legends and stories narrated in the two epics which, with their regional variations, shades and colours, form, together with many literary works, part of this common heritage reflected in different ethnics, customs, manners and cultural traditions of the peoples of South-East Asia. In the course of time this transformation was so complete and the assimilation so perfect that these literary creations have become an inseparable part of their national life, and, in fact, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are as much Indonesian as Lao or Thai are Indian.

In Thailand Si Prat wrote a poem entitled *Anirut* during the reign of Phra Naray (A. D. 1657-1688) which is based on the same Kṛṣṇite legend as narrated in the Lao literary work, the *Brah Ku'td Brah Bān*¹, which is based on the well-known theme of the epic, the battle between Kṛṣṇa and Bāna. The *Phra Lak Phra Lam* which was composed in the beginning of the seventeenth century narrates the Kṛṣṇa-Bāna legend. From this it can be safely inferred that the first two sections of *Brah Ku'td Brah Bān* in its present form² were composed during the sixteenth century A. D. A comparison between the Indian and Lao versions of this *Kṛṣṇa-Bān* or Īśā-Aniruddha story would show that the Indian versions of the story travelled to Laos but when and by what route it cannot be said. There are many points of similarity, though the Lao version has undergone major modifications in the course of time. A thorough study of the Thai Khmer versions of the story will throw further light on this problem. It has been suggested by way of "a purely working hypothesis" that the story "circulated from Bassal to Vientiane during the pre-Angkorean and Angkorean period when this area was under the Khmer occupation. A well developed Khmer version distinct from the original versions

1. For a detailed study, see S. Sahai, *The Kṛṣṇa Legend in Laos*: Henry Deydier, "Indianistic Researches in Laos", *JOR*, XXIV, 1954-55, pp. 3-14.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2

might have travelled to Laos with the influx of the Khmer influence into Laos during the reign of Fa Ngym".³

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Laotian story of Kṛṣṇa-Bāṇa is in some respects similar to the story of Rāma. The episode of the birth of Bāṇa, in one of his former existences, tallies with the story of birth of Rāvaṇa in one of his previous births. Both Rāvaṇa and Bāṇa were deformed and were carried to heaven by Indra where they were given the physical form of Indra. But they seduced Indra's wife Sujatā. The latter became so furious that she incarnated herself as Uṣā and Sītā to avenge upon Bāṇa and Rāvaṇa respectively. In the Laotian version of the Kṛṣṇa-story Bāṇa has also been represented as polycephalic like Rāvaṇa of the Vālmiki-*Rāmāyaṇa*. Again like Vibhīṣaṇa, the son of Bāṇa is depicted as having crossed over to the side of Kṛṣṇa and revealed the secret which ultimately caused the death of his father, Bāṇa. Kṛṣṇa gave the kingdom of Bāṇa to his son in exactly the same way as the kingdom of Rāvaṇa (Laṅkā) was offered to his brother Vibhīṣaṇa by Rāma after the death of Rāvaṇa.⁴

The true classical Lao poetry is formed of translations of Indian poems and even Lao folklore is peopled by the Indian pantheon. The Lao people sing of 'the beauty and charm of nature, and of love and its attractions. Their dances, gestures and movements recall Indian origins, the themes of which are taken from Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist stories, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Māhābhārata*....supplying interminable topics of gallantry and tenderness."⁵ The *Molam* is an important genre of literature which heavily draws upon the narratives contained in these epics.

The main story of the Thai poem *Anirut*, noted above, has some essential features common to the Lao version of the Kṛṣṇa-story. According to the Thai version Prince Anirut (Aniruddha) was the incarnation of Indra. One day while on hunting he fell asleep under the shadow of a tree whose spirit carried him away to Princess Ussa (Uṣā), the daughter of the demon-king, Bān (P'han). They fell in love with each other but were afterwards separated by the guardian-spirit of the tree. Princess Uṣā had with her the portraits of all the princes of the neighbouring countries and she identified Anirut with the help of those portraits and managed to bring him in her palace without the knowledge of her father. When the demon-king came to know of it he ordered his men to kill Anirut who was however rescued by Kṛṣṇa who defeated the demon-king and made him prisoner. Later on Anirut (Aniruddha) was married to Ussa (Uṣā).⁶

3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

4. S. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

5. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

6. S. Sahai, *Op. cit.*, p. 20, P. Schweisgupth, *Etude Sur La Litterature Siamoise*, Paris, 1981, pp. 155-16.

King P'hattayotfa of Thailand also wrote another poem *Unarut* soon after his accession to the throne which is written almost on the same pattern as the *Anirut* of Si Prat.⁷ There is an interesting bronze statue of Gaṇesa in the famous Brāhmaṇical temple at Bangkok who is shown with his legs superposed and wearing a *nīgayañopavīta*. His right hand holds a broken tusk and the left one a manuscript which clearly shows that he has been represented as a scribe (*Lekhaka*) of the sage Vyāsa who is traditionally supposed to have dictated the whole *Mahābhārata* to Gaṇeśa. This is not unlikely in view of the fact that the great epic had already travelled as far as Cambodia by the sixth century A. D.⁸

The Kṛṣṇa-story must have reached Cambodia by the sixth century A.D., if not earlier, as is evident from the Eastern Baray inscription of Yasovarman.⁹ The Kṛṣṇa-cycle is also referred to in the Tep Pranam inscription of Yasovarman (A. D. 889-900) : "What of the victory of Hari won over the enemy of Aniruddha by revolving his *Cakra* (disc). He the king without revolving his disc has triumphed over a hundred indomitable (Aniruddha) foes".¹⁰ It is interesting to note that one of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat (12th Cent. A. D.) depicts Kṛṣṇa as cutting the hands of the demon Bāṇa."¹¹

The sculpture style of Udayādityavarman's reign is quite interesting. The stone-relief carving, both of foliate ornament and of narrative with figures, has beautiful classical efficiency. The narratives are devoted mainly to Kṛṣṇa and a few other characters from the *Mahābhārata*. In fact, the main sources for the relief subject-matter are the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as legends of Viṣṇu and his incarnation, Kṛṣṇa. The wars of classical legends, in which incarnations of Brāhmaṇical deities such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa triumph at length over demoniac adversaries, are obvious subjects for a king who regards himself as earthly incarnation of the deity.¹² Like Thailand and Burma we come across a number of Gaṇesa images in Cambodia, showing his association with the composition of the great epic (*Mahābhārata*) which had by the sixth century A. D. become popular in those regions like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*.¹³

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7. P. Schweiguth, *Op. cit.*, p. 185.
 8. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brāhmaṇism in South-East Asia*, p. 192.
 9. ESCC, p. 28.
 10. JA. 1908, pp. 10-17st. 46; R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, p. 107.
 11. G. Coede's, *Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat*, 1911, p. 49.
 12. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brāhmaṇism in South-East Asia*, pp. 124-25, Also see Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, p. 1 ff.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 193

As we know, Khmer literature, like Khmer writings is largely cast in an Indian mould, though it is modified with a distinctive nature tradition. The Khmer originality is reflected in stories and legends, and form of ballet or rhythmical pantomime based on classical subjects from Indian sources—especially the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are performed,¹⁴ pointing to the popularity of both the epics in Cambodia. The Stele of Prāsāt Barmeī (10th-11th century A. D.) contain reference to the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁵ As inscription of Prāsāt Khna (Mlu Prei) speaks of king Sūryavarman I who was extremely fond of the stories of the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁶ The inscription of Prāsāt Sankhan mentions the desire to recite the *Purāṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁷

Thus, we may say that Cambodia was effectively Brāhmaṇised where the kings, nobles and priests bore Sanskrit names, the Paṇḍitas wrote the inscriptions and the Vedas were enthusiastically studied. As noted above, daily recitations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* were done without interruptions as is evident from an inscription of the sixth century A.D. Yaśovarman's dia-graphic (written in two scripts, south Indian and North Indian) inscriptions show intimate knowledge of the Indian epics, besides other Indian classics.¹⁸

The popularity of the two epics in Campā (Vietnam) is quite evident from a number of allusions to the chief characters or episodes described in them. Reference is made to Yudhiṣṭhīra, Duryodhana and Yuyutsu, to the glories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, to Rāma, son of Daśaratha, to irrepressible valour of Dhananjaya and to the son of Pāṇḍu.¹⁹ The story of the destruction of the Tripura-Asuras bears a very close resemblance to what we come across in Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. However, the story of Upamanyu, the mythological incident about Siva which has been narrated at length in the same *parva* of the *Mahābhārata* agrees with the inscriptions of Campā in extolling Mahādeva placing him above all other gods including Brahmā and Viṣṇu.²⁰ All this shows that the people of Campā had a very intimate knowledge of the *Mahābhārata*, besides the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The designs and method of Malay arts and crafts bear the impress of Indian mythology and motifs. In a few countries of the world theatre is as popular as mass-medium as in Malaysia and Indonesia. The favourite themes for dance,

14. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

15. *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 216.

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 202.

17. Verse—cclxxv.

18. Also Cf. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

19. Ino. Nos. 41, 74, 12, 23, 39.

20. For other details see Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 215, 54.

drama and puppet-shows (*Wayang Orang*) and shadow-play (*Wayang julit*) are taken from the Indian epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The shadow-play version of the epics was always preferred to their written form but some literary works of this genre have survived. *Bhārata-Yuddha*, a section of the *Mahābhārata* and the story of Bhauma (son of Bhūmi, the Earth) was originally written in *Kavi* which greatly inspired the *Malay Hikayat Perang Pandawa Jaya* and the *Hikayat Mahārāja Bhoma*. Some other words in Malay such as the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* were also inspired by the epics and the *Purāṇas*.²¹ Besides these, many Malay folk-tales and romances also draw upon the epic literature. Another survival of the pre-Islamic period is the Malay translations of the Javanese Cycle of Panji tales which has freely borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*, besides the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the folk-lore of the Deccan.²²

The Kṛṣṇa legend was also quite popular in Indonesia and sometimes the story of Rāma was linked with that of Kṛṣṇa, as for instance, “the incarnation of Rāma” a Javanese shadow-play, wheren Rāvaṇa is made to incarnate as the demon Dasasūkṣma, Indrajita as Begasūkṣma, Vedavati-Sītā as Subhadrā, Rām as Kṛṣṇa and Lakṣmana as Arjuna. Aromān (Hanumān) is asked to continue his service to Kṛṣṇa and stay on doing penance on the mountain and prevent the spirit of Rāvaṇa for taking further incarnations.”²³ We have yet another shadow-play, “The Crown of Rāma” which links the story of Rāma with that of Kṛṣṇa in a more imaginative way.²⁴

When the Hindus came to Java, they brought their sacred texts along with them, and of these the *Mahābhārata* soon became the most popular theme with the Javanese. Its eighteen cantos were rapidly dramatised. The prose-translation of this great epic in fact, marks a landmark in the development of Old-Javanese literature during the reign of Dharmavāṁśa. The prose translations of *Ādiparva*, *Virāṭa parva* and *Bhīṣmparva* were done due to the initiative and patronage of this king, while the *Āśrama-parva*, *Mūsala-parva*, *Prasthānika-parva* and *Svargārohāṇa-parva* are of later date. There is also a version of *Udyoga-parva*, written in very corrupt Sanskrit and full of lacunae.²⁵ The *Virāṭa-parva* was composed in 996 A.D., i.e., just ten years before Java was overtaken by a great catastrophe which destroyed both Dharmavāṁśa and his kingdom.²⁶ These were probably composed during the reign of great Airlang in the eleventh century A.D.

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- 21. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
 - 22. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
 - 23. S. Sahai, *Op. cit.*, p. 20; James Brandon, *On Thrones of Gold—Three Javanese Shadow-plays*, 1960 & *The Theatre in South-East Asia*, 1967.
 - 24. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 92.
 - 25. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
 - 26. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

which have recently been re-discovered and published by the Dutch scholars. These adaptations from the great epic are known as the *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*.²⁷

Though the Old-Javanese translations closely follow the original epic, they are more condensed and their style is very primitive and lacks literary merit and fervour. But, "their importance can not be over-estimated as they made the Great Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit merits of a high order."²⁸ The popularity of this epic can be easily judged from the fact that even today the leading personalities of this region bear names derived from the heroes of the battle of Kurukṣetra, "That a drama from India, particularly one based on the *Mahābhārata*, was known to Java in the 10th century, lends credibility to the theory that the *Wayang* (the shadow-play of Java) owes its origin to Indian influence."²⁹ The greatest proof of this is the first indication of the existence of the *Wayang* in the *Arjuna-vivāha*, the first original work in Java, based on a theme from the *Mahābhārata*.³⁰

The *Arjuna-vivāha* was composed by Mpu Kanya under the patronage of Airlanga (1019-1042 A. D.) which deals with an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivāta Kavaca. It was "in fact an epithalamium (a nuptial poem) celebrating the wedding of the reigning monarch Airlaṅga with a Śrivijaya princess. This matrimonial alliance between the two island states established peaceful conditions in a war-torn area for quite a long period."³¹ It is interesting to note that in this poem we do not come across any marked difference such as we find in the Old-Javanese *Koravāśrama* between the Javanese version and the original Indian epic.

The period of the Kediri dynasty which rose to prominence after Airlanga in East Java is remembered as the golden age of Javanese literature for its patronage of poets and literateurs who shone brilliantly on the literary firmament and made immortal contributions to different branches of Javanese literature. Of the various poetical works two are most notable—*Kṛṣṇayana* of Triguṇa and *Samaradahana* of Dharmaja. The former deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmini by Kṛṣṇa and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha : the latter *Samaradahana* (burning of the God of Love) was composed by Dharmaja who adorned the court of Kāmeśvara I (or Vāmeśvara I, A. D. 1115-1130).³² This work, as we know, is based on the well-known episode of the burning of Smara or Kāmadeva, the god of

27. B. R. Chatterji, *History of Indonesia*, pp. 86-87.

28. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

29. Sylvain Levi, *Golden Book of Tagore*, Cal. 1931, pp. 292-97.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-97.

31. For other details see, B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 91-93.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 93. According to R. C. Majumdar, it was Kāmeśvara II (1185 A. D.) *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

love, by Lord Siva when the former tried to disturb his *samādhi* (meditation) at the instance of Indra.

The reign of Jayabhaga (c. 1135-1157 A. D.) is regarded as the most flourishing period of the Old-Javanese literature. The *Bhārata-Yuddha* is regarded as the greatest work of this period which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation. An independent work, written by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A. D. by order of king Jayabhaga, it is based on the *Udyoga-parva*, *Bhīṣma-parva*, *Drona-parva*, *Karṇa-parva* and *Salya-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* which deal with the great war. "It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur is comparable to that of the Greek epics."³³ According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh who also composed another poetical work, *Hariyamśa* during Jayabhaga's reign. Like its Indian prototype this book also deals with the abduction of Rukmini by Kṛṣṇa and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped Jarāsandha. The Indian original does not deal with the last episode.³⁴

It was during the time of Kāmesvara II that the famous *Bhomakāvya* was written which describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma or Naraka, son of Prthivī and finally his death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.³⁵ Another in the *Mahābhārata* series is the *Koravā śrama*, a late work noted above, with a great deal of modifications in the original epic. To this class also belongs the *Sāra-samuccaya*, an old Javanese translation of a large number of moral precepts mainly drawn from the *Anuśāsana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, with quotations in between from the epics, the *Pañcatantra* etc. In the Singasāri period, the *Kakawin* (*Kāvya*), *Kṛṣṇāntaka* (death of Kṛṣṇa) was composed, which refers to king Kṛtangara as Śiva-Buddha Mūrti.³⁶

The Javanese have several kinds of theatrical performance (i) the ordinary kind in which the dramatic characters are represented by men of which the only noticeable feature is the wearing of masks by the actors except when they perform before their sovereign and (ii) the *Wayang* proper—a term which is now used for theatre in general, though technically it means 'a shadow-play'. The essential features of this play are the representations of actors by shadow which the puppets throw from behind on a white screen in front of the audience. The puppets are made of leather, generally of buffalo's hide, and painted and gilt with great care. The performer is called the *dālāng* who manipulates by means of strings the movements of the puppets, making their shadows fall on the screen and suiting their actions to the

33. R. C. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 93-94.

34. R. C. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 94; B. R. Chatterjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

35. R. C. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

36. B. R. Chatterji, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

speech which he himself recites from behind on behalf of all actors.³⁷ The performance is accompanied by Javanese orchestra, *gamelan*. The movements of the puppets are rendered quite easy as they are cut in profile and have loose arms which can be moved by wooden sticks. They represent the heroes and heroines of the Indian epics—and the size, the appearance, the colour and the ornaments of each of the figures are conventionally fixed which admit of no modification whatever.

The *Wayang* was popular in Java about 1000 A. D. that the poets "borrowed their similes from these shadow-plays and spectators followed the representations with the liveliest interest".³⁸ According to Stamford Raffles, the interest excited by such spectacles, connected with national recollections, is almost inconceivable. The eager multitude will sit listening with rapturous delight and profound attention for whole nights to these dramas.³⁹ Even to-day this shadow-play is indispensable on important occasions in the household—highly esteemed both by the rich and the poor, the old and the young. Thus, these puppet-shows have zealously preserved the old Hindu traditions in Java, although it has been a Muslim country for well over five centuries.

The old Malay-Polynesian myths mingled with the Indian traditions from the very beginning, but during A. D. 1500-1758 when Java had to face devastating wars due to Muslim conquests, the old Hindu institutions were pushed into background. However, about the middle of the eighteenth century there was a Javanese renaissance which again revived interest in things past and Hindu literature. But, strange mistakes crept into the texts during this period owing to imperfect knowledge of the Old-Javanese language (Kavi) though they were mainly based on the old texts themselves available in the eighteenth century A. D. The *dālāng* (the performer of the shadow-plays) also introduced changes as "he was continuously adapting the old stories to the environments of the day in order to make his representations more popular".⁴⁰

M. Kats has classified these short plays under four categories—(i) stories of gods, demons, and heroes taken generally from the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, containing elements of Malay-Polynesian legends, (ii) the *Arjuna-sahasra Bāhu* group, (iii) the *Lākons* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and (iv) the adventures of the Pāñḍavas and the Yādavas. The last is regarded as the most important group. Of the *Lākons* about one hundred and fifty are based on the *Mahābhārata*, eight of which, e.g., Viṣṇu Krama, Bambang Kalinga, Palāsara Rabi etc. describe the ancestors of the Pāñḍavas⁴¹ As we know, in the *Mahābhārata* the Pāñḍavas begin

37. *Ibid.*, p. 86; R. C. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
38. B. R. Chatterjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
39. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 86.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
41. For geneological list see *Ibid.*, p. 88.

their wanderings after the Jatugṛha episode, and then Yudhiṣṭhira is crowned as king at Indraprasastha. After this comes the game of dice followed by further wanderings. The Pāṇḍavas then live in disguise at the court of king Virāṭa. Hostilities commence at Kurukṣetra with the re-appearance of the Pāṇḍavas in public.

The Javanese *Lākons*, however, do not always follow the original. For instance the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas play the game of chess inside the *Jatugṛha* itself, and during the game the Pāṇḍava brothers are served poisoned drinks, and Bhīma (Brata Sena in Javanese) alone retains his senses and carries away his brothers from the burning house. After long wandering they reach the country called Virāṭa. When Matsyapati, the king of Virāṭa, comes to know of their real identity he gives them the kingdom of Ngamarta (Indraprastha) as present and it was at this time that the *svayamvara* of Draupadī is arranged.⁴² In the meantime Sujudana (Duryodhana) becomes a very powerful king of Ngastina (Hastina or Hastināpura) and drives out the Pāṇḍavas from their capital who seek refuge at the court of Matsyapati of Virāṭa. Even Kṛṣṇa is forced to abandon his capital at Dvāravatī. Then follows the great Bhārata-Yuddha (Brata Yuda in Javanese).

Of all the characters Arjuna is the most popular and greatest favourite of the Javanese audience and plays a leading role in atleast fifty *lākons*. At the outset he is depicted as having got rid of his rival Palgu Nadi by a disreputable method. The latter also happened to be a brilliant pupil of Droṇa. In several *lākons* we have a detailed description of how he wooed Subhadrā by defeating many other claimants, besides many of his adventures and love-affairs. He has been called by various names in Javanese, such as Parmade, Endrālaya, Pārta Kusuma, Chakra Nagara etc. In some of the *Lākons* we have Sikandi as one of the wives of Arjuna and two of the latter's sons as son-in-laws of Kṛṣṇa. On the other hand, Arjuna's daughter Sugatavatī is represented as being the wife of Samba, son of Kṛṣṇa. These and other descendants of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are said to have been the founders of royal houses of Java.⁴³ Punta-deva Yudhisthira, Wrekodara or Brata Sena, Devi Arimbi and her son, Ghaṭotkaca, Sujudana (Duryodhana—and incarnation of Daśamukha) are all very familiar names in Muslim Java where the age-old custom demands that “such and such a *lākon* of the *Mahābhārata* should be played on such and such an occasion in the family”.⁴⁴

Describing the source of the *lākons* and the *Wayang* shows i.e., the great epic itself, Sylvain Levi observes : “By king Dharmavahisa’s order (c. end of the 10th century A. D.) the *Mahābhārata* was translated into the Javanese language. In Java this work does not exist any more, but in Bali several sections of the text

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

44. *ibid.*, p. 89.

have survived. The Javanese translator has incorporated in his work, as a guarantee of fidelity to the original certain Sanskrit verses. Correcting mistakes due to copyists we get lines of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's *Veṇisamīhāra* and not of the *Mahābhārata*. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa was one of the five Brāhmaṇas invited by king Ādisūra to Bengal".⁴⁵

As we have noted above, these *lākons* and *Wayang* follow the main outline of the epic (the *Mahābhārata*) though they differ much in details. But the *Kakawin* (*Kāvya* in Old-Javanese) differs widely from the basic concepts of the *Mahābhārata* although it claims to be a continuation of the epic. A very interesting account of this *Kakawin* (*Koravāśrama*) has been given by Swellen-grebbel.⁴⁶

In Central Java which contains the earlier sculptures (8th-11th Cent. A.D.) we have several groups of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist temples on the plateau of Dieng (6, 500 ft. high). There are at least five temples called after the heroes and heroines of the *Māhābhārata*. There is a long underground tunnel which served as drain-pipe of the Arjuna-group of temples. These names have, of course, been given in later times, and although they indicate the popularity of the great epic, "they do not throw any light on the original nature of these temples any more than do the similar modern names of the temples of Mammallapuram".⁴⁷

The central part of the second terrace of the temple complex of Pantaram (Old name Palah), regarded as the greatest and most famous monument in Eastern Java, is covered by continuous reliefs illustrating *Kṛṣṇāyana*. It appears that the version of the poem followed by the artist is somewhat different from the existing text, but the essential points are almost the same.⁴⁸ The images of Hindu deities found in eastern parts contain a group of life-size figures of *gopīs* bending respectfully before Kṛṣṇa.

Besides Java, the island of Bali is the most important region in Indonesia from the point of the history of Brāhmaṇical culture. There are some sculptural remains in the Goa Gaja cave (Skt. Guhā Gaja or Elephant's cave) on whose walls the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are illustrated indicating the popularity of the epics. Similarly, a very popular literary work, *Navaruci* describes the exploits of Bhīma, one of the five Pāñdava brothers. It is interesting to note

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- 45. S. Levi, *Golden Book of Tagore*, p. 292ff : For details Upendra Thakur, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, Chap. VI.
 - 46. For details see his article in *Sylvain Levi Memorial*, Greater India Society Publication, 1936. For a brief summary of the epilogue of the epic see B. R. Chatterji, *Op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.
 - 47. Dawee Daweewarn, *Op. cit.*, p. 158.
 - 48. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

that the translation of *Uttara-Kāṇḍa* in Old-Javanese is interspersed with Sanskrit verses and its last two chapters, named *Rāmaprasthānikam* and *Svargārohāṇa*, agree in all respects with the Javanese version of the *Mahābhārata*. Like the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, it shows divergences from the original Sanskrit text. The rich literature preserved in Old-Javanese includes parts of a prose translation of the *Mahābhārata*, and a text called *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* which is, however, an adaptation of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The motifs of the Old-Javanese texts have nearly completely been furnished by Indian religion and mythology, and the Old-Javanese itself teems with Sanskrit words and phrases. It is interesting to note here that the *Mahābhārata* along with the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* in Javanese are still recited in Bali on certain occasions, although some of the old themes, in the course of time, have been adapted into more modern versions.⁴⁹

The Balinese perform holy dances which are mostly held under a spreading *Vāta* tree which as in India, is held in great reverence by them. The dancers proceed to the altar where they are initiated with *tilaka* and *candana* and receive *caranā-mṛta* with the blessing of the priest. The spacious court-yard of the temple serves as the stage, the *Vāta*-tree as the background and the star-lit or moon-lit sky as the canopy of their play. Torches and lamps are lighted and musicians with *jalatarāṅga* and *rabab* equal themselves on bamboo mattings, while the dancers group themselves in the front. It begins on the lower key and slowly rises in volume. The classical side to the shadow is supplied by the *Mahābhārata*, the main source of inspiration being the *tāṇḍava* dance of Naṭarāja.⁵⁰ Thus, the Balinese perform all the ceremonies and sacraments on the same pattern as in the past, and their mode of dress is almost the same as was current in the days of the *Mahābhārata*. This unmistakably shows how deep is the impact of the epic on the general customs and rituals of the Balinese even in modern times.

Like all other regions of South-East Asia, Borneo, the largest island in the Malay Archipelago, also felt the impact of Brāhmaṇism which is evident even today from a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions. The high degree of development of the knowledge of Sanskrit is proved by several hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions and numerous books written in Sanskrit and indigenous languages profoundly influenced by Sanskrit. Though unlike the *Rāmāyaṇa*, no independent work on the *Mahābhārata* has yet come to light, we have, however, references to the great epic in some of the inscriptions. One of the Yūpa inscriptions (4th cent. A.D.) says : "the illustrious monarch Mūlavarmaṇ, having conquered kings in the battle-field, made them tributaries, as did king Yudhiṣṭhīra".⁵¹ This verse implies not only the

49. *Ibid.*, p. 288,

50. C. Hooykaas, C., "Greater Indian Studies : Present Desiderate" in *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal*. Vol. III, 1965, p. 287ff.

51. Dawee Daweeworn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-02-

knowledge of an epic event but also of the political theory of ancient India on the part of a king of Borneo who flourished during the fourth century A.D.

The above survey would show that when the Brāhmaṇical spring dried up in Indonesia due to the arrival of Islam in Indo-China the current of Brāhmaṇical culture never stopped by the onrush of Islam, though it was considerably modified by the indigenous races when it has constantly endowed with higher and higher elements of civilisation, Brāhmaṇism still survives as a living force in Cambodia, Thailand, Campā, Burma, Laos and the solitary island of Bali, bearing a trail of memorials behind.

THE MESSAGE OF THE UPANISHADS

KARAN SINGH

In an age of turmoil and transition, it sometimes appears as if the human psyche itself is adrift on a vast and turbulent ocean, without any sense of direction, without any landmarks or lighthouses to show the way, buffeted by winds, seen and unseen. There is turmoil in the outer world, there is violence and hatred, killing and suffering all around us, and there is also turmoil in the inner world; the deep psychological currents that rule human consciousness seem also to be disturbed. The old is dying and the new is struggling to be born, and our generation finds itself precariously poised between the past and the future.

At a time like this we look towards our great spiritual traditions not to go back in time, for that is not possible; it is a common mistake for many civilisations to look back in yearning and longing for a so-called golden age that may have existed at one time, but which is no longer within the realm of possibility. Within this present space—time continuum time flows only in one direction, and therefore there is no advantage in trying to recapture the outer structures of a bygone age. But there is great importance in trying to understand the inner spirit of a tradition.

What was it that kept India alive down through the long and tortuous corridors of time? What was it that enabled us to survive even when we were subjected to the most cruel persecutions and invasions age after age, century after century? Why is it that whereas other great world civilisations, some of them even older than the Indian civilisation—the Egyptian, for example, 2000 or 3000 years earlier than the Vedic civilisation, Mesopotamia, Babylon or even the great contemporary civilisations of Greece and Rome—why is it that they have disappeared and live today only in the minds of research scholars or in the four walls of museums, whereas the Indian civilisation remains vibrant down to this present moment? That is what we have got to try and find out; that is what we have got to try and recapture because, perhaps, in the recapturing of the inner spirit of the Indian civilisation we will be able to derive the inspiration and the strength and the light that we require to face the problems that lie ahead; to cross this dark and stormy ocean which is before us.

When we look at the great landscape of Indian culture, we find that, like the mighty Himalayas themselves from whence our culture originated, stands the mighty structure of the Vedas. It is amazing to recall those great words of Kalidasa with which he opens his Kumarsambhava, ‘Asty’uttarasyām Diśi devatātmā Himalāyo nāma Nagādhirājaḥ | Purvāparau Toyanidhi Vagāhya Sthithaḥ Prithivyā iva mānadarandaḥ || The Himalaya is a great Devatātmā, a great spiritual presence, stretching from the West to the Eastern sea like a measuring rod to gauge the world’s greatness, Kalidasa could not possibly have flown, and yet such is the creativity of genius that he was able to see as a single unity this great, powerful image of the Himalayan range.

Similarly, the Vedas stand in all their might and majesty as the very source and bedrock of Indian civilisation, of Hindu civilisation. The Vedas are the inspired utterances of a whole galaxy of realised souls, of spiritual geniuses, of people not merely well-versed intellectually, but with spiritual enlightenment. They are unique, both because of the time-span over which they were composed—the whole Vedic tradition which has come down to us must have been composed over a period of at least 1000 or 1500 years—and also because of the scope and diversity of the people who received these great spiritual messages. And if you look upon the Vedas as the Himalayas of our cultural traditions, the Upanishads can well be described as those great peaks which are so prominent when you view the Himalayas from the air. The peaks are only a part of the entire mountain range, and yet it is they with eternal snow upon them that draw our minds and our admiration.

The Upanishads, then, are the Vedānta, meaning both chronologically the end of the Vedas, because they come at the end of the collection of hymns, and also philosophically, conceptually, the noblest upshot, the highest watermark of the Vedic civilisation and genius. One meaning of the word ‘Upanishad’ is to sit nearby. In the Indian tradition, the Guru would be seated under a tree, near a river or a lake, and one or more disciples would cluster around him to learn the wisdom. This is interesting, because it is in juxtaposition to the Greek tradition where Socrates and his disciples, including Plato, would walk up and down the corridors of their academy. Indeed the Socrates dialogues and the Upanishads have a great deal in common; their structure is common, both are the dialogues between the Guru and Shishya. But the Greeks used to walk; perhaps because of climatic factors they found that the processes of thinking were stimulated by walking, hence they came to be known as the ‘peripatetic’ or walking philosophers.

In Sanskrit, however, a single word or phrase can have many shades of meaning, and they are not mutually exclusive. We do not accept the rigid dyarchy whereby one word can have only one meaning. Another meaning of ‘Upanishad’ is the secret doctrine; the higher knowledge, the Parāvidyā. In the Muṇḍaka

Upanishad the great householder Shaunaka goes to the sage Āngirasa and asks him the famous question : ‘*Kasmin nu bhagavo vijnāte Sarvam idam Vijñyātam bhavati ?*.....Venerable Sir, what is that by knowing which everything becomes known ? And in reply to that question the teacher expounds the theory of the two types of knowledge, the higher and the lower.

The Upanishads deal with the higher knowledge, and we must realize that this is supra-rational knowledge. It does not negate rationality, it transcends rationality because while the mind is a brilliant and multifaceted instrument it is nonetheless limited by its very structure. There are ranges of knowledge and experience which do not come within the ambit of so-called rational thinking. At some point in our consciousness the mind has to be transcended, and the Upanishads deal with the higher knowledge, the supra-rational realisation which comes not by intellectual gymnastics but by spiritual realisation. This is basis of the Upanishadic teaching, that the ultimate goal of the knowledge is spiritual realisation.

Again, in the Mundaka, there are two memorable verses which describe what the Upanishads are really supposed to do. They are likened to a great bow upon which the arrow must be fastened, sharpened by meditation and sadhana. The arrow is the Atman; the target is the Brahman; and the bow is ‘Aum’, the sacred word. The bow has to be drawn with great attention and one-pointedness, then only do we become one with the Brahman; in the same way as an arrow becomes one with the target. That is the point of the teaching of the Upanishads. It is a vehicle whereby the Atman becomes one with the Brahman, or, in theological terms, where the soul becomes one with God. The words ‘God’ and ‘soul’ are not really part of the Vedantic tradition and have certain connotations in the semitic religions which are not entirely parallel to ours. The key Vedantic concepts are the Atman and the Brahman and the merging of these two. The Upanishad as the great bow, become the vehicle for this merger, and deal with the Brahmajñāna, the knowledge of the Brahman.

Traditionally there are said to be 108 Upanishads, which is a sacred number. But the major Upanishads number about fourteen. Adi Shankaracharya, wrote his luminous commentaries upon eleven of these Upanishads—the Isha, the Kena, the Katha, the Prashna, the Mundaka, the Māṇḍukya, the Aitareya, the Taittiriya, the Chhāndogya, the Brīhadāranyaka, and the Swetāshwatara. The texts vary considerably in length. The Ishāvāsyā Upanishad, for example, has only eighteen mantras, whereas the Brīhadāranyaka, the Upanishad of the great forest, runs into many hundreds. Despite their diversity and the fact that they were composed over a vast period of time, there is an inner unity among the Upanishads which is quite extraordinary. All of the great seers seem to be talking about the same basic experience, that is the experience of the divine, of the Brahman. So the Upanishads

can be said to be essentially the *jñānamarga*, the way of knowledge, and for that there are only two qualifications laid down for the teacher, he must be ‘shrotriyam’ and ‘brahmanishṭham’, well-versed in the scriptures but also founded upon spiritual realisation. It is important to remember that the Upanishadic teaching is not a mere academic exercise; it is a teaching for the spiritual quest.

The cardinal concepts of the Upanishads can perhaps be expressed in a brief compass as being five. The first and most basic concept is the concept of the all-pervasive Brahman—‘*Ishā vāsyam idam Sarvam yat kincha Jagatyām Jagat*’. Whatever exists and wherever it exists, is permeated by the same divine power and force. This is an important realisation, because many philosophies have postulated dichotomies between God and the world, between matter and spirit, between good and evil, between the divine and the devil, and so on. But the Upanishadic view is that in the ultimate analysis all manifestation is a manifestation of the divine. Indeed there can be no manifestation without the divinity behind it, and this in a way is the realization of modern science. Previously, in the classical science of Newton, there was the dichotomy between matter and spirit, matter and energy; but in the post-Einstienian situation you find now a realisation that whatever exists is really the same energy. It may appear as matter, it may appear as energy, it may appear as a particle or as a wave, it is essentially the same energy. So the unified force-theory towards which the scientists are desperately probing has its spiritual counterpart in the concept of the all pervasive Brahman of the Upanishads. The greatest realisation is to see the Brahman everywhere, wherever you look—above or below, to the right or to the left, within or without. This is the first important concept of the Vedantic knowledge, the all-pervasive Brahman.

The second is that this Brahman resides within each individual consciousness, in the Atman. The Atman, as it were, is the reflection of this all-pervasive Brahman in individual consciousness; but the Atman is not ultimately separate from the Brahman, it is a reflection of that Brahman, it is a part of it. One of the examples given in the Upanishads is that as, when a great fire is lighted, millions of sparks fly up out of the fire and then fall back into it, so from the Brahman arise all these millions of galaxies and into Brahman again they all ultimately disappear. The concept of ‘*Ishwarah Sarvabhūtānām Hṛdeśe-Tiṣṭhati*’ of the Lord residing within the heart of each individual, as stated in the Bhagawad Gītā is the second great insight of the Upanishad, and the relationship between the Atman and the Brahman is the key-point upon which the whole Vedantic teaching revolves. All the four yogas are directed towards bringing about the union between the Atman and the Brahman. The word ‘yoga’ comes from the same root as the English word ‘yoke’, to join. Yoga is that which joins the Atman and the Brahman. There are in our tradition four major paths of yoga—Jñāna-yoga, the way of wisdom; Bhakti-yoga, the way of emotional rapport; Karma-yoga, the way of dedicated works, and Rāja-

yoga, the way of ecstasy. All of them are directed towards bringing about the union between the all-pervasive Brahman without and the immortal Ātman within.

Flowing from this, we come now to another important Vedantic concept, that all human beings, because of their shared spirituality are members of a single, extended family. The Upanishads have a lovely word for human beings, ‘*Amṛtasya putrāḥ*’, children of immortality. It is an extra-ordinary phrase. We do not look upon human beings as essentially sinners, weak and cringing, begging and supplicating some unseen being hidden in some seventh heaven. Rather, we are children of immortality. It is the light and the power of the Brahman within our consciousness, and within the consciousness of every human being regardless of race or colour, creed or sex, or any other differentiation, that is the basis of the concept of human beings as an extended family. ‘*Vasudhaiva kutumbakam*’, a famous sloka, not from the Upanishads but from a later text, points out that the division between ‘mine’ and ‘yours’ is the small and narrow way of looking at reality, indulged in by people with small minds. But for those of the greater consciousness, the entire world is a family. This is another great insight of the Upanishad, peculiarly relevant at this particular juncture in human history as I will point out later.

We come now to a fourth major philosophical concept of the Upanishads, the essential unity of all religions, of all spiritual paths—‘*Ekam Sad viprāḥ Bahudhā vadanti*’ as the Rig Veda has it; the truth is one, the wise call it by many names. The Muṇḍaka has a beautiful mantra which says that all streams and rivulets arise in different parts of the world but ultimately flow into the same ocean, so do all these creeds and castes and religious formulations arise in different times and areas, but, if they have a true aspiration, ultimately reach the same goal.

Here is a philosophy which cuts across barriers of hatred and fanaticism that have been built in the name of religion. The Vedanta is a universal religion; it accepts the infinite possibilities of movements towards the divine, it does not seek to limit or confine us to any particular formulation. After all each one of us is different, whether you believe in reincarnation or in genetic configuration. There are no two human beings who are exactly alike, and so all have to seek their own paths to the divine. The Vedanta welcomes and accepts a multiplicity of paths to the divine, provided those paths are true paths towards divine realisation, not merely intellectual gymnastics and disputations. It is a little like climbing a mountain. I have a house at the foot of the Shankaracharya hill in Srinagar, with a beautiful Shiva temple on top. There are several paths to it, one path starts from North, the other starts from the South. There are several different starting places, and if we keep arguing at those starting places we are miles apart. But when we start climbing and actually moving upwards then, as we come nearer and nearer to the temple, our paths will begin to converge and ultimately when we get to the temple we will all meet there, because there is only one temple. Similarly, once you really

start moving upwards in the field of spiritual endeavour you will find these denominational differences gradually losing their importance, and as you rise to the summit you will realize the spiritual one-ness of divinity.

The fifth Vedantic concept that I want to put before you is the concept of the welfare of all beings, '*Bahujanasukhāya Bahujanahitāya ca*'. The Vedanta does not seek to throw one class against another class, one caste against another caste, or one group against another group. The Vedanta seeks the welfare of all creation, not only of human beings but also of what we call the lower creatures. In our arrogance we have destroyed the environment of this planet. We have polluted the oceans, we have made the air unbreathable, we have desecrated nature and decimated wildlife. So many species have become extinct because of our '*ahankāra*' as human beings. But the Vedantic seers know that man was not something apart from nature, that human consciousness grew out of the entirety of the world situation and therefore they had compassion for all living beings. That is why the Vedanta constantly exhorts that while we are working for our own salvation we must also shun the path of violence, shun the path of hatred, try and develop both elements of inner and outer work—'*Ātmano mokṣārtham jagadhitāya ca*'. Indeed these are two sides of the same coin; we must work for our own salvation, but also for the welfare of the world. We also have a social responsibility, and as long as we are embodied we have to continue to work for the welfare of all beings.

These five concepts that I have chosen from the Vedanta—the all-pervasive Brahman, the Ātman which resides in all beings, the concept of the human race as members of a family regardless of all differences; the idea that all religions are essentially different paths to the same goal, and the concept that we must work for the welfare of society as a whole and for the welfare of this entire ecosystem and not only for ourselves—if taken together can provide us a comprehensive world view which will greatly help us in these troubled times. I started out by saying that we are living in a very difficult age. But it is a very exciting age to be alive, particularly for the younger generations. People today are often upset and worried as to why everything is so turbulent, but that is inevitable, because we are in a period of major transition. It is my belief, strengthened over the last few years by travelling extensively throughout the world, that mankind today is at a transition as important as the transition many thousand of years ago from nomadic to pastoral civilisation, then from pastoral to agricultural, agricultural to industrial and to post-industrial civilisation. Each transition is now coming quicker because of the accelerated pace of growth and development, and what is happening is that a global consciousness is beginning to emerge despite all our discords and problems.

We are too close to the event to really grasp what is happening, but what I can see is a paradigm shift, a total shift of emphasis. Whether in dress or in music,

in language or in food habits or any other sphere, gradually a world civilisation is being born. And it *has* to be born if mankind is to survive in this nuclear age. Science and technology have given us tremendous power. That power can be used for benign purposes. We can abolish poverty and hunger, malnutrition and misery, illiteracy and unemployment from the face of this earth by the end of this century. It can be done quite easily—seven days expenditure on world-armaments can abolish hunger in Africa, ten days expenditure on world-armaments can abolish the debt of Latin America. But instead, thousands of billions of dollars and roubles and pounds and rupees and other currencies are going into manufacture of weapons of mass destruction every year, so that the same science and technology are being used for evil, for destruction. We must never forget that power by itself is neither good nor evil; there is the *Daivik shakti* and there is the *Āsurik shakti*—the benign power and the malign power.

The worship of power, of science, is not enough. Hitler's gas chambers were an example of science and technology; the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bombs were an example of science and technology. We now have a single nuclear war-head packing the power of 1000 Hiroshima bombs, and there are 50,000 such nuclear warheads today on planet earth. Are we not living on the threshold of a major disaster? Are we not on the verge of the Mahāpralaya or 'Mahāgni' or whatever mode of destruction will finally develop? At such a time we can survive only if we have an alternative ideology to the present one which has led mankind to this position. I claim that the Vedanta in fact provides such an alternative ideology. Even at this stage, even at this late hour, if we can imbibe some of the universal truths of the Vedanta, we can perhaps reverse the processes of destruction.

It is a tragedy that in India today, forty years after we have been free, our educational system is totally devoid of any exposure to the great truths of the Vedanta. Ask young students today to name two Upanishads, they will not be able to do so because they have never been exposed to them. Here we have a great heritage towards which the entire mankind is now beginning to turn, and we in India are deliberately and cold-bloodedly neglecting this heritage. Whenever one talks of the Upanishads people think that they are something strange and bizarre and do not know what are you talking about, not realising that in fact the Upanishads provide the very foundation of the entire Indian civilisation. If the whole of Western philosophy has been described as a series of footnotes to Plato, the whole of Eastern philosophy can be described as a series of footnotes to the Upanishads.

I would, therefore, urge you to go to these great and beautiful texts; do not allow yourselves to be frightened away by them, do not think that they deal with the matters which you cannot grasp; open yourself to them, try and understand them. In the Swetasvatara Upanishad the seer says '*Vedāham etam puruśam*

mahāntam Ādityavarṇam Tamasaḥ parstād', I know great being, shining like the sun beyond the darkness; it is only by knowing this, that you can overcome death, there is no other way to immortality. The immortality of the Upanishads is not survival after death, that is already taken for granted. The immortality of the Upanishads is the transcending of birth and death. The immortality of the Upanishads means that our consciousness is raised to a state where we are not obliged to be born and reborn again and again in the cycle of Samsāra. It does not mean that we must run away. The great rishis and their power is still there. In the Buddhist tradition we have the Bodhisattvas who had attained Buddhahood but turned back in order to help suffering humanity. In the Upanishadic tradition we have the Siddhas, people who can materialise anywhere at will in order to help suffering humanity.

So it is not a question of being selfish, but of being able to break the bonds in which we are caught. Can you imagine what it is like when a caterpillar, an ugly, landbound worm goes into a chrysalis and a miraculous metamorphosis takes place so that it emerges as a beautiful radiantly coloured butterfly? That is the sort of metamorphosis that the Upanishads envisage for human consciousness. We change from our earthbound consciousness into this bright, multicoloured, beautiful consciousness which can still alight upon the ground like a caterpillar but can also fly into the air which the caterpillar could not. That, as I see it, is the true message of the Upanishads. And I will end with that great and immortal Vedic prayer that seeks to lead us from the untruth of ignorance into the truth of knowledge, from the darkness within us into the light above us, and from the cycle of birth and death into immortality. That is the highest achievement of the Upanishads, and that is the goal towards which we all must strive—

*'Asato mā sad gamaya,
Tamaso mā jyotir gamaya
Mrityor mā amritam gamaya.'*

SOME THOUGHTS ON CULTURE AND ENTROPY

PUPUL JAYAKAR

Culture is the matrix—these shared beliefs, preceptual modes, customs and rituals—from which artistic expression springs. Culture provides both the vocabulary as well as the terms of reference for the artist and the audience in a traditional society. Art in India has never been the expression of an individual artist's isolated sensibilities; but has reflected values formed over many centuries by religious philosophers, poets, artists and cultivated patrons. Culture has been closely linked with inner springs, encompassing both the outer world and holding a mirror to the self.

We now live in a turbulent world where over-population, a savage destruction of ecological system, an ever-widening division between the affluent and the deprived leads to fear and insecurity. At the same time, we are being exposed to an imported culture from the West which we do not completely understand and which is occasionally mindless and even nihilistic.

We are not a historical people and though we venerate the past sometimes excessively, we do not seek to understand within its historical limitations. So when the orthodox among us advocate a return to the past—it is not a historical past they seek, but a mythical one which bears no relation with reality. This new fundamentalism would be quaint were it not for the violence which it has unleashed, and subsequent loss of humanity it has brought about.

A majority among us take the easy path : substitute entertainment for culture, or worse—believe that they are synonymous.

To come alive, a culture must question itself. These questions may not have immediate solutions but they have, nonetheless, to be relentlessly pursued.

Life is movement, yet the mind remains static or engrossed in its own self-centred activity. A mind without space, caught in time, can only reproduce itself, can imitate the past or the art of other nations. It can never witness the birth of the new. Indian culture has had the strength of a questioning mind and the capacity for new beginnings.

How does one approach the creative mind ? How does one structure the search ? What instruments does one use ? In what direction does one probe ? What triggers the revealing ?

In India, primordial man, the seer and the alchemist has searched relentlessly for those springs, those hidden mysteries, those energies that nature holds within itself. Through his eyes, ears, the pores of his skin, man has drawn energy from the storehouse of nature, his life tuned to nature's cycle, he has responded to its manifestations. For nature reveals its mysteries only to those who approach it with reverence, who hold their ears close to the earth, so that nature whispers to them its secrets. Modern man has cut himself from these sensibilities.

And yet it is in periods of great crisis, in an age where the tools and artifacts man creates threaten to overwhelm him, that the challenge to the inner dimensions of spirit and essence is most critical. Unless we have the long vision to contain the vast and the very small in the same field, unless we can see with simultaneity and as a whole, with an intelligence that can contain the technologies' tools and artifacts of destruction and entertainment, unless the responses of the mind are adequate to the material challenge, it spells the death of human heritage.

The destruction of desire and the sensory channels through which it flows, through control and severe austerities has been the central category of most religious pursuits. Regarded as a source of distortion and corruption, the senses flow towards objects apprehending, naming and recognizing them, and drawing them into the storehouse of memory. From this arises desire, as the like and dislike.

Seeing desire and time as the factors of deterioration both of the body and mind, comprehending though fearfully that everything that exists must end, sensing the entropic nature of energy and matter, man from the earliest times has sought through Yoga and meditative practices for mastery over energy and matter, a curbing of the senses and the ending of time as the great destroyer. Using a causative mind, he searches, but the mind that searches itself being the product of time what it discovers is held by time and so subject to its laws.

Seeing this, we ask again what is the warp and woof of the creative, the free, the unbound ? On what does it rest ? Where shall we seek it, with what instruments shall we probe ? The only instruments we have with which to investigate, are thought and the senses. It is through these that we establish contact with the aural, the seeable, the tasteable, the tactile, the outer and inner world, that which is accessible, that which is provable in the laboratory. The brain is both the holder of thought and the root of the sensory. The universe reveals itself through the channels of the senses and what is revealed is the given direction, contextual meaning, psychological deviation by thought. Outwardly seen as two separate processes—as thought and sensory perception, in actuality the two unite in the

process of apprehending the outer and the inner, as object and subject. This fragmentary response born of memory and thought, clogs the senses and interrupts the sensory flow. Thus cutting the brain from a living contact with nature with its capacity to heal, regenerate and bring about transformation and transference of energy. Yet it is through the senses that contact with living things and the inflow of energy from living things is possible. The ageing of the mind, the slow corroding of the brain cells commences if one notices with a narrowing of the channel through which sensory energy flows and a deprivation of the brain cells of that energy that emanates from a living, direct contact with nature. This is psychological crystallisation. The division between actuality, the "what is" in the within and without, and the conditioned movement of becoming as observed in "what should be" chokes and corrodes the mind and perception and depletes energy. Any attempt to give direction or attempt to change the "what is" into the "what should be" brings conflict and with it deterioration. It signifies the crystallisation of the cultural matrix and with it the strengthening of the entropic process. This must inevitably lead to the ageing of the human mind and to the drying up of cultural springs.

ON BEING A PERSON

SISIRKUMAR GHOSE

To be or not to be ? Most people would vote for the latter. A huge death-wish hangs over the world. No freedom like the freedom to abjure freedom. The images in the modern theatre look botched and battered rather than seemly. Worse, they are unreal. How to be a person among un-persons is the problem, which men would avoid rather not face.

The escape from freedom can take hideous forms. Under the Nazis and their Almighty State, the German citizen felt the happiest and freest of mortals. Conscience was a state subject. The ghost of Kant had been exorcised. Obedience ("Heil Hitler") raised to a dizzy pitch, at the Nuremberg trial the German scientists claimed amnesty. Their plea : they were but obeying orders. The last refinement of inauthentic existence.

In a variously manipulated society how can one be human, an individual ? Can there be any freedom by proxy ? You cannot be free without being a person and vice versa.

With enemies of freedom in power and on the prowl one must live, that is think, dangerously, unconventionally. In the end we may have to go back to the Great Ontological Tradition. Under the baton of modernity and pseudo-secularism, we have abdicated that right long back. Here intellectual thinking and protest, childish revolution may not be enough. Reason, partial, parochial, can justify any position. What we need is a greater inwardness. Say what you will, the real life and worth of man is within himself. This inner or top view has to be restored, only no one knows how.

To postpone decision will only prolong servitude. The one-dimensional man is no one's enemy but his own. Increasing knowledge is, however, bound to tell us that in amphibian man there are planes of the being beyond the biological, economic, political, aesthetic, scientific and religious. Who is this 'I' that is not always me ? Without the planes there would be no real rationale or possibility of de-conditioning. You may call it, as the Buddhists did, the Fullness of the Void,

a view to which existentialism seems to veer. The freedom of the unconditioned is a mark of the fully evolved person. "No one I am, I who am in all". Only so will the world be safe for adults in a divine culture. Such men—"lords and owners of their faces" make themselves and are not, like the rest, creatures of circumstance.

Always the person holds the key to the reality of the self and the world, the larger self that lives within us by ourselves unseen. In the words of that acute but neglected psychologist, Sri Aurobindo : it is behind the mystery of the presence of personality in an apparently impersonal universe—as that of consciousness manifesting out of the Inconscient, life out of the inanimate, soul out of brute Matter—that is hidden the solution of the riddle of existence, Do we here touch upon the allied myths of soul and immortality, myths that may be more true than we presume ?

In Eastern psychology cosmic and transcendental, consciousness, the Fourth State, is taken for granted, its importance duly recognised. If the majority prefers its own imprisonment in the small 'I' of ordinary consciousness that cannot be helped. In the right view, the fullness of our being is eternity. To live only in time is not to live fully. If one has not the sense of the timeless, if one is dependent on this mind, body and life, on this or that world, then it is not a total existence. Our total existence includes the seen and the unseen and leaves all-too-human humanisms far behind. History is not a prison but a playground. These our actors were all spirits.

To be a person in this sense, at once individual, universal and transcendent, is a heroic dream : the heroic as the struggle against unmeaning. It is the work of a lifetime, may be more than one. To know this being within being is what we are here for, else "unsolved the riddle of the unfinished play".

The imbalances of our topsy-turvy world—so much know-how with so little know-why—are at once our glory and our shame. Glory, because of the advance in specialized and applied science, shame, because the New Being, the universal Man, at once horizontal and vertical, is a long way off. Living in an Age of Anxiety has its compensation, one above all. We are compelled to be aware of ourselves and our situation. Unless we want to be the biggest disappointment of history, we need a larger perspective. "Oh that you were yourself". The science of man, different from the other sciences, is slow to develop. The last thing man knows is himself, the total self. Evolution faces us with the most basic crisis—the piercing of planes. We must change, enlarge ourselves, or else disappear, at best remain in a state of arrested development.

This means that several short views have to be rendered powerless; for instance, reason and science—and their joint product. Objectivity and progress have to

go. Critics have not been slow to point out that science is the view of life from which everything human, that is personal, has first been excluded. Thanks to the unholy alliance of science with politics, and propaganda, reality-killing has become a worldwide industry. Our Everyman is a Noman in a lonely crowd. Aliens in the House of Nature, we are not at home in the universe. The so-called conquest of Nature has boomeranged. Today we are not able to write tragedies. But surely we are about to enact one. The tragedy is called Man. No special effort is needed to identify the villain, or the villains.

O wretched generation of enlightened men,
Betrayed by the maze of your ingenuities.

If the wretched generation is to be a little less wretched, we have to be careful of our ingenuities. The unthinking life must end. For nearly four hundred years we have been the victims of a simple theoretic heresy : the heresy of quantification, the myth of objectivity. The result can be stated simply; the human subdued by the non-human. The pure rationalist is a monster, said Russell. In a purely quantifying universe the quality of life and consciousness cannot but suffer. We talk glibly of the standard of living. But where is the life we have lost in the living ? Insignificance—neurosis is the modern world's dearest disease. The sickness of affluence can be deadly. Poverty is not the only crime. Who will measure the insolvency of our soullessness ? The quality of life cannot improve unless the quality of persons improve—from within, by choice. In a non-society such as ours, with the media doling out dopes, how to be a person has become a torture and a challenge.

The quest of the authentic and the integral self may be our only atonement for the errors and excesses of a schizoid, self-destroying system. If we wish to live as men, and not as slaves of history and its dubious determinisms, a recovery of the higher self should be our first priority. This will entail much suffering, the minimal price for being and remaining human. Else adjustment to an inferior reality will be the ransom for playing safe. The psychologist, Laing, has suggested that today the only sane people are the insane. He gives a crucial example. Those who look upon themselves as bits of machinery are regarded as crazy. "But why do we not regard a theory that seeks to transmute persons into automata or animals as equally crazy ?" Mechanomorphism, as the newest God, is Moloch. Man is more than a machine, he is a possibility and a purpose.

A great historic—rather an evolutionary shift is under way. Revolutions, really not revolutionary, are but the tip of the iceberg. What is happening behind the veil is more dangerous and also more hopeful. Civilization is changing gears. It is a goodbye to atavistic attitudes and institutions and the birth of the new. Whatever cannot stand up to the change remains arrested, a dead weight. The really radical change would go far beyond the mechanics of economics and politics.

If the root of man is Man these are not enough. To believe Dobzhansky, only once before, when life originated out of matter, has there been a comparable situation. The time has come to replace the blind force of natural selection by conscious direction based on man's knowledge of nature and his own sense of values.

Revolution without an evolution of consciousness has little to offer. In any case, a perfect society cannot be created or composed of men who are themselves imperfect. In the society we look forward to, each man has to begin with himself instead of looking for salvation from the outside. Modern man, the machine-tending homunculus, is becoming by degrees obsolete. The ageless ontic wisdom is inexorable. Without inwardness, the one inner life in which all beings live, we shall be nowhere. We have to begin at the beginning—learn to go within, return to the roots. That seems the only way to preserve the primacy of the person, the unique and the qualitative. And of course non-competitive. Most of our trouble stem from a false idea of the self. As Jules Henry, in his *Culture Against Man*, put it : Without a Self *homo sapiens* is nothing, The *you-or-me* logic is out of shape. The choice of the Self, *I-in-you-and-you-in-me*, is the only way. The Self as freedom, free at all points and moments, free from habit and indoctrination, is man's ultimate concern. The forced 'We' of collectivization, the slaughter of citizens, is a sad parody. What is communism without communion ? A new road to serfdom. Liberty is not a bonus to be enjoyed after our material needs have been met. Meta-needs do not necessarily develop after the mundane have been met. In that case the members of the idle rich and the Affluent Society would have been Arhats. It is easier to build dharmashalas than to live according to Dharma.

To explore the possibilities of a higher self is alone true culture and a sign of the courage to be. Existence finds its truth in oneness, the Self one in all. The now of that decision, to become what we are, is always. Without the beyonding of man and the birthing of the planetary being there will be something missing on the human scene. "I am unborn : O hear me !"

DETACHMENT

ARABINDA BASU

To have *vairāgya*, the state of mind in which it is free of all affections, *rāga*, to be *niskāma*, without any desire, *kāma*, to develop non-attachment, *anāsakti* to anything—these are indispensable conditions for the practice of the spiritual life. These terms seem to indicate negative concepts. Actually they stand for positive conditions of mind. They represent respectively freedom from affections, contentment within oneself and the state in which the mind is not attached to anything which really means its active withdrawal from objects of desire or detachment.

Hindu scriptures, philosophical treatises and books on spiritual disciplines are full not only of praise of detachment but also of injunctions regarding the essential need of it. The *alpa*, the small, transitory, ephemeral is *martyam*, mortal, that is, subject to decay, disintegration and destruction. The seeker of the knowledge of the ultimate Reality must renounce the mortal and aspire for the *bhūmā*, the Abundant, the Immortal. Maitreyee's inquiry whether material property will give her immortality and her refusal of her share of her husband's estate because he, Yajnavalkya, answered in the negative, is a classic example of detachment. In the same scripture, the Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, IV : 4. 6, it is written that the man who is attached, *saktaḥ*, gets the fruit of the action he desires, he returns to the mortal existence after experiencing the fruits of his action in the next world, but he who seeks the Self alone as his chief aspiration and is thus without any desire and therefore detached and disinterested in the things of the world attains Brahman. The next verse IV : 4.7 says that when all the desires which were lodged in the mind of man are destroyed, then mortal man becomes immortal and attains Brahman here in this world. Nachiketa's disdain for all that the ordinary man longs for and was promised to him by Yama is another famous illustration of detachment. "Until tomorrow mortal man has these things and they wear away all this keenness and glory of the senses; nay, all life is even for a little. Thine are the chariots and thine the dancing of these women and their singing". And again, "Man is not to be satisfied by riches, and riches we shall have if we have beheld thee and shall live as long as thou shall be lord of us. This boon and no

other is for my choosing." (The boon was the knowledge as to whether anything survives the physical death of man). The Mundaka Upanishad says, "They who dwell in many bonds of Ignorance, children thinking 'we have achieved our aim of Paradise; for when the men of works are held by their affections, and arrive not at the Knowledge, then they have wasted by enjoying and they fall from their heavens". The same Upanishad observes, "He knows this supreme Brahman as the highest abiding place in which shines out, inset, the radiant world. The wise who are without desire and worship the Spirit pass beyond the sperm." We read in the same Upanishad that, "He who cherishes desire and his mind dwells with longings, he is by desire born again wherever they lead him, but the man who has won all his desires (or finished with desires and found the soul, for him even here in this world vanish away all desires."

The Bhagavad-Gita, it is well-known, puts great emphasis on desirelessness and detachment. A few citations from this profound scripture will be sufficient to make our point. In II. 62-63 we read, "In him whose mind dwells in the objects of sense with absorbing interest, attachment to them is formed, from attachment comes desire, from desire anger. Anger leads to bewilderment, from bewilderment comes the loss of memory, and by that the intelligence is destroyed, from destruction of intelligence he perishes." Verse 70 of the same chapter says, "He attains peace into whom all desires enter as waters into the sea (an ocean of white being and Consciousness) which is ever being filled, yet ever motionless—not he who (like troubled and muddy waters) is disturbed by every little inrush of desire." Needless to say that freedom from it is essential to true happiness. In V. 21 the Scripture says, "When the soul is no longer attached to the touches of outward things, then one finds the happiness that exists in the Self, such a one enjoys an imperishable happiness, because his self is in *yoga yukta*, by yoga with the Brahman." Therefore the Gita enjoins that the seeker must withdraw his intelligence from the objects of the senses and place it in the Self, in the Brahman, because, as verse II. 58 observes, "who draws away the senses from the objects of the senses as the tortoise draws in his limbs into the shell, his intelligence sits firmly in wisdom." We read in the verses II. 64-65, "it is by ranging over the objects of the senses, but with the senses subject to the Self, freed from liking and disliking, one gets in a larger and sweet clearness of soul and temperament in which passion and grief find no place; the intelligence of such a man is rapidly established (in its proper seat)".

It is however not only Hinduism that puts great emphasis on the role of detachment in spiritual life, Buddhism and Jainism also both give value to this discipline of control of the senses and desires leading on to detachment. Christianity also puts a great deal of emphasis on the absolute necessity of detachment. In Mark VIII. 36 Jesus asks, "What does profit a man to gain the whole world and

forfeit his life (or soul according to some translators) ?" In fact in verse 35 of the same Gospel he himself answers the question by saying that whosoever will save his life shall lose it. And to save one's life in this context means to cling to one's ordinary human existence, and not to turn to God and live in union with Him. There is no doubt that the New Testament writers have a deprecating attitude towards desire which is seen to be the same as lust. Christ's comment on the Seventh Commandment makes it quite clear. There Jesus says, "I say unto you, that whosoever looks at a woman with lust, he has committed adultery with her already in his heart". St. Paul in I Thessalonian IV. 5 tells his audience that they should know how to possess their vessel in sanctification and honour—not in the lust of concupiscence. (Verse V.5). The lesson is that the desires of the body have to be controlled and that no rein should be given to passions. Peter defines a believer as one who has escaped the corruption in the world through desire (II Peter I. 4); James considers that the man who endures temptation is blessed, for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord has promised to them that love him. He further says that no man should say that he is tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with evil, nor does He tempt any man; but that every man is tempted when he is drawn away by his own lust and enticed. He shows the connection between lust, sin and death in verse 15, "When lust has conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin when it is finished, bringeth forth death" (See James I, verses 12 ff.). John has very strong opinions on this question and categorically instructs seekers of the good life not to have any love for the world. In I John II. 15, 16 we read, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world; if any man loves the world the love of the father is not in him; for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but is of the world." The last verse makes it quite clear that not only the desire for material things has to be given up but the ego also has to be renounced. Because pride in oneself separates a man from God, it has no place in spiritual life.

In this article we shall study briefly the ideas on detachment of Meister Eckhart, the great German theologian, philosopher and mystic of the 13th century. He considers detachment as the highest virtue and advances very good reasons for doing so. He says that true detachment belongs really to God, for he is truly pure and not attached to anything. Man must achieve the same kind of purity and detachment if he aspires for union with God. Following on the writers of the New Testament he observes that any attraction for the things of the world may have to be renounced altogether; for it takes him away from God and keeps him enslaved to the world.

Eckhart gives several reasons for considering detachment the best and the highest virtue. He says that he has come to this conclusion after searching the scriptures. All virtues pay some regard to creatures, but detachment is free from all creatures. He quotes Jesus' exhortation to Martha, "One thing is needful" and

interpretes it to mean that he who wishes to be untroubled and pure must have one thing, namely, detachment. Eckhart recognises that love is praised by many teachers most highly. He refers to St. Paul in this connection. The famous Evangelist lauds charity or love in I Corinthians XIII. We may cite one or two verses. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a thinking cymbal; and though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge and have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing; and though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing" (1-4); and he concludes by observing, "And now abideth faith, hope, charity; but the greatest of these is charity".

Inspite of this eloquent appraisal of love as the highest virtue, Eckhart who was a great admirer of Paul, nevertheless puts detachment above love. It is interesting and instructive to follow his reasons for doing so. First, the best thing, he says, about love is that it forces man to love God, but detachment forces God to love man. This sounds like a paradox. But Eckhart continues by saying that it is much nobler that man should force God to himself, than that man should force himself to God. The reason is that God can enjoin himself to man more closely and unite himself better with him than man can unite himself with God. Eckhart says that the proof that detachment forces God to man is a fact as everything likes to be in its own natural place. God's natural place is unity and purity which come from detachment. And God must of necessity give himself to the detached heart.

Eckhart's second reason for elevating detachment over love is that love forces man to suffer all things for the sake of God. But detachment makes him receptive to nothing but God. He says that it is nobler to receive nothing but God than to suffer for his sake. For in suffering man pays some attention to creatures through which he has the suffering but detachment is free from all creatures. It is receptive to nothing but God. The argument is that whatever is received is received in something or the other. Now, "detachment is so near nothingness that nothing is so delicate that it could remain in detachment except God alone". Eckhart goes on to assert that God is so simple and delicate that the detached heart can very well contain him in it.

The great German mystic also places detachment above humility, though he grants that many masters praise humility more than many other virtues. His reason is that humility can exist without detachment, but the converse is not true. It is not possible for perfect detachment to subsist without perfect humility. Perfect humility, says Eckhart, tends towards its own destruction; but detachment is so close to nothingness that between perfect detachment and nothingness there can be

nothing. Thus perfect detachment cannot exist without humility. He concludes that "two virtues are better than one".

Eckhart advances a second reason for valuing detachment more than humility which again has to do with the relation of a seeker of union with God with creatures. Perfect humility to be so must bow down to all creatures. In this bending down man goes out of himself and into the creatures. On the other hand detachment does not move out of itself, it subsists in itself. Dwelling within oneself is much nobler than going out. He quotes Psalm X liv, 14, which means that the king's daughter has all her glory in inwardness. Perfect detachment does not wish to be either below or above any creature. All it wants to do is to stand in itself, which according to Eckhart, includes giving neither joy nor sorrow to anyone. Nor detachment wishes to have either equality or inequality with any creature since it desires nothing. All it wants to do is to exist. Eckhart explains this idea by saying that wishing to be this or that is wishing to be something. But detachment wishes to be nothing and therefore is not a burden to anything.

Eckhart reviews the respective merits of humility and detachment by explaining the reason why the Virgin Mary extolled her humility, but not her detachment. He begins by observing that it may be said that the Virgin had all virtues in her including perfect detachment. But she said, "He has regarded the humility of his handmaiden". (St. Luke I. 48) And Eckhart puts the question as to why she did not say that He regarded her detachment and answers it in the following manner. In so far as it is possible to speak of virtues in God, He must have both humility and detachment. It was because of his loving humility that He assumed human nature. His detachment was absolutely immovable when he did so even as it was when He created heaven and earth. The Virgin knew perfectly well that God expected her to remain equally immovable in her detachment, that is why He regarded her humility and not her detachment. And that is the reason for her pride not in her detachment but in her humility. Eckhart remarks that if Mary had said anything about her detachment, something like 'He regarded my detachment', it would have been destroyed instead of being complete and perfect, for that would have meant that she had gone out of herself. We have seen above that according to Eckhart there could not be any departure from detachment, for if there were even a small movement from it, it would not remain unblemished. He interprets the Prophet's saying in Psalm LXXXIV, 9 that he would be silent and would hear what the Lord God would say to him as meaning "If God wishes to speak to me, let Him enter, I will not go out".

Eckhart also puts all mercy below detachment, because mercy means that man goes out of himself to the faults of others, as distinguished from detachment which dwells in itself and does not move out of itself. It is not troubled by anything because "as long as anything can trouble a man, it is not well with him". Eckhart con-

cludes his review of detachment in relation to mercy by saying that he does not find any virtue so completely without any defects and so applicable to God as detachment. We may recall here the intimate connection of *samatā*, equality, and *anāsakti*, non-attachment as delineated in the Bhagavad Gita. It is noteworthy that Eckhart observes that man must attain the state of mind in which he is not troubled by anything. This is an echo of the Bhagavad Gita, XII. 15 where Krishna, the Divine Incarnate says, "He by whom the world is not afflicted or troubled, who is not afflicted or troubled by the world, who is freed from joy and fear and anxiety and resentment, he is dear to Me."

Eckhart approvingly quotes Avicenna, the great medieval Arabic philosopher, on detachment who in his Metaphysics IX. C7(107 ra. 21-59) says : "The nobility of the soul that is detached is so great that whatever it looks upon is true, and whatever it asks for is granted, and whatever it orders must be obeyed." He repeats his remark that whenever the free spirit is to be found in true detachment, it forces God to its being. If the free spirit could exist in a formless state and with no accidents, then, says Eckhart it could receive God's properties in itself. But God cannot confer those on anyone but Himself. It follows then that the most He can do for the free spirit is to give Himself to it. Nothing ephemeral can affect him who has perfect detachment and is absorbed in eternity. Indeed he does not feel anything that is physical, for "he is dead to the world", and nothing worldly tastes good to him." Eckhart thus interprets St. Paul's moving statement in Galatians II. 20 : "I live and yet not I, Christ liveth in me."

At this point the mystic philosopher and theologian defines detachment as nothing other than this : "the spirit stands immovable in all assaults of joy and sorrow, honour, disgrace or shame", as a mountain of lead stands immovable against a small wind. Students of the Bhagavad Gita will recall the following verses in that great scripture : "He who, by whom the world is not afflicted or troubled, who also is not afflicted or troubled by the world, who is free from joy and fear and anxiety and resentment, he is dear to Me (the Divine); he who desires nothing, is pure, skillful in actions, not pained or afflicted by any result or happening, who has given up all initiative or action, he, my devotee, is dear to Me; he who neither desires the pleasant and rejoices at its touch nor abhors the unpleasant and sorrows at its touch, who has abolished the distinction between the fortunate and the unfortunate happenings, he is dear to Me; equal to friend and enemy, equal to honour and insult, pleasure and pain, praise and blame, grief and happiness, heat and cold, silent, content and well-satisfied with anything and everything, not attached to person or thing, place or home, firm in mind, that person is dear to Me". (XII. 15-19.)

It is by complete detachment that man can bring about the greatest similarity with God. For God is God because He has this immovable detachment and from

it follows his purity, simplicity and immutability. If a man can attain similarity to God as far as a creature can do it, it can be done by detachment alone. From it he gets purity which leads on to simplicity and that in its turn to immutability. These bring about a certain similarity between God and man. Eckhart emphasises the role of grace in this process. All these things mentioned above man can attain only through grace, for that alone draws man away from transitory things and purifies him of all ephemeral values.

Eckhart makes startling statements about perfect detachment. For example, to be full of God is to be empty of creatures and to be empty of creatures is to be full of God. In elaborating this statement he presents the concept of God which makes Him utterly transcendent. So perfectly immovable is God's detachment, says Eckhart, that He dwelt in it even when He created all, as if He had not created at all. Such is the detachment that all prayers and all good works do not affect Him at all. Even when the Son, the second person in the Trinity, chose to become man and suffer passion, God was not moved in his detachment as if He had never become man and suffered.

Eckhart himself raises the question whether all prayers and good works are lost, especially because it is said that God wishes to be asked for everything. Eckhart's answer is as follows. If we can imagine that God had a first glance, he would have to say that in his eternal first glance God considered all things, how they would take place, when and how to create creatures, when the Son was to become man and suffer and also the smallest prayer and good work. He also considered what prayer to answer. Eckhart asserts that if man urgently calls upon God and prays sincerely to him, He will not answer tomorrow. This may suggest that God may answer prayers. But that is not Eckhart's contention. What he says is that God has already answered prayers in his eternity even before the man offering prayer became man. In the same way God does not refuse prayers because he has already done so in his eternity.

It may seem that according to Eckhart everything is predetermined. Indeed it is so, for he asserts that everything has been decided beforehand. He reiterates God's immovable detachment and says, "yet for this reason prayers and good works are not lost", which seems to be a contradiction of what he has said before about them. He says those who do good will be rewarded and so with evil doers according to their respective deeds. Eckhart quotes the authority of St. Augustine when he says in the Book V of *De Trinitate* in the last chapter, that "God forbid that anyone should say that God loved anyone in time, for with Him nothing has passed away and nothing is future. And He loved all the saints before the world was made as he foresaw". Eckhart goes on to say that when God manifests in time what He foresaw in eternity, then men think God acquires a new love. In fact when God is angry or does a kind action, it is not God who changes but his creat-

ures. Eckhart gives the analogy of the sun's rays which remain unchangeable in themselves but hurt weak eyes and benefit healthy ones. Here again he cites St. Augustine from Book XII of *De Trinitate* in chapter four, "God does not see in a temporal manner and no new sight arises in Him".

Eckhart continues to explain the point appealing to the authority of Isidore. He quotes from the book '*Of The Highest Good*' : Many people ask, what God was doing before He created heaven and earth or when did the new will in God arise to make the creatures ? And I answer thus, no new intention ever arose in God, for although the creature did not exist in itself as it is now, it was from eternity in God and in His reason. Eckhart follows Isidore by pointing out that God did not create heaven and earth as men say that He did in a worldly and temporal fashion, "for all creatures were spoken in the eternal Word". He also draws support for his doctrine from God's statement to Moses when the latter asked Him : "Lord, if Pharaoh says to me, who are you, how am I to answer him ?" Then the Lord said : "Then say I am that I am hath sent thee". Eckhart comments on this by saying that He who is immutable in Himself has sent Moses.

The question whether Christ as well as Mary had this immovable detachment is not evaded by Eckhart. Did not Christ say, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death" in Matthew, XXVI. 31, XIX. 25 ? And did not Mary grieve bitterly when she stood beneath the Cross, as recorded by John, XIX. 25 ? Can these accounts of their lamentations be reconciled with the idea of immovable detachment ? Eckhart answers this question by pointing out that there are two kinds of man in every man as many masters have held. The first is the outward man or sensitivity, that is to say, as Clark and Skinner give the gloss, "the sensitive faculty of the soul which man shares with the animals". The outer man is served by the senses. Nevertheless, it functions by the powers of the soul. Then there is the inmost part of the man, what Eckhart calls the inward man. A religious man who loves God does utilise the senses but not more than the five senses need as a matter of necessity. The inner man does not respond to the demands of the senses except as a leader and guide. He controls them and determines that they do not operate in a bestial manner which some people do under the stress of the lusts of the flesh. Eckhart does not hesitate to describe them as animals rather than human beings.

We have seen that the senses operate the power of the soul. Now whatever power is left over from what the soul gives to the senses, she gives to the inward man who is then deemed senseless and crazy. For his object is now an intellectual image or even something above reason and without an image. It is in this condition that the religious man can love God with all the powers of the soul. Says Eckhart, "Hence He said, 'Love thy God with all thy heart', Deuteronomy VI. 5, Matthew XXIII.37, Luke X.27. There are people who scatter the powers of the

soul in the outward man and whose aim and intelligence are directed towards transient possessions. It is needless to say they know nothing about the inward man. In Christ and Mary also there were an outward man and an inward man. While the former may face trials and tribulations, the latter remains completely detached. Christ and "Our Lady" said many things about outward things but they were uttered by the outward man. That is how Christ had said, "My heart is sorrowful even unto death". And however Mary may have lamented and said outward things, she in her inmost heart, says Eckhart, was always in immovable detachment. To make his point more clear, Eckhart gives the analogy of a door and the hinge on which it shuts. "Now if I can compare", says he, "the outer boards with the outward man, I can compare the hinge with the inward man. When the door opens or closes the outer boards move to and fro but the hinge remains immovable in one place and it is not changed at all as a result. So it is also here, if you know how to act rightly," The last sentence suggests that man must be detached and turned to God in devotion and love, if he would act rightly and echoe the doctrine of Karmayoga in the Bhagavad Gita.

At this point in the sermon, Eckhart raises the question of the object of detachment and repeats the answer he gave before, namely, that detachment has no object, it aims at nothing. This should not be understood to mean that detachment has no aim at all. For, as Eckhart puts it, "pure detachment aims at the highest good in which God can work entirely according to His will." Though God is almighty, yet He cannot work in all hearts unconditionally. And the condition is readiness which God finds in some people or creates it. He cites the example of St. Paul to explain what he means by creating readiness. God found no readiness in him but prepared him "by inpouring of grace." We are again given an analogy which illustrates the point. Pieces of dough made of oats, barley, rye and wheat put in an oven will turn out as different kinds of loaves, one fine, another rough, still another rougher. Yet the heat is the same in the oven and is not to be blamed for the different kinds of loaves. Similarly God does not work in all men but as He finds readiness and receptivity in them. In some hearts there may be 'this' or 'that', that is, worldly ideas and desires and it is these that prevent men from being ready and receptive of God's grace which is the reason why God cannot work in them unhampered.

How should the heart prepare itself for the highest flight? Eckhart's answer is that it should aim at pure nothing, that is to say, seek nothing worldly but cultivate complete absence of desires. It must become to use the Sanskrit term, *niskāma*, desireless. In nothingness is the greatest receptivity. Here again Eckhart gives an analogy to bring out his point. If one wishes to write on a wax tablet, the words that are written may be fine but they are a great obstacle to the writer. The tablet must be erased perfectly clean, it must become a *tabula rasa*. Similarly, if

God is to inscribe on a man's heart up in the highest place, it must eliminate all that is in it and be detached from all 'this' and 'that'. Only then God can work in it in its highest place according to His highest will.

With regard to the relation of prayer and detachment, Eckhart says, there is none. For to pray is to ask for or want to be free of something. But a perfectly detached heart does not desire to have anything. If it has any prayer, it is to achieve uniformity with God. Eckhart illustrates this idea by quoting St. Dionyrius's comment on the following statement of St. Paul : "There are many of you racing for the crown, but it will be given to only one" (I Corinthi 9.25). Eckhart explains the Apostle's words thus, that "the powers of the soul are racing for the crown but it will be given only to the soul's being". St. Dionysius's interpretation is, "The race is nothing but a turning away from created things and a uniting oneself with that which is uncreated." Eckhart adds that on attaining that, the soul loses its name and attracts God to itself. It reduces itself to nothing, "as the sun", says Eckhart poetically, "draws the red dawn into itself so that it becomes nothing." And detachment is the entry into God about which Eckhart cites St. Augustine's words : "The soul has a secret entry into the divine nature when all things become nothing to it." (This may not be Augustine's statement) Eckhart says that the soul at this stage, "knows nothing of knowing, it loves nothing of loving and from light it becomes dark." He applies to this the words of a teacher about whose identity Eckhart scholars are not sure; "The poor in spirit are those who have abandoned all things for God, just as they were when we did not exist". Only those who are perfectly detached can do this. Eckhart says that if he is asked what God seeks in all things, he will answer in the words of the Book Of Wisdom : "In all things I (i. e. God) seek rest". God would rather be in such a detached, restful heart than in any thing else. To be receptive to God's inflowing, as we have seen before, is indispensable for the attainment of this restful heart. For it is by such receptiveness that man can become uniform with God, and to the extent he becomes receptive, he also becomes susceptible to the inflowing of God into him. Eckhart mentions the need of submission to God in this connection. He has to be fully free of created things, to be completely surrendered to God. This is how Eckhart interprets St. Paul's injunction in Roman XIII. 14, "Put on Jesus Christ"; this means that without uniformity with Christ it cannot be done. He explains further by saying that when Christ became Man, He did not become a man or a human person, but assumed human nature and when man "goes out of all things, that is to say, becomes perfectly detached from all creatures, he can put on Christ and be uniform with what Christ accepted and put on".

We would like to make a comment on two very significant statements of Eckhart. He says that when the soul attains union with God, it loses its name. This reminds us of the famous passage in the Mundaka Upanishad III. 2, "As

rivers in their flowing reach their home in the ocean and cast off their names and forms, even so one who knows is delivered from name and form and reaches the Supreme beyond the Most High; even the Divine Person.” (Sri Aurobindo’s translation). When Eckhart says that the soul loses its name, we take it to mean that it loses its distinctive personality, that which in Indian spiritual psychology is meant by the separative ego-sense, *ahamkāra* and all its consequences. That this interpretation is correct is borne out by Eckhart’s statement, that, when God became man He did not become a human but put on human nature. As he says that, “from the first intention the Word (the Second Person in the Trinity) assumed human nature, that is, the nature in Christ for the sake of the whole human race. By assuming that nature in him and through him He bestowed the Grace of sonship and adoption on all men.” Thus human nature is really Christ-nature and not the nature of unregenerate man. The Word’s or the Son’s first intention in becoming man was directed at each individual believer and the whole of sinful mankind and not at the individual man, who was Christ. It has been said above that Christ did not become a human person but took up human nature. In doing this the word provided the reason for our obligation to love all persons equally. We must love human nature in them and not what is distinct, that is human personality. This is really saying in Christian terms what Vedanta maintains, namely, when man realises his unity with the Self, Atman, he ceases to be a distinct human personality but becomes one with all men, indeed with all creation and the Self. God is the unifying bond. The question still remains as to whether any kind of individuality persists after the separative and distinct human personality is shed off as a snake shuffles off its skin. Is there an individual self similar in essence and nature as the Self but not distinguished from other human beings by human traits but by spiritual identity which does not abrogate the supreme identity of the common Self of all? What would that be in Christian theology and anthropology? —even in the mystical system of Eckhart who says that there is something uncreated in the ground of the soul. Is the ground God Himself or individual spiritual entity similar in nature and essence to God but not the same as a being? Does God become by His own inherent Force an individual self? It is not possible to discuss this subject here. But interested readers may find most illuminating ideas from a careful perusal of Sri Aurobindo’s thought on this question. Briefly stated, his doctrine is that God has three aspects—transcendent, universal and individual. The individual is not unreal as in Shankara’s philosophy, nor a separate entity as in that of Ramanuja; but that God himself becomes an individual self which knows both its identity and unity with and distinction from the Divine.

The happiest man is he who has attained the greatest detachment. To accept physical consolations is to open oneself to spiritual damage, for as Galatians V. 17, which Eckhart approvingly quotes, says, “because the flesh longs in opposition to the spirit and the spirit to the flesh.” To have inordinate love for the things of the

flesh will result in everlasting death; whoever on the contrary has well-ordered love of the spirit will have everlasting life (Galatians, VI. 8). Therefore the Christian should shun what is created. The sooner he does so, the sooner will the Creator come to him. He should not have joy of the image of Christ's body because that will be an obstacle to his receiving the Holy Spirit. Detachment purifies the soul and the conscience is cleansed by it, the heart enkindled and the spirit awakened, also our longings are stimulated by it. Detachment gives the knowledge as to where God is, separates us from creatures and unites us with God.

At the end of the sermon Eckhart extolls suffering as the quickest way of achieving perfection. He who endures with Christ's great suffering enjoys the eternal sweetness. It is true that suffering disfigures the body, but it is also true that it adorns the soul in the sight of God. Eckhart said before, that detachment is a higher virtue than humility. But this does not mean that humility should not be cultivated. On the contrary, he says, "The firmest foundation on which this perfection can stand is humility, for whichever mortal crawls here in the deepest abasement, his spirit will fly up into the highest realms of the divinity, for love brings sorrow and sorrow brings love. And therefore, whoever longs to attain to perfect detachment, let him struggle for perfect humility, so he will come close to the divinity."

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Author's Note :

I have consulted with profit the following books in preparing this essay; *Meister Eckhart* by James M. Clark, *Meister Eckhart, Selected Treatises and Sermons* translated by James M. Clark and John V. Skinner, *Meister Eckhart the Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises and Defense* by Edmund Colledge, Q. S. A. and Bernard McGinn, *Christian Ethics* by Waldo Beach and H. Richard Niebuhr, *Maitre Eckhart* by Fernand Brunner, Alain De Libra, Edouard Wéber and Emilie Zum Brunn, and *Maitre Eckhart Metaphysique Du Verbe Et Théologie Négative* by Emilie Zum Brunn and Alain De Libera.

SPIRITUAL STRENGTH OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

H. K. MAHTAB

History is replete with stories of the rise of civilizations and their fall after their glorious existence for centuries for various reasons in course of the last thousands of years. But India is an exception as the Hindu civilization has been existing from the immemorial and it remains with pristine glory after adapting itself according as the time and circumstances change. Historians have tried to ascertain the reason for this exception. The consensus of opinion of history is that it is spiritualism which has sustained the Indian civilization even though it has passed through many adverse vicissitudes in course of thousands of years. It has so happened that whenever spiritualism has decayed and India has gone down, powerful personalities have appeared on the scene and have revived the spirit again to rouse it.

Within the recent history India produced some spiritual giants in the 19th century in order to rouse the nation from the deep stupor engulfing Hindu civilization since Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India and destroyed the Somnath temple. It was Swami Vivekananda who gave a clarion call to the people to rise from the deep Tamas into which they had fallen. He said "India is now deep in Tamas. She must rise to Rajas. Pretension of Satwa is nothing but Tamas as both of them are dangerously alike".

Reforms in various spheres were undertaken. The Brahmos, the Arya Samajists and some other organizations did what they could to modernize the society. The special features of Hindu civilization is that it has never refused any reform, but it has absorbed all the reforms beginning from the Buddha and Mahavira to Raja Ram Mohan Rai and Swami Dayananda. According to scholars as many as four civilizations have passed over India and each one has been adapted leaving only their shapes till today. Capacity to absorb is due to the basic spiritual strength of the Hindu civilization. This fact will be borne in mind by those who hold the reigns of administration and begin to plan for the advancement of the country. It would be a folly to compare India with any European country or Communist countries because all of them are new in the

field and making experiments for their advancement. The present civilization of U.S.A. is only about 300 years old. Similarly, the present civilization of Russia is about 100 years old. Although the English appear to be an old nation but it has grown on the virtual destruction of the old one. The same is the case with regard to France and Germany. China, even though it is trying hard to destroy its ancient civilization and bring about a new one, has not yet succeeded. On the contrary it is now trying to preserve the old, while adopting the new.

While planning for education, the first criterion should be spiritual understanding of Indian civilization. Today in many universities there are scholars of high repute, all of whom are trying to maintain the traditional spiritualism in education wherever they are working. In this connection we should remember Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj of Banaras whose centenary is going to be observed in September. He was not only a great Sanskrit scholar, but also he was a Yogi and a Tantrik of the highest order. He modernised the system of Yoga and Tantra and introduced them in the Sampurnananda Sanskrit University of Banaras. He was proficient in all the spheres of ancient knowledge of India. On the occasion of his centenary we should all be reminded that Indian civilization is capable to deal with the world situation provided it sticks to its own, instead of having fallen a prey to inferiority complex and imitate others.

CONCEPT OF DHARMA AND ADHARMA IN MAHĀBHĀRATA

A. N. BHATTACHARYA

It is difficult to choose suitable English words for the terms *dharma* and *adharma* as used in the Mahabharata. Dharma conveys different meanings, viz. religion, faith, virtue, religious merit, morality, righteousness, duty, law, justice etc. And adharma conveys contrary meanings of them. The entire Mahabharata proclaims the quality of dharma and adharma—but not in one place singly but in many places. The poet was motivated to compose this great Epic to show the triumph and glory of dharma. The motive behind the war of Kurukshetra was to re-establish a dharma kingdom by annihilation of all adharmas. So it would be natural on the part of the poet to teach the then people the superiority of dharma over adharma. Whenever he found opportunity he used to proclaim the glory of dharma and the good actions coming out of it. Such proclamations came out from the mouths of so many characters envisaged in the Epic. We hear them from Yudhisthira, Dhritarastra, Kunti, Draupadi, Narada, Vidura, Bhism, Krishna and many others. The interlinked episodes and allusions or anecdotes brought in also reveal the same tone. The character of dharma has been viewed from different angles of vision. Somewhere it sings for religions. Somewhere it sings for religious attitudes. Somewhere it sings for morality and so on. But the poet everywhere endeavours to maintain the same tone. That is the virtuous nature of the things and the actions, after condemning all which would be summed up as bad and immoral.

It is difficult to define the character of dharma and adharma in a few words. Further we have found their changing colour under different circumstances. So their characters seem to be relative. One glaring example may be cited in support of this view. To speak lie is adharma as it is against the moral code of life. This is universally accepted principle. But we find its exception in the Epic. Krishna persuaded Yudhistira to speak lie for the defeat and killing of Drona, the most formidable opponent of the Pandavas. Krishna argued that in such circumstances to speak lie is not a sin. To protect oneself from evils one may speak lie—and in that case untruth is superior to truth. Further, to speak lie to the women in the

case of marriage and protection of cows and brahmanas is not a crime.¹ This shows the relative character of dharma. To save the religion of the king and for 'yuddha dharma' there might be deviations of the general principle of dharma. Non-violence is a great dharma, but it is the duty of the king to award capital punishment to a great wrong doer. If a king fails to do that duty he would be a sinner. But for this purpose he has to violate the dharma of non-violence. For conducting a war, tricks and foul plays are essential factors—this is war strategy. In that case violation of dharma is not a crime. And so on. Although it is strange in the eye of Kant's philosophy, but we find logic in such violations. Bhisma was defeated by unfair means. By taking advantage of his weak point Arjuna was able to defeat Bhisma by placing Shikhandi before him.² Such conduct of the Pandavas is not in conformity with the law of dharma. But it has been accepted as dharma in the Epic.

There are so many such instances in the Mahabharata wherein adharma has been treated as dharma under changed circumstances. Karna was born to Kunti in her virgin state. Such action is a death blow to the virtue of chastity and morality. But we find a glorious position of Kunti in the Epic. The conduct of the great Parasara for forcible ravishment of Satyabati³ was against all morality. But such action was not considered as adharma and was accepted by the then society and no blame was put on them.

All these incidents prove the relativity of dharma. Dharma does not move on a definite path. It changes its colour according to the position or the mode of the incidents. And such changes of colour in the outlook of the Epic are not unvirtuous. It is stated already that dharma denotes different virtues of human life. So to save one such virtue the sacrifice of another virtue is not a sin. If we remember this underlying spirit of the epical attitude we would not be puzzled in exploring the clues for such deviations.

All these facts signify that dharma is very delicate in its character and its movement is not quite easily understandable. If we cannot follow its applications in different types of cases and realise the motives behind them we may commit mistakes in our judgements. The puzzling treatment of dharma is still a riddle to us. We cannot properly define dharma as applied in the Epic. In dice-playing we find the ravishment of dharma. All men of genius present at that moment did not utter a word of protest against the most pathetic humiliation of Draupadi. Even Bhisma who delivered lectures on the spirit of dharma while lying on the bed of arrows did not raise a single word of protest against such an immoral act. All were

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1. Mahabharata, Drona Parvan, Chap. 191.
 2. Mahabharata, Visma Parvan, Chap. 120.
 3. Mahabharata, Adi Parvan, Chap. 63.

mute and deaf. It is surprising that only a young son of Dhritarastra, Vikarna by name, raised some objections but his protest was brought down to a halt by respected wise men. The question raised by them was only relating to legality and not of dharma. Humanity was uprooted there. Human religion was at a stake. But strange enough that none was adversely affected for their most sinful act. This gives rise to our doubts for the treatment of dharma in the epical outlook.

Arjuna promised to observe brahmacharya in his exile for twelve years.⁴ But it is a funny thing that he broke his vow by marrying Ulupi and Chitrangada. Where has dharma gone? But the poet puts his justification by saying from the mouth of Arjuna that his promise was in relation to Draupadi only. This is nothing but a camouflage against the doctrine of dharma.

The story of Ekalavya⁵ is a pitiful one. He was the son of a fowler. He wanted to be a disciple of Drona for learning the skill of bow and arrow. Being refused by Drona he himself practised learning, having in his mind Drona as his guru. In time he became a great bow-man. He was so expert in archery that none but Arjuna was equal to him. But see the freak of fate—he had to surrender his thumb to Drona as *guru-dakshinā*. Drona promised Arjuna that he would make him the greatest warrior. But Drona viewed that Ekalavya was his rival. To keep his own dharma, Drona committed a great offence which is against all canons of humanity. He asked for the thumb of Ekalavya as presentation to his preceptor. He fully knew that without the thumb Ekalavya could not shoot his arrow. Thus we see that to save one dharma, that is the dharma of promise, Drona murdered another dharma, that is the dharma of humanity and justice.

All these facts expose the action of dharma and its movement and its relativity under changed state of things. It is difficult to reconcile their attitude with proper justifications. A question may arise as to why the great poet depicted those incidents—whether deliberately or unknowingly. He was a great scholar in the Vedas and other scriptures. He was a man of intellect. He had un-common far-sight and capacity for making judgements. So we can presume that such incidents happened with his knowledge. Then we have to explore the motives of the poet and to justify such motives.

The poet has discovered another phase of dharma. It is 'svadharma' that is one's own religion. We hear it from the mouth of Krishna. If we analyse this new character of dharma we may find some justification of the cases under reference. Now let us consider in the light of Geeta what 'svadharma' really means. The work to be done in conformity with one's own nature is *svadharma* in a broader sense.

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4. Mahabharata, Adi Parvan, Chap. 213.
 5. Mahabharata, Adi Parvan, Chap. 132.

To subdue one's own nature or to work against one's own will bring evil effects. In obeying this dictum of *svadharma* man can attain his desired fruits. It is better to stick to his own dharma and to embrace death if so needed than to follow *paradharma*, which is dangerous in as much as it is harmful and evil. It is a fact that *svadharma* is not free from all faults, but if it is properly done it is better than *paradharma*. If we apply this view we may find out the solution in the above cases and justify the action of the poet. But the question is whether this can be accepted as universally true. I doubt it cannot be such, in as much as it is against the philanthropic view of life. It is true that in some respects to obey the law of *svadharma* is beneficial for one's own interest, but, one can smell in it the sense of selfishness. The modern ethical outlook of the society is utilitarianism, that is, the ultimate aim and criterion of all human actions must be 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. The actions of the persons concerned under reference may not be unvirtuous as they obeyed the law of *svadharma*. And as such they are not at fault for their conduct. This may be the justification of the poet for all these cases as we find in the Mahabharata.

Yudhisthira explained his conduct as regards to the maintenance of dharma very nicely.⁶ In his views he was not a merchant in the business of dharma. He used to do his work in relation to virtuous action without looking for the gain, if any. To work, keeping in view for the heaven, is nothing but a bargain in dharma. He further stated that he would consider dharma as dearest in his life and divinity too. To him kingdom, wealth, son, fame are nothing. Dharma is the be-all and end-all of his life.

The greatness of dharma has been clearly explained by the poet in the episode of Dharma incarnate in the disguise of yaksha. By the glory of dharma, Yudhis-thira was able to get back the lives of his dead brothers.⁷

In Vana parvan, Yudhisithira explained to his brothers the mystery of life.⁸ It is dharma which is the eternal bliss of life. Performance of dharma never goes in vain. It is through which man can attain the blessing of God. Therefore to maintain the laws of dharma is the divine duty of man.

Another character of dharma we find in the Mahabharata. It is '*niskama karma*', that is to work without looking for the fruits of action. Such work is the part of dharma. And the contrary of it is adharma. The Kantian philosophy is the echo of this doctrine—it is duty for duty's sake. One's own duty is to be performed under any circumstance, whatever results may come out of it. Krishna tried to instil that spirit in the mind of Arjuna who was reluctant to fight with his

6. Mahabharata, Bana Parvan, Chap. 31.

7. Mahabharata, Bana Parvan, Chap. 311.

8. Mahabharata, Bana Parvan, Chap. 27-32.

own kinsmen in the war of Kurukshetra. Indeed this is the greatest dharma of life. It serves two purposes—one, the performance of one's own duty which is the divine ordination to mankind and secondly, to place faith on God for the rewards, if any.

Thus we find in the Mahabharata the intermixture of thoughts relating to dharma. We find herein the obedience to dharma by observance of divine virtues.⁹ The episode of Visvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha is a glaring example of it. Vasiṣṭha at the expense of his untold sufferings obeyed the law of forgiveness. Then we find so many incidents which were duly performed for the sake of *swadharma* although these were not in conformity with the general law of virtue. And still they are called as dharma in a limited sense. Lastly, *niskāma karma* has also the spirit of dharma. All these have religious colouring in the Epic, which aim at the attainment in life of true religion. They thus became the religious attitudes. To the Brahmanas, obedience to brahmanism would be the only end. To the Kshatriyas to obey the law of their own religion is the best dharma. And so on.

From this we may conclude that epical thinkings do not travel on a definite path to acquire the highest religious mission of life. It is not only limited to the observance of righteousness. It also includes the performance of duty in various aspects of life viz. political, ethical, social etc. Mahabharata is indeed a scripture, but not in the sense of Vedas and Upaniṣads. But it is the mirror of all things of the then politital and socialistic attitudes. So the problem of dharma and adharma would naturally be complex and complicated.

Moral Philosophy of dharma and adharma

The problem of dharma and adharma as we see in the Mahabharata is very complex and critical one. It would be a hard task to solve the matter and to make proper reconciliation with regard to its universal acceptance and adjustment with modern outlook. Dharma is not a single attitude of men. It includes several aspects of good spirit in human life. Whatever is considered good and beneficial in human life come under the term dharma. Thus it is a virtue and it is free from all evils and vices. Righteousness, truth, morality, performance of duty, observance of religious duties, to maintain universal canons of law, justice and equity all are the component parts of this virtue. It must have philanthropic and humanitarian outlook. Above all it must have utilitarian aims. The scope, sphere and application of dharma is vast and unlimited. The aim of dharma is to maintain goodness in the life of individuals and fellow men. It has both ethical and religious aspects. In its ethical aspect it is humanism, that is to bring summum bonum in the life of all. In soul, for attaining emancipation—the final goal of life to enjoy the eternal bliss of heaven. Whereas adharma denotes all irreligious, unsocial and unethical

9. Mahabharata, Adi Parvan, Chap. 175.

activities. It is just contrary to dharma. Its effects are unvirtuous and moral degradation.

Let us examine how far the mission of dharma has been fulfilled in the Mahabharata. The two great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed in the brahmanical age of India. Indeed their utility may be categorised as Hindu scriptures. They are most widely read by the Hindus till today and they are the torch-bearers of religious attitudes. But this is not all. We find in them the picture of the then society. Apart from religious attitudes they tried to tackle other aspects of men and social orders. We find in them the attitudes of politics, economics, sociology, and behaviourism. So before we come to conclusion we have to consider all these aspects to find the moral effects of the Epics on human life.

The Mahabharata is more voluminous than the Ramayana. It is bulky consisting of so many stories and facts. So our consideration will be more complicated for keeping the harmony between these innumerable linked up episodes found as corollaries. The treatment of dharma and adharma is problematic in the Mahabharata. It does not pass through a straight way but its path is circuitous. There are four objects of human pursuits—Artha, kama, dharma and Moksha, that is, riches, desire, virtue and emancipation. To attain virtue we have to follow certain paths and cultivate certain human qualities. We have to control our senses in order to overcome the evil spirit of life such as sexual desire, anger, avarice, attachment and malice. To overcome these evils we must find out ways of self-control. Then again to attain virtue we have to cultivate the spirit of good conduct, truthfulness, forgiveness and love for fellow men. So it is commonly said that to attain dharma is a hard task. The great poet has considered them in detail with so many illustrations—but in a most scattered way. We have, therefore, to pick up them as far as possible for our examination in order to find out the truth lying in them.

The Mahabharata is the substratum for propagation of these virtues. The poet instructed his son Sukadeva in them. And this has also been proclaimed in many other places in the Epic. Dharma is the back bone of all men. If there be no dharma in men, the men are reduced only to a human machinery of the body without any intellectual development. So the Mahabharata is the memorial of mankind relating to the attainment of dharma. Desire is a component part of dharma. Its application is found in every sphere of life. Even in case of waging a war its importance is valuable. We find in the Epic that Arjuna was not afraid on the eve of the war but actually Yudhisthira was afraid. Arjuna consoles him that there would be no fear as they were waging the war in the conformity with the law of dharma. In Shanti parvan Yudhisthira advocated the essence of moksha dharma to his brothers.¹⁰ Those who are attached to earthly love and affection can never

10. Mahabharata, Santi Parvan, Chap. 27.

attain emancipation. It is necessary to remain indifferent to all such things. One should follow the will of God and do his work which has been ordained for him. Vyasadeva instructed his son Śukadeva in Savitri that it would not be desirable to exchange dharma for happiness and miseries which are transitory phases of life.

From the above facts it is clear that dharma is the guide-line for the determination of all we want in life—it is virtue, it is richness, it is love and it is final beatitude. All these are mingled together in dharma.

One more fact I may repeat that in the Epic, dharma has been treated relatively in different circumstances. So one truth and one tone of morality cannot be envisaged. We have to analyse these instances as regard to their character in order to ascertain the truth lying in them and to see whether such relativity is against the general principle of dharma.

Non-violence is a great virtue—this has been proclaimed in the Epic. Rishi Agastya clearly indicated that sacrifices of animal in rituals is not a virtuous act. But the Pandavas who were pious in nature engaged themselves in killing innumerable soldiers in the war of Kurukshetra. What would be the reasons behind it? Why they violated the ahimsa dharma? The motive behind the fact was good. The war of Kurukshetra was a crusade. To establish dharma by rooting out all adharmas was its inner essence. So there was no violation of the spirit of non-violence—better achievements for the worst. Thus the relativity of dharma is fully justified.

In Hindu scriptures to respect the parents and to obey their orders is a part of dharma. We find Parasurama beheading his mother at the command of his father. Indeed, it is a great adharma. But this shows the strong and blind feeling of respect to father. The fact that Parasurama had no ill-feeling for his mother in as much as his mother was restored to life by the boon given to him by his father. And the condition of the boon was that his mother would not remember his cruel act. Here we find the relative action of dharma. Parasurama maintained one dharma that is to obey the orders of his father and denied another dharma that is the dharma of non-violence. To him the first one was preferable on the ground that at those days the father had equal status like those of gods in heaven.

Pre-nuptial chastity is a condition in marriage code in grihyasutras and dharmasutras. It is a great dharma. In taking the vow to kill Jayadratha by the next sun-set Arjuna inter alia stated—he might face the same fate of marrying a non-virgin if he could not kill Jayadratha within the specified time limit. This clearly indicates the attitude towards virginity of the women in pre-nuptial stage. But we find its violation in the case of Satyavati and Kunti. In the strictest sense there were violation of dharma. Here we find the relative character of dharma.

Fidelity in wedlock is a great dharma for the women. But we find its violation in many places in the Mahabharata. One glaring example may be cited. Oghabati was ordered by her husband to entertain guests at any cost for maintaining the dharma of hospitality. Oghabati had to allow the guest to co-habit her. Such action was not considered as adharma by the poet. We are puzzled to see the relative character of dharma and adharma.

Again from all aspects and perspectives, 'niyoga prathā' is adharma, as it is against the law of chastity and fidelity in wedlock. But we find so many instances of the application of this system in the Epic. And they were not considered as adharma. This also shows the relative character of dharma and adharma.

But there are so many instances in the Mahabharata wherein we find the full exposition of dharma. In them we find no relativity, on the other hand the principle of dharma has been followed very rigidly.

In the episode of Vaśiṣṭha and Visvamitra we find the true spirit of dharma. Vaśiṣṭha was a Brahmana. To a Brahmana forgiveness is the best virtue. Under the most pitiful state, he controlled his anger and malice and forgave Visvamitra for his misdeed and immoral action. The action of Vaśiṣṭha followed the path of dharma.

In the episode of Pandavas and Duruvāsā we observe that the dharma of hospitality has been maintained in the highest degree.¹¹ The Pandavas, against all fearful consequences, agreed to entertain Durbasa and his innumerable disciples. It was an impossible task for the Pandavas to feed them at such odd hours. And they were fully aware of the great curse of the rishi for refusal of hospitality. They were prepared to maintain the dharma of hospitality at all costs, inspite of their own harm. Here we find that dharma travelled along a right path.

In the episode of Urvasi and Arjuna¹² we again find the observance of the moral laws—a great dharma in man's life. When Arjuna was passing his days in heaven with Indra, Urvasi, the most lustful apsara, offered herself to be the wife of Arjuna. But Arjuna most respectfully and humbly refused her offer. Arjuna told her that she was like her mother as Pururva lineage came from her forefathers. Arjuna might have got the beautiful lady, but in that case it would be a crime on his part for disobedience of dharma.

In the episode of Uttarā we find another example to the obedience of the law of morality and good conduct. The king Virāta was eager to offer her daughter Uttarā in marriage with Arjuna in recognition of their help in the fight with the Kauravas. Arjuna refused his offer.¹³ The motive behind the refusal was that in

11. Mahabharata, Bana Parvan, Chap. 261.

12. Mahabharata, Bana Parvan, Chap. 46.

13. Mahabharata, Virat Parvan, Chap. 72.

that case people misunderstand him. Brihannalā (disguised name of Arjuna) was the tutor of Uttarā during their living incognito in the last year of exile. One might think of illicit connection with her. Arjuna, however, agreed to take her as the wife of his son. This shows the maintenance of dharma—a dharma of good conduct and obedience to the law of morality.

These are a few instances among so many wherein we see observance of dharma without any compromise.

We have thus tried to analyse the religious attitude of the Mahabharata as regards to dharma. Now the question arises how to make a guide-line for its observance. It is not possible to frame any guideline—each case should be judged on its own merit. Each incident has its own merit and in its performance consideration should be made in conformity with that merit. Then and then only the question of overturning and discarding the principles of dharma will come in.

We may conclude that the essence of dharma is universal and eternal. It is the combination of some human factors which are virtuous and moral in nature. Further, such qualities of dharma should be philanthropic, ethical and in conformity with the moral laws of life. Its function and effect is only limited to one's own interest but must be utilitarian. Its action may be relative in particular cases but it must fulfil the above conditions. Then it would be the real observance of dharma. If we try to analyse the varied instances of the Mahabharata in the above light we may have the solution for the diversity. Truth and morality is the fundamental basis of dharma. If there be truth, if there be good motive and if action be undertaken in conformity with the laws of morality then there would be no deformation of dharma. Relativity is not the question, the question is of morality. If the relative character of dharma appears to be moral then the application cannot be said to be against the principle of dharma. The epical attitude of dharma is to be found in conformity with the above view. So there is no absurdity in and denouncement of the true spirit of dharma. Only there are changes in colour. The poet with great dexterity put forth logic, argument and reasons for all such diverse accounts. But to establish this truth we must have free minds without any bigotry. The outlooks may be different in comparison with the trend of thinking of modern time. But we must not forget that epical age and modern age is not be same. Under changed circumstances there has evolved a new vision of thinking. But truth is truth and it will remain as truth for all times to come. Non-violence is one of the component parts of dharma. This is true for all ages. But there was violence in times of war—men were used to be killed like cats and dogs as we find in the war of Kurukshetra. Similar is the situation in the present age. In times of war, one atom bomb may kill millions of men in a minute without rhyme and reason. Then where is the difference between the epical age and the present age? So the function of dharma is not static but dynamic in nature. Then the only

question remains to be considered is the effects that come from the relative character. If the motive behind the relative action is found to be good then the action may be treated as virtuous and moral in nature.

The poet takes resort to the sub-naming of dharma viz., *swadharma*, *niṣkāma dharma*, *rājadharma*, *yoddha dharma* and so on only to reconcile diverse actions of dharma due to its relative nature. But dharma is practically one—it is 'mānava dharma'. It is above all. So it is necessary to see whether there is any violation of this supreme dharma in its relative application. It is interesting to note that the poet did not overturn this supreme dharma in his Epic. The deviations made in some cases are only apparent in nature and not fundamental ones. For each deviation the poet has endeavoured to put forward proper justifications. He had no ill-motive to deform dharma—but his intention was to fit it properly in different circumstances. His motive is always found good and virtuous. One single tone of thought is found everywhere that is the tone of solemnity and divinity of dharma. This is unity in diversity. He tried to maintain the inner significance of dharma. He proclaims the glory of dharma and shows apathy to all adharmas. He emphasises the cultivation of dharma in all the stages of life for ethical, moral, and spiritual developments. But the Epic is vast and its problems are numerous; so the poet found it difficult to apply the spirit of dharma in the same way everywhere. He tactfully managed it by giving outward colouring on dharma. These colourings are for temporary phases and we are befooled to see them as permanent nature of dharma. Dharma is dharma—it is fundamental in character of virtuousness and morality. It may be dynamic, but its quality would always remain the same. The law of relativity in the conception of dharma and adharma as we find in the Epic is not the fundamental change in the spirit of dharma. This relativity only proves that dharma is not static in nature but it moves on and on in conformity to the law of relativity. The poet has clearly explained this fact both directly and indirectly in the linking episodes. So we should not under-estimate the good motive of the poet by only considering the external aspects of the incidents so variedly described. One thing is clear that the poet did never allow himself to proclaim the immorality of dharma. What we see immoral in them is not really immoral in as much as it brought good to all in the long run. His motives for doing good were found to be present in all his thinkings.

This is the truth and philosophy of dharma as we find in the Mahabharata. As the motives conveyed the spirit of morality the actions so followed can also be treated as moral ones.

MYSTICISM IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

SIBAJIBAN BHATTACHARYA

Although it is usual to distinguish Indian philosophy as being mystical in its outlook, if not in its method, from Western philosophy, which has not concerned itself in its long history with the problems of mysticism except occasionally and briefly, still mysticism or mystical philosophy in India does not stand for one type of life-style, practice or theory. In this paper, we shall discuss the mystic element in the Rgveda, Advaita Vedanta and Kashmir Saivism.

1. **Mysticism in the Rgveda.**

It is often claimed that the Rgveda represents nature worship, polytheism and a rather crude imagery of gods and goddesses. This claim is certainly unjustified, for all through the Rgveda, there is a sense of all-pervading divine presence, immanent in man, and nature, unifying the universe and illuminating it. As an example, we shall give a brief analysis of the mystical philosophy of the seer Dirghatama, and also certain aspects of Kesi Muni.

To the Rsis of the Rgveda, nature was a living presence with which they could have communion. They worshipped the sun, the moon, the dawns, the night, the fire, water, rivers, seasons, herbs, trees, forests, the grass, farrows, agriculture, the lord of agriculture, mountains, stones, parjanya, etc. not as mere natural forces, not as anthropomorphic gods and goddesses, but as the various expressions of one divine foundational reality.

The number of the gods, sometimes stated as thirty-three thousands, sometimes as 3,339, would show polytheism, as usually understood by Western scholars to be impossible. For, to worship such a large number of gods individually is not possible. 'Polytheism' in the Western sense was never a practicable form of religion in the Rgveda.

The Rsis very often joined together the names of two, three or four gods, sharing certain functions in common; and they also grouped the gods together under a common name, Visvadevah, the all-gods, and addressed prayers and praises to them in their collective capacity. They perceived that many gods, having

sprung from the same source, are really one. Hence their plurality is unreal. "The real is one, the learned call it by various names, Agni, Yama, Matarisvan" (1. 164. 46). "The bird is one, the wise imagine it in different ways" (10. 114. 5).

It is merely that the gods are one, but the whole of the universe in its physical, material and natural aspects, too, is permeated by one divine presence. Even in the description of the horse-sacrifice (1. 162) the entire sacrifice, the apparent victim, all the implements used, all actions performed, are united in all-comprehensive divine presence. The result of this sacrifice, too, is all-pervasive, mundane, as well as spiritual.

The whole of 1. 164 is permeated with the sense of divine unity in all creations. Man has a body and a soul which is the principle of consciousness. But this consciousness has two levels—a surface level and a deeper level. At the surface level, the human subject knows objects, performs actions and enjoys pleasure and pain—the bird which eats the fruit and enjoys it. But this is not the whole of man. There is a deeper level of consciousness where he is simply the witness of the empirical self, unaffected by its pleasures and sufferings, by wants and needs, by motives and intentions.

It has been often alleged that mysticism, emphasising the oneness of man with the entire universe, obliterates the distinction between man and nature, between spirit and matter. Mystery of human existence is alleged to be unique and is radically different from mystery about the object. Man lives and participates in the mystery that he is, whereas he only contemplates the mystery of objects, reflects on it and solves it by objective methods.

Now this objection against mysticism is due to a total misunderstanding of the essential feature of mysticism. At the deepest level, man is consciousness, pure reflection. This reflection is freedom, for at this stage knowledge does not have any intentionality, does not refer to any objects, does not belong to a self substance different from consciousness. This pure consciousness is the foundation of man's existence at all levels, of his ego, his mind and his body. Consciousness is thus foundation of man's existence even at the surface level. He continues to live as a biological being only at the behest of the foundational consciousness at the deepest level, but then this consciousness is the foundation of not only of individual psycho-physical existence, but is also the foundation of the entire universe. The deepest and inner-most level which man approaches inwardly is also the deepest level, and the foundation, of the entire universe. Hence we have the equation—Atman-Brahman, the innermost being of the man is the innermost being of the universe; here there is no longer any mystery either of human existence or of the universe. When man solves the mystery of his own existence, he solves the mystery of the entire universe. This does not

mean that the mystery of human existence is equated with the mystery of the universe. When man is at peace with himself, he is at peace with the universe. Man and the world of objects are collateral existents, beneath and beyond both of which is the same reality. Thus mysticism emphasises that the *reality* of man is identical with the *reality* of the universe, but from this it does not follow that the *mystery* of man is identical with the *mystery* of the universe. For the mystery is only at the surface level and there man and the universe are different, it is only by transcending the mystery at the surface level and realising the truth that one solves both these types of mysteries only because truth is one.

Because *Truth is one*, Dirghatamas asserts categorically that the different gods are also one really (Rv. 1,164,46) : "They have styled (him, the Sun), Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni and he is the celestial, well-winged Garutmat, for the learned priests call one by many names as they speak of Agni, Yama, Matarishwan."

Human reality expresses itself in another way through articulate speech. Articulate speech is essentially a human phenomenon and is deeply connected with the essence of man at all levels. At the surface level communication among men is made possible through articulate speech. But this articulate speech springs from the depth of consciousness which is the foundation of not merely of men but also of the entire universe. Thus the different levels of speech are the same as the different levels of consciousness. "Four are the definite grades of speech : those Brāhmaṇas who are wise know them : three, deposited in secret, indicate no meaning : men speak the fourth grade of speech" (Rv. 1, 164, 45). In this famous stanza the sage Dirghatamas explicitly enumerates the different levels of speech, it is only at the fourth, surface level that speech is audible and serves the needs of communication among men to solve biological and mental needs. But as Dirghatamas expresses there are deeper levels of speech which do not become audible to other, they remain hidden in the deeper levels of man's existence. If we notice inwardly when one word emerges of the surface level as articulate speech, we realise that every word like every human action springs from human consciousness, only at the surface level the word is separated from its meaning—the word fire and the object fire are entirely different things. But at a deeper level specially at the deepest level where consciousness is realised at the foundation of man and the universe at once, the word is identical with the object which is its meaning. At this deepest level the word is also identical with all the gods. "All the gods are seated in the words of the *rks* which are often infinite emptiness (Parama Vyoman). He who does not know this what will he do with the *rks*? Those who know this secret, they are perfect" (Rv. 1, 146, 39). Here Dirghatamas asserts categorically that those who utter the hymns of the Rgveda only at the surface level are performing a useless action. For there is absolutely no movement towards inner truth, if one remains confined to finite truth, the level of articulate speech, one has to realise that all the gods are one that the highest reality is immanent in the words themselves, short of this rea-

lisation, chanting of the hymns is a labour lost. Thus, according to Dirghatamas, words and consciousness in which they emerge are one. Thus human existence is identified with the speech at different levels.

This also explains why Dirghatamas speaks of "infinite emptiness" (Paramavyoman) at the seat of the words at the deepest level. This emptiness is not nothingness. It is that stage where the finite subject and the objects standing over against it, restricting it, all melt into one unity. As there is nothing to oppose the subject at this level, the unity is felt at infinite emptiness a unity, empty of restricting and opposing objects. With the melting of these objects as a whole, the finite subject also vanishes. The subject is finite only so long as the object is there including other selves. When all the objects disappear the finite subject disappears and the pure consciousness is realised, by contrast, as infinite emptiness. But this emptiness is the seat of the words that is it is the same as infinite consciousness. For words emerge only from consciousness. Thus words are at the deepest level one, the plurality of gods as also the plurality of objects appear only at the surface level and the words and the objects are differentiated. Still words retain their essential relation with the objects even at surface level and this ontological relation of words with things forms the basis of the semental relation of words with objects. Thus basic ontological unity of words and objects explain how words can mean objects at the surface level. Meaning of words is not just association of words with objects. For all objects with which a word may be associated cannot be regarded as its meaning e. g., a spoken word may be caused by the movement of the vocal chord and this causal relation of the utterance of the word and the movements of the vocal chords may at times establish an association between a word and the speech of organ of the speaker. But this association has nothing to do with the semantical relation of the word with the object which is its meaning. Thus for example, the word fire means the object fire, yet the word fire may sometimes remind one by association of the speaker's speech organs or, of water by contrast, but neither the speech organs of the speaker nor water is what is meant by the word fire. Thus all associations of the word do not constitute its meaning. Even if we admit that the meaning is the form of association of the word with the object meant by it, still we shall have to admit that this form of association is very special and peculiar form different from all other forms of associations by causation, similarity, contrast or contiguity. There is of course an element of arbitrariness in the semantic conception of meaning an element depending upon the convention of the speakers of the language. But this arbitrary convention explains only how a particular sound comes to mean a *particular* word. But this presupposes the general fact that a word can mean an object. This general possibility of words meaning objects is presupposed, not explained by convention. That words can mean any object at all is to be explained by the ontological relation between the word and the object, and at the deepest level there is only the sound which manifest

itself into an infinite multiplicity of sounds at the surface level. Any sound, any word, can be made to mean any objects whatsoever. All words and all objects are identical with one another and with infinite objectless consciousness at the deepest level.

This awareness of divine presence enveloping all creations is found in almost every hymn of the Rgveda. Thus the seer Visvamitra, son of Gathi (4th generation of Subhara or Esiratha) asserts that the wise worship Agni in order that "They may go the way of the good" (3, 3, 1). The sage Utkila also asserts that Agni delivers us from sin (3, 15, 3). The sage Utkila (son of Katha) asserts that Agni is creator of the universe and *pervades* all worlds (3, 16, 4). Visvamitra, son of Gathi asserts, "Agni, the unbewildered, the ruler of the world, the radiant associated with givour and food, illumines the divine immortal parents of all things heaven and earth" (3, 25, 3).

The seer Visvamitra, son of Gathi asserts that Agni is omniscient (3, 25, 1). Thus the sage Visvamitra regards Agni as omniscient, omnipresent and the deliverer of man. The sage Vasistha (son of Mitra-Varuna) also asserts that Varuna envelopes the whole universe "in him are deposited the three heavens, the three earths with their six seasons are shown in him; the most adorable, royal Varuna has made this golden sun undulating in the sky he has made it to diffuse light" (7, 87, 5). Indra also has been characterised as allwise, omnipotent, omnipresent and all merciful. Indra performs all actions by his wisdom. "By what wisdom is he who is most wise renounced by that wherewith the mighty Indra repeatedly does great things, he is the especial effacer of the manifold sin of the worshipper, and bestows wealth upon his adorer" (4, 20, 9)—Vamadeva—4th generation on Angirasa). The thunder of Indra is his speech. "The speech of Indra is the thunder—(4, 21, 5). This sage Vamadeva here explains that thunder which is the weapon of Indra by which he kills his enemies is really his speech. This corroborates Dirghatamas' philosophy of speech which is at its deepest level is identified with infinite consciousness, destroying all ignorance and suffering; which are metaphorically stated to be the enemies of Indra. Thus we find that when Dirghatamas identifies Indra, Agni, Varuna, and Yama as the Supreme reality, he is not stating anything alien to Rgveda or foreign to Vedic philosophy and religion. So many sages have described all the gods to be one and possessing the same supreme characteristics we have already given details of these stanzas earlier.

The theory put forward often by Western scholars that Dirghatamas' hymns strike a different note, not in harmony with the general trend of the Rgveda is therefore open to question. Wilson has stated that all the stanzas of 1, 164 are found in the Atharva-veda where they seem to belong; but we see that Dirghatama hymn fits the Rgveda all too well to be denied its rightful place in this text.

This is the predominant tradition in the Rgveda. But there is a second tradition which is found in one hymn of the tenth mandala (10, 136). This is the tradition of the Munis, who are completely different from members of the society in all respects. Physically, the Munis keep long hair and are therefore described as Kesins. They are dirty and wear yellow clothes. They are wanderers, not living in societies or performing any social functions. It is not clear, however, whether anyone can start on the path of self-realisation in this manner except in a society. Everyone is born in a society and is brought up in a social environment. Even his life depends upon others, living in a society. Everyone has to depend on food, clothing, which one cannot supply for oneself by one's own effort. In the Vedic tradition, there is a sanctity attached to fore-fathers who have handed down the ageless wisdom to the posterity. But in the tradition of the Munis, the wanderers, without any social root, it is not clear what part of spiritual tradition they played; yet it is clear that they belong to one family. Vatasana and the hymn 10, 136 has its authors seven munis—Juti, Vatajuti, Viprajuti, Vrsanaka, Karikrata, Etasha and Rshya srnga. Even though they belong to an altogether different tradition of spiritual and social culture, they are yet held in great esteem by everyone. Spiritual realisation brings in magical powers—a doctrine which is otherwise absent in the Rgveda. We have already seen in the hymns of Dirghatamas and the others sages, self-realisation means the transformation of consciousness and knowledge. But in this tradition of the Munis spiritual realisation, of course, involves knowledge, but this knowledge is not the knowledge of the identity of the whole universe, but is rather a type of omniscience : “Cognizant of all that is knowable” (10, 136, 6). According to Sayana, the Munis, “become gods by the might of their penance.” This is also for the first time, we find a reference to penance in the Rgveda. The third point of difference is that the self-realisation of the Munis endow them with magical powers. In the self-realisation described by Dirghatamas, there is no mention of magical powers, but here the Munis who becomes identical with gods also wield the power of gods. The fourth point of difference is the presence of the power of the Munis to transmit spiritual excellence and power to others : “Exhilerated by the sanctity of the Munis we have mounted upon the winds.” (10, 136, 3). He is also the moral governor of the world, “appointed for pious works”. (10, 136, 4) The plurality of gods and goddesses does not make any difference to this spiritual realisation of the Munis. He is equally attached to all of them, “the friend of each deity”. (10, 136, 4) All persons also regard the Munis as their true friends, “sweet and most delightful friends” (10, 136, 6).

Thus the spiritual realisation of the Munis transform them into a source of sweetness, although coupled with omniscience and omnipotence. They live and move among the gods and goddesses. “The Muni flies through the firmament” (10, 136, 4), “along with Rudra, drank the water with his cup” (10, 136, 7).

2. The Theory of Advaita Vedanta

According to Advaita Vedanta, the self is identical with pure consciousness which is not essentially related to any object, for it cannot be really related with anything. It is eternal and beyond all change, and is the highest reality. Empirical consciousness, however, is of objects. In order to explain the nature of empirical consciousness it becomes necessary for Advaita Vedanta to introduce some principle which will explain what cannot be a real knowledge of objects, as distinct from the pure, transcendental consciousness, is based on a transcendental illusion. Owing to this transcendental illusion self-shining consciousness is 'reflected' on the inner sense. This inner sense is, according to Advaita, material, being an evolute of *maya*, and is spread out, and hence can assume modes which are images of objects. The inner sense with consciousness reflected in it is the empirical self. This reflection of consciousness in the inner sense is due to the transcendental illusion, i.e. a false identification of the transcendental self with the material, unconscious inner sense. According to Advaita Vedanta, in perception of an external object the inner sense goes out to the object through the outlet of the sense organ and assumes the shape or modification of the inner sense is the *vrतti* of the *antahkarana*. This mode is illuminated by consciousness and is known. This means that the relation between consciousness and the external object is mediated on both sides. Consciousness itself is not related with the object, only the inner sense which is illuminated by consciousness is thus related. But again it is not the object itself which is related to consciousness as reflected in the inner sense, but only its image in the inner sense which is directly illumined by consciousness. Thus the inner sense acts as the medium where the subject and the object meet.

Now we come to an analysis of the subject-object relation when the object is internal. According to Advaita Vedanta, only external objects need to be copied by the inner sense in order to be presented to consciousness, but the copies themselves are known directly by the witnessing consciousness. The copy theory of knowledge will lead to an infinite regress if the copies themselves have to be copied in order to be known. So the witnessing consciousness is postulated which can and does know the internal states without the mediation of images.

This witnessing consciousness which is sometimes the direct awareness of the internal states is also objectless at times. Thus, in deep dreamless sleep there is consciousness of sleep, but there is no object of consciousness. For, even the internal states do not arise in deep sleep. This direct awareness independent of the images, and witnesses the passing away of one image and the origination of a new image. The images succeed one another, they are discrete, yet the finite self even in its finitude is a unity. There is a consciousness behind the changing states of the inner sense which remains unaffected by the change and knows everything that goes on in the mind. No one can deceive this consciousness which is the witness of all

our mental states. The witnessing consciousness reveals not merely the mental states but all objects either as known or as unknown. This is why when one knows a new object for the first time, one has the feeling that one is knowing an object hitherto unknown to one. This is possible only because the object was not merely unknown to him, but was known to be unknown to him. The knowledge that the object was unknown to him is the function of the witnessing consciousness,

Now, if the witnessing consciousness reveals everything, subjective and objective, is infallible and unerring, then how is it that a finite individual still remains ignorant of the true nature of the self? We have already seen that Nyaya also faced the problem of explaining why a finite individual should not be omniscient. This problem arose in Nyaya because it conceived a finite self as omnipresent, and to solve this problem it had to postulate a special function of the body in the production of knowledge. Now, Advaita Vedanta admits that the witnessing self is omniscient in a sense, for it has direct knowledge of everything. But the direct knowledge is not sufficient to make one omniscient in the true sense of the term. Omniscience should cancel all ignorance, but the type of omniscience which the witnessing consciousness enjoys cannot do this. Ignorance, according to Advaita Vedanta, is not mere absence of knowledge, but is false cognition. This false cognition can be cancelled only by a true cognition which involves modes of the inner sense. We have seen that the witnessing consciousness is direct consciousness which does not involve any mode of the inner sense. Hence, it is incapable of cancelling ignorance. In order to attain liberation it is necessary to have a mode of the inner sense about the ultimate reality (brahmakaravrtti). This is the last mode which the inner sense presents to the consciousness of the finite individual. This awareness of the ultimate reality which is identical with the transcendental subject cancels maya, the principle of finitude, and the individual is liberated.

Let us now compare the Nyaya and the Advaita theories. We first note the points of similarity :

- (1) According to both Nyaya and Advaita, consciousness of objects has to cease if the individual is to be liberated. According to Nyaya this means that the liberated self has no consciousness at all; according to Advaita Vedanta, this means that the liberated self dissolves itself totally into the pure transcendental consciousness.
- (2) Both prescribe the same method for attaining liberation, i.e. sravana, manana and nididhyasana. The self is realised in its true nature by intuition which is the culmination of intense rational activity.

Now let us note the fundamental points of difference between these two theories.

- (1) According to Nyaya the finite self is eternal and omnipresent. It cannot be destroyed. According to Advaita Vedanta, the finite self is essentially a mystery; an irrational and unreal relation of the pure consciousness with the material inner sense is at the root of its being. Liberation is not a continuation of the finite self in any form but the release of the pure consciousness from its association with the not-self. The finite self, being a product of maya, has no beginning but comes to an end when the self is liberated.
- (2) According to Nyaya, liberation is just cessation of suffering, while according to Advaita it is not a negative state but a state of pure bliss.
- (3) According to Nyaya, the intuitive knowledge of the self, which cancels false cognition, is kept as an actual mental state, whereas according to Advaita Vedanta this final knowledge consists in having a mode of the ultimate reality. According to Nyaya, the inner sense being atomic, there can be no image of anything, whereas according to Vedanta the inner sense is like a plastic substance which can assume shapes of objects, i.e. can have images.
- (4) According to Nyaya, the process of liberation is purely a personal affair which leaves the rest of the world unaffected, but according to Advaita Vedanta this is a cosmic process. The ignorance which is the cause of bondage is also the cause of the world. So the process of destroying bondage is also the process of the dissolution of the world. But this gives rise to a problem for Advaita Vedanta. According to this theory the ultimate is one transcendental consciousness, the finite selves are many, for maya, which is involved in the constitution of the individual, though one, is yet the principle of multiplicity thus giving rise to a plurality of finite objects and finite subjects. If liberation is the cancellation of this principle, then liberation is also the dissolution of the world. If maya is cancelled, then all finite objects and also all finite subjects would be annihilated. That is, the liberation of one person will be the liberation of all. (It is interesting to note that Sri Aurobindo, who differed radically in his interpretation of maya from the Advaita interpretation, accepted this consequence of the Advaita theory. He admitted that the liberation of one person is the liberation of all persons, and it is believed that Sri Aurobindo will liberate all mankind, indeed, all forms of life, by his own Sadhana.) If maya is not destroyed, then none are liberated. Personal liberation is thus impossible. Advaita Vedanta solves this difficulty by distinguishing between two types of avidya—*tulavidya* and *mulavidya*. There is a type of avidya which attaches to the individual and is different from the universal cosmic avidya. For

the liberation of the individual, it is sufficient to destroy his personal avidya, not the universal avidya. If this explanation of the Advaita school is accepted, then on this point, the difference between Nyaya and Advaita is considerably diminished. For now, liberation is personal according to both, and when a person attains liberation, the rest of the world remains unaffected. On other points their differences remain.

3. Suggestions for a theory of the self and some techniques of self-realisation: Kashmir Saivism

We shall now try to explain a theory of the self which will avoid the difficulties of both Nyaya and Advaita Vedanta, and will take into account the various aspects of self-consciousness. The self as a factor of all experience is a conscious principle. There is no point in postulating a self which is essentially unconscious as is done in Nyaya. Advaita Vedanta, on the other hand, has to postulate an irrational unconscious element, maya, in order to explain the appearance of the world. The relation, if any, between maya which cannot be described either as real or as unreal, and the transcendental consciousness which is existence and bliss, is again a mystery. The difficulty is basically the difficulty of dualism. If any unconscious element is admitted, in whatever form with whatever ontological status, in a metaphysical system, it cannot be got rid of afterwards in any way. To avoid this difficulty of dualism we have to say that the so-called unconscious matter is itself really consciousness, i.e. there is nothing but consciousness. The appearance of matter, then, is a false appearance; the difference between Advaita Vedanta and the theory we are explaining here lies in the explanation of this false appearance.

Consciousness, which is indubitable for man, is, as known in introspection, empirical consciousness referring to, or intending objects. The empirical subject knows objects (external or internal, gross or subtle), performs acts (good or bad, moral or immoral), and enjoys pleasure and suffers pain. The empirical subject reveals, on analysis, a composite structure of three elements—(a) the ontological principle of presentation; (b) the ego (c) the ontological principle of deliberation.

- (a) The very basic feature of empirical consciousness is that it can have presentations, that things and objects can be presented to it. Consciousness at this level is always consciousness of objects which are presented to it. Objects can be presented to consciousness only through mental states. The capacity to have states is thus the fundamental feature of empirical consciousness, and because of this capacity empirical consciousness is intentional, is capable of referring to objects. This capacity is due to an ontological element in the very structure of the empirical subject and is called *buddhi*.

- (b) The second element of the empirical subject is the ego, the empirical consciousness is always known in introspection as personal consciousness as 'my' consciousness. Because of this element, everything which the empirical subject knows, does or feels, is introspectively known as 'my' knowledge, 'my' action, 'my' pleasure or 'my' pain. But this ego is ontologically derivative, because it is dependent upon *buddhi*. If there is no mental state, either of cognition, or of conation, or of affection, then there will be nothing which the ego can own; but as the ego is the principle of ownership, of appropriation, it is logically and ontologically dependent upon the *buddhi* which produces the mental states which are to be owned. This ownership, again, introduces a stable and enduring unity among the different mental states. The mental states are unified as states owned by the same person, as states of the same person, with the ego the person is born. The ego as the principle of ownership is also the principle of unification, and as the principle of unification, it is also the principle of restriction and limitation. The ego delimits empirical consciousness and differentiates one empirical subject from another. Paradoxically, the ego endows not merely the empirical subject with independence, making it the doer of its own deeds and the enjoyer of its own feelings, but endows the object too with the same degree of independence. This is because when the ego turns the empirical consciousness into the subject of knowledge, it makes the subject owner of its own knowledge. Thus the distinction is made between an act of knowing which the subject performs and owns, the act which is thus subjective, and the object of knowledge which the subject cannot own, or in any way modify by an act of knowing, i.e. an object which is totally independent of the subject. The object of knowledge is generally independent of the will of the empirical subject, not merely of its act of knowing. Thus, the ego delimits the empirical consciousness as the knowing subject by the independent object.
- (c) The third element in the empirical subject is that which is responsible for deliberation. Sometimes there is conscious vacillation as in a state of doubt which is resolved only by a deliberate act. This activity is different from mere presentation; there cannot be any doubt unless conflicting descriptions of the same object are simultaneously presented to consciousness. The activity of resolving the doubt by deliberation is due to an ontological element called *manas*. The *manas* is derived from the ego and is dependent, logically and ontologically, upon it. For conflicting descriptions of the same object can give rise to a state of doubt only if the descriptions are presented simultaneously to the same subject. As the ego is the principle of unification of mental states, without its operation there will be unrelated presentations of mental states; without per-

sonal identity there can be no conflict among presentations. Thus if Mr. X knows something to be *B*, and if Mr. Y knows the same thing as *not-B*, there is no state of doubt even though *B* and *not-B* are contradictory. The law of contradiction, as a *law of thought*, cannot be stated simply as : *A* cannot be thought to be *B* and *not-B* at the same time. It has to be stated as : *A* cannot be thought to be both *B* and *not-B* at the same time by the same person. And because without the ego there cannot be any person, doubt and its resolution are dependent upon its function, and so also is the *manas*. Thus *manas*, being ontologically dependent on the ego, is different in different persons. It being the principle of doubt and supposition of determination and ascertainment, it is the determining factor of logical and philosophical theories. Thus there is always the possibility that philosophical theories will be different for different types of persons, and even for different persons. This is true not merely for philosophical theories, but for all theories, theorising being an activity of the *manas*. In the case of empirical theories, too, there is always the possibility of different theories explaining the same set of facts. Their difference is not, for this reason, merely linguistic; for the question whether they all explain the same facts equally satisfactorily or not can be raised and it can be answered only if the attitude, purpose and interest of the persons involved are taken into consideration.

The empirical subject is introspectively known to be finite. The finitude of the subject is not so much its exposure to pain and suffering as its essential limitations—its very much limited powers of cognition, affection and conation. The finite individual is a particular person having a body, and is consequently limited by things and persons. The finite person is not all-comprehensive; he is not everything that is there, he is not the universe. He is not omnipotent, omniscient or omnipresent. The limitation is due primarily to the ego which circumscribes the consciousness, ties the mental states into a knot as it were; the body is only the external manifestation of the ego. It is subject to death and decay, but the *manas*, the ego and *buddhi* are not. The birth of a person is simply the assumption of a new body by the empirical ego. The body is ontologically dependent upon the ego, but the ego is not dependent upon the body and can survive bodily death. The finitude of the individual is not due to its bodily existence, but because of the presence of the ego. So long as the ego remains, finitude, in the sense of limitations of personality, remains. Liberation is liberation from the ego and its limitations. The individual is liberated by transcending the ego. Thus, liberation is not primarily a permanent relief from all types of suffering, not even the realisation of an abstract undifferentiated consciousness, but rather the transcendence beyond the ego and its restrictions. By cutting the knot of the ego, consciousness ceases to be personal, it is spread out infinitely, and becomes identical with the universe. The universe is

then seen to be identical with the transcendental consciousness, arising from it and again withdrawing into it. So long as consciousness is ego-centric, all thoughts, feelings and actions are directed towards furthering the interests of the ego. But when consciousness is universe-centric, thoughts and actions no longer serve the interests of a single individual, they become disinterested. As there can be no sense of want there is no longer any feeling of pleasure or pain; there is only a sense of fullness, unvarying and undying. There is nothing outside this transcendental consciousness, there is nothing to be attained; all actions and thoughts are unmotivated, completely free, not even restricted or governed by the laws of logic. Therefore, there is no reason why thoughts and actions are there; they are there simply because the free transcendental consciousness freely wills them.

The problem which arises here is : If this transcendental consciousness be the only reality, how then do objects, the world and individuals, arise ? In order to solve this problem we have to explain the nature of transcendental consciousness and the nature of creation.

Transcendental consciousness is self-consciousness; the process of being self-consciousness is reflection. This power of reflection is the power of the transcendental consciousness and is identical with it. This reflective power is also the same as its freedom. We should note here the difference of this theory from the Advaita Vedanta theory. According to Advaita Vedanta, the ultimate reality is the self-shining consciousness which is different from the knower and the known. This consciousness is not *of* anything, for *of* involves a relation, and this consciousness transcends all relations. Thus the transcendental consciousness, according to Advaita Vedanta, is pure knowledge without any reference to any knower and to anything known. So although this consciousness is self-shining, it is not self-consciousness, i.e. consciousness *of* itself; it is not reflective consciousness and there is no power of reflection in the transcendental consciousness. The transcendental consciousness of Advaita Vedanta is consciousness pure and simple, it simply is, it is bare existence, but not consciousness in the real sense. For consciousness and reflection are one and the same.

Now let us see how the world can arise from the transcendental consciousness which is reflective consciousness. By reflection, consciousness becomes conscious of itself, reflecting is not creating. So the world cannot be said to be created. By reflection what is implicit in consciousness is made explicit; the so-called creation of the world can be nothing but the process of its manifestation, the process of being made explicit. The whole world is in consciousness, the universe is the transcendental consciousness; sometimes it is manifest, sometimes not. Transcendental consciousness is implicit when the power of reflection remains dormant or is dispositional; at this stage there is no world, no creation. Such inactive i. e. unreflective state of transcendental consciousness has to be postula-

ted only if we held that the universe as a whole can cease to be. If the cessation of the universe is not insisted upon, then there is no need to postulate a state of transcendental consciousness where it is inactive.

The act of reflecting is the act of making explicit what is already there in consciousness, and this is the so-called act of creating. For, the act of making explicit by reflection is to make what is made explicit stand before consciousness as if it were different from, or other than, the reflecting consciousness. The object is not 'that which stands over against the subject' (*egenstand*) but 'that which stands before the subject' as if it were different from it. Reflection is the act of creating an *appearance of duality* in the subject, the duality of the subject which reflects and the objects which is reflected upon. But in self-consciousness, the self which is conscious and the self of which it is conscious are not really opposites; the object self is not really another of the subject self, nor is it felt to be so. To reflect is to hold before consciousness what is in consciousness. So, self-consciousness is altogether different in nature from ordinary objective consciousness wherein the subject is confronted by an object which is its contradictory, so much so that felt opposition between the reflecting subject and the subject reflected upon. The world of objects stands before the transcendental subject just as in reflection the subject stands before itself. This explains why without the act of reflecting the world collapses and vanishes into the inactive transcendental consciousness.

We can now see the fundamental difference of this theory from the Advaita Vedanta theory. Samkara starts with the opposition of the subject and the object, so much so that their apparent unity becomes an insoluble mystery to him. The realisation of this mysterious element in all experience is, for him, the beginning of philosophical thinking. His assumption that the subject and the object are contradictories leads him to postulate *maya* to explain this contradiction, although his explanation amounts merely to an affirmation that the manifestation of the world is essentially an insoluble mystery. The theory we are trying to explain here does not start with the assumption that the subject and the object are contradictory in nature. This assumption seems plausible only if we take ordinary objective knowledge as the model of all knowledge, but there is no reason to do this. If we take our stand on reflective self-awareness instead of on objective knowledge, then there is no need to assume that the subject and the object are contradictories, and there is no need for us to acquiesce in a dualism even in a mitigated form. There is nothing but reflective awareness; there is no need to postulate even *maya* in order to explain the appearance of the world.

There is another difficulty of the Advaita theory which this theory avoids. According to the Advaita Vedantists, consciousness has four stages—waking consciousness, dream consciousness, consciousness in deep sleep, and a fourth and final

stage in which consciousness shines in its pure form. Now self-realisation, according to this school, is consciousness at the fourth stage. But these philosophers also hold that a person who has attained liberation can continue to live in his body; that is, even after rising to the fourth stage of consciousness where the world vanishes, a person can lapse into ordinary waking consciousness, and can again see the world and live in it, talk and communicate with other persons. But then the question arises : How can such a person lapse into the lowest form of consciousness—waking consciousness—after having reached the fourth and final stage ? We have already remarked that self-realisation is such a state that there can be no lapse from it, and it is impossible that a liberated person who has realised his unity with the Brahman can again know the world as the common man does. The change in the personality brought about by self-realisation seems to consist only in a moral transformation, for there does not seem to be any change in his waking consciousness, except that perhaps he has the memory that the world is unreal. But this memory does not prevent the appearance of the world from continuing so long as he is in waking consciousness. That is, self-realisation, on this theory, is incapable of transforming waking consciousness, just as waking consciousness can only contradict and annul dream consciousness, but cannot transform it. The liberated soul can, of course, rise to the fourth stage of consciousness at will, but so long as he is in that state of consciousness, the world and world-consciousness, i.e. waking consciousness, are contradicted and wholly disappear. But the difficulty is, if the state of self-realisation be a state from where there can be no 'fall' then how can the liberated soul at all lapse into waking consciousness ? Advaita Vedanta cannot explain how this is logically possible—for to say that the liberated person continues in his body so long as his *prārabdha* remains is not to resolve the logical difficulty.

The theory which we are recommending here is not involved in this difficulty. In self-realisation the world is not negated, neither is it necessary to remain perpetually in the fourth stage. Self-realisation is not complete unless one reaches a state of consciousness which is permanent and enduring; this realisation will be there even if the person is awake, dreaming or in a deep dreamless state of consciousness. The entire universe is seen to be in consciousness, arising out of it and disappearing in it. The different states of consciousness are likewise seen to be passing phases; the underlying transcendental consciousness shines through all of them. This is a deeper level of consciousness which does not annul the empirical mode of consciousness, but is at the back of everything, every mode of consciousness. This substratum consciousness is reflective self-consciousness, it is the witness of everything as arising out of it and disappearing into it. Once a person attaining this stage, he can, or need, not lapse into any other state.

We shall end our discussion by indicating briefly three techniques or methods of attaining liberation in our sense of the term :

- (1) The method which we first describe is essentially the method recommended by the Buddha as preached in the Anguttaranikaya (Rohilasvabagga). There he says that in the human body which possesses *manas* and consciousness, the universe is there—the cycle of its origination, duration and cessation is there; this is not merely the correspondence of the macrocosm with the microcosm. The way out of this cycle is also to be found in consciousness. The method is to attend to the process of meathing (anapanasati). This is not the usual practice of breath control. Breathing is the same as living in the body, and the body lives only so long as it is related with consciousness in a characteristic manner. Really everything that is, every action in the universe, proceeds from consciousness; breathing is more obviously so. Yet breathing has become so automatic that it goes on without our attending to it, as in sleep. The process of self-realisation consists in being conscious of every act of inhaling and exhaling; to constantly watch the breath as it comes in and goes out is to attain a deeper level of consciousness, to start on the path of inwardness and be a witness of meathing. The Buddha gives details of this method which we need not explain here. But the philosophy behind it is that to attain a deeper level of consciousness is to be a witness that every action, thought, feeling comes out of consciousness and returns to it. We are not involved in these actions, thoughts and feelings when we become a witness. The highest stage of consciousness is attained only when the ego is transcended and consciousness becomes identical with world-consciousness which again is identical with the world. There is no going out, no intending, no referring to, an object outside consciousness, to another which contradicts it. Consciousness is self-contained, it is fullness.
- (2) The second method, also an ancient one, is to constantly watch the emergence of the spoken word. Speaking is obviously a conscious act, yet it becomes so automatic that people are constantly speaking, if not loudly than in a subvocal manner, or even in dream. It is a fact that speech arises from consciousness, although we are not aware of it, we do not realise it. Going back to the deeper consciousness is easy if we watch how speech originates in consciousness, in a very subtle form, then passes through various stages before reaching the final stage of audible speech. The practice of watching the subtle form of speech, again, takes the consciousness away from external objects, and thus helps us to attain the state of witnessing consciousness, aloof from the world. The consciousness is not involved in the world, the world is in consciousness.
- (3) The third method has been explained in detail by Rajanaka Kshemaraja, a direct disciple of the great yogi, Abhinavagupta, in his book Pratyabhijnahridayam. We have already stated that in empirical consciousness

there is always some presentation or the other. These presentations of mental states are short-lived and they succeed one another, although very quickly. But there is a gap, a split-second interval, between two succeeding states. Through this gap the underlying substratum consciousness, the transcendental consciousness which is beyond all mental states (*nirvikalpa*); shines in its pure form, just as light shows through cracks in a wall. The transcendental consciousness is overlaid with mental states; but because it is eternally there, it cannot be extinguished by empirical consciousness. On the contrary, empirical consciousness is possible only with the permanent support of the substratum consciousness. The method of self-realisation is to identify oneself effortlessly with this fundamental consciousness, to begin with only for brief moments, in the gaps between two mental states. This method is the most direct of all methods, it gives us a direct access to the transcendental consciousness from the level of empirical consciousness, and releases us directly from the limitations, privations, and constraints of the ego. The transcendental consciousness is self-consciousness, not an object-consciousness. We conclude with a rough translation of a famous verse of the *pratyabhijna* school :

He, whose mind is tranquil without the support of any object, whose breath is controlled without effort, whose gaze is steady without looking at anything, is in the mudra of the pure *khecari* (i.e. has attained self-realisation).

THE RITUAL OF DAILY PUJA IN THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE OF PURI : AN ANALYTICAL APPRAISAL

G. C. TRIPATHI

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The most prominent feature of the medieval Hinduism is perhaps the upsurge of *Bhakti* or the spirit of devotional surrender and service to God. This led to the construction of a very high number of magnificent and imposing temples all over India which again served as focal points for disseminating the message of Bhakti among masses by bringing God within the reach of common man. The temple of Jagannatha at Puri, constructed in 1112 A. C. by Codagaṅga Deva of the Eastern Gaṅga Dynasty has played a vital role in popularising Viṣṇu Bhakti in the eastern and north-eastern parts of India(Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal, Assam). This is the sacred place where the great Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya—whose 500th birth anniversary was celebrated all over the world—resided for about 23 years (from 1510 to 1533 A.C.) and spread from here his message of love and devotion towards Kṛṣṇa as well as his creed of *Nāma-saṃkīrtana* into every nook and corner of India. It is one of the four *dhāmas* which every pious Hindu aspires to visit at least once in his life time.

The temple of Jagannātha is unique in the whole of India in the sense that the worshipable images of this temple are made of the easily perishable *Neem* wood and that they are renewed every 12 or 19 years when the year has two Āśādha months. The old images are then buried and the 'life substance' (*brahma-padārtha*) of the old images is transferred into new images. These images have a crude iconography which in no way conforms to the traits laid down in the Śāstras for fashioning the image of God Kṛṣṇa with whom Jagannātha is identified. The legend of the establishment of the Kṣetra of Jagannātha contained in Skanda-Brahma and Nārada-Puranas clearly points out that these icons were first worshipped by the *Sauras* (Sabara) of Orissa as their tribal god but were then slowly taken into higher Hinduism under the influence and impetus of Brahminism coming from Malwa.

Whereas there stand at present four wooden deities on the dias (Ratnavedi) of the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Temple (i.e. Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and

Sudarśana), it seems that originally there were perhaps only two deities, namely Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu and Kamalā (Lakṣmī) on the Vedi. The inscriptions of the successors of Codagaṅga (cf. Dasgoba C. P. grant of Rājarājadeva III, 1198-1211 A. C.) speak of the construction of a temple at sea-shore by ‘Gaṅgeśvara’ for Puruṣottama and Rāma. The *Anargharāghava* of Murāri (9th century) has also a direct reference to ‘Puruṣottama and Kamalā at sea-shore’ in its prologue. It seems that the figure of ‘Balabhadra’ was introduced later into the temple (and shaped after Subhadrā) to integrate certain elements of Śaiva worship into the originally Vaiṣṇavite-Tantristic cult of Puruṣottama. At present Jagannatha represents Kṛṣṇa. Subhadrā is identical with goddess Bhuvaneśvarī and Balabhadra stands for Śiva. The so called ‘Sudarśana Cakra’ is a representative of Nṛsiṁha with whom he is identified in the Pāñcarātra Āgamas (cf. Ahirbudhnya Samhitā). It is almost certain that the statues of the pair of ‘Jagannātha’ and ‘Subhadrā’ have developed out of the icons of the tribal pillar deities, i.e. out of the male Pillar-God and the female Pillar-Goddess, the like of which are still worshipped as Narasiṁha (or Dadhivāmana) and Mother Goddess (e.g. *Stambheśvari* at Sambhalpur) in the hinterland of Orissa. They must have been worshipped for ages as tribal deities before being slowly Hinduized in the centuries following the rule of Imperial Guptas over Orissa i.e. during 6th to 8th centuries. Whereas Sanskrit dramatist Murari (around 900 A.C.) is first to mention the Ksetra of Puruṣottama and its ‘yatra’ (=the chariot-festival), the first unmistakable epigraphical reference to this Ksetra (“*Odre:u purusottamam*”) is supplied by a stone inscription embedded in one of the walls of the temple of Sarada at Maihar in M. P., Prof. D. C. Sircar and V. S. Subrahmanyam ascribe the inscription to the middle of 10th C. on paleographical grounds. It is thus clear that the Ksetra had already gained celebrity before Codaganga built a temple at this place to placate the local populace of Orissa which he had only recently subjugated.

It seems that the wooden pillar god of tribal Orissa was most naturally identified first of all with god Narasiṁha who is said to have come out of pillar and whose worship is very popular in the coastal Orissa as well as northern Āndhra Pradeśa (Kaliṅga). The big round eyes of Jagannatha, though now highly stylized, betray this even to this day. The most convincing proof to this effect, however, is derived from an analysis of the ritual of *Navakalevara*, when the wooden statues are re-fashioned. During the whole ceremony the unfinished statue of Jagannātha is treated as Nṛsiṁha and is consecrated with Nṛsiṁha mantra for a number of days. The first-sacrifice (*Vanayāga*) in the forest (for fetching the *Dāru*) as well as at the temple for this purpose is also performed with the *Pātāla-Nṛsiṁha mantra*. In the second phase of development this wooden statue together with its female consort develops into the pair of Puruṣottama and Laksmī whose beautifully carved stone statues belonging to 8th-10th century are found at several places in Orissa especially in the valley of Prācī river. The god Puruṣottama has a predomi-

inent erotic aspect in the Tantric worship as illustrated by the Śāradātilaka of Lakṣmaṇadeśika (end of 10th C.). The aspect also wonderfully fits into the contemporary religious milieu of Orissa which is marked by an all-out bloom of Vajrayāna (cf. the relics at Ratnagiri).

This is the time when we start getting the reference of Puruṣottama and Lakṣmī in Sanskrit literature, epigraphs and the cult. The leap from Puruṣottama to Kṛṣṇa is not a big one since Kṛṣṇa is only a sub-aspect of the Visṇu deity Puruṣottama, who is closely associated with Kāma. When Puruṣottama becomes Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī naturally gets transformed into Ekānamśā i.e. the Yogamāyā of Viṣṇu who was born of Yaśoda and was exchanged for Kṛṣṇa. According to the legend narrated in the *Harivṛṣṭi Purāṇa* etc., this Ekānamśā rose to heaven when dashed against a rock by Kāma and showed him her eight-armed form. She then moved towards Vindhya mountain where she came to be worshipped as Goddess by the wild tribes such as Śabaras and Pulindas. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* describes the iconography of the goddess Ekānamśā as standing between Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with one hand resting on her waist and the other holding a lotus (58.37). Ekānamśā is later termed as Subhadrā, though this sister of Kṛṣṇa (and a wife of Arjuna) is never mentioned as a worshipable deity in any of the Hindu religious scriptures. It seems that during the time of the composition of the *Gīta-govinda* by Jayadeva (around 1225 A.C.), who is believed by modern scholars to hail from Orissa, the Kṛṣṇaisation of Puruṣottama was complete; he already had the title of Jagannātha or Jagadīśa and was considered to be the Incarnator Himself, not one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu (*daśakṛtykṛte Kṛṣṇāya tubhyam namahī*).

Lord Jagannatha is today worshipped as ‘Kṛṣṇa’, the beloved of Gopīs’ (*Gopijanavallabha*). His Mantra is preceded by Kāmabija (*Klīṁ*). However, older works give other Mantras in which his Purusottama (cf. the work *Mahāpuruṣavidyā*) or Nārāyaṇa (cf. the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmya* of Brahma-Purana) aspect is stressed. The well known twelve-syllabic Vāsudeva Mantra (*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*) is used today to conduct the worship of Balabhadra, though his Nyāsas are those of Śiva. We have direct evidences to prove that the practice of use of the ten-syllabic Kṛṣṇa Mantra (*Gopijanavallabhāya svāhā*) for the worship of Jagannātha is at least as old as Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva (1467-1497 A.C.).

Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva was perhaps the first ruler of Orissa who systematically organised the cult practices and the ritual of daily worship in the temple of Jagannātha. His father Kapilendra (1434-67 A.C.), the founder of the Gajapati dynasty, was more busy with the consolidation of his empire. By the time of Puruṣottama the temple of Jagannātha had gained tremendous political importance and only he whom Jagannātha wanted to be his ‘foremost sevaka’ could wield the throne of Orissa. King Purusottamadeva therefore, who was not a legitimate successor to the throne, concentrated upon the temple and organised

its affairs. I feel that it was mainly due to his tough organisation of the cult practices that the Gaudiya Vishnuism of Sri Caitanya with its emphasis on the *Rādhābhāva* could not have any influence on the cult of Jagannatha, though Sri Caitanya spent almost 25 years in Puri during the reign of Prataparudradeva (1497-1535 A.C.), the son of Purusottamadeva.

Gajapati Purusottamadeva got a metrical work called *Gopālārcana-vidhiḥ* composed on the basis of Vaisnava and Śākta Āgamas to streamline the ritual of worship. Temple priests later adapted this work to create a manual on daily pūjā in prose which is known as *Nilādrināthasya Pūjāpaddhatiḥ*. Almost all subsequent *Pūjā-paddhatis* borrow from these two works frequently. There are, however, a few independent works as well which treat the ritual of pūjā as one of their many topics. The need for preparation of pūjā manuals increased suddenly in the late 16th and 17th centuries when the cult of Jagannatha experienced a fresh renaissance after the destruction of the Orissan empire by Suleiman Karrani in 1568 A.C. leading to the formation of many small Hindu states, everyone of which wanted to have its own Jagannatha temple.

[2]

The present author has been able to collect a number of old palmleaf manuscripts on the puja of Jagannatha on the basis of which he would like to describe the details of this ceremony. The main ceremony of pūjā (called *dhūpa*) is performed thrice daily in the temple of Jagannatha, i.e. in the morning, during the noon-time and in the evening. There are also two shorter versions of this pūjā which take place in the early morning and late at night. Anybody who has gone through the detail of the ritual would readily concede that it is not a primitive form of idolatry—as a number of Christian missionaries have claimed previously—but a subtle religious experience which enables the worshipper to communicate with the Divine at a very high spiritual plane. It is, in fact, not the statue which is accorded worship by the devotee but the ‘effulgence’ of the Deity realised by him in his heart and transferred into the image. In other words, it is the worship of Ātmā itself as *Paramātman* by creating a subject-object relationship between the two which are one and the same. The ritual as described in the ancient Manuscripts is as follows :

In the morning after finishing the bath and performing the obligatory rites of personal purification as well as *Samādhyā* (morning prayer) the worshipper first comes to the temple of Sungod and worships Him. He then worships the Door Attendants (*dvārapālas*) of Viṣṇu at the main entrance and entering the *sanctum* first makes it free from all disturbing factors (the rite is known as ‘*vighnotsāraṇa*’). He then seeks permission from Bhairava to proceed with the worship, arranges the flowers and other offerings (*upacāras*) in proper order and first purifies his seat

(*āsana*), then pays homage to his religious preceptors (*guru* and *paramaguru* etc.) including the deities Gaṇeśa and Durgā and prepares thereafter a protective wall of Fire and Water around himself. Now starts a complicated process of purification of the elements of the body which is performed mentally or on a 'spiritual plane'. The idea behind this process which is known as *Bhūtaśuddhi*, is that the human body as such is far too impure to approach Divinity. A fresh spiritual or rather divine body, is therefore, created dissolving the older one so that the worshipper could worship the Deity—possessing a spiritual body—from the same level. This body is endowed with soul by means of the mystic syllable 'Om' (called *pranava*) which represents the cosmic consciousness (*paramātman*) and the vital energies are infused into it by means of a special mantra (the *prāṇapratisthāmantra*) which consists of certain letters symbolically representing different bodily substances. The worshipper then undertakes to perform 'the regulation of breaths' (*prāṇāyāma*) in order to purify his body. After this the 50 letters of Sanskrit alphabet which in Tantras are known as *Mātrikās* i.e. 'mothers' creating the whole universe, are placed (Sans. *nyāsa*) on the six Cakras (i.e. noduli or the centres of psychic and spiritual activities) situated along the spinal cord within the body and thereafter on the different parts of the body from without. The former is known as *Antar-mātīkā* and the latter as *Bahirmātīkā* (*nyāsa*), i.e. the placement of the 'mothers' internally, resp. externally.

The next act in worship is that of identifying the newly created body with the Deity Himself in that the worshipper establishes the relation of 50 different forms or aspects of Viṣṇu (e.g. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa etc.) together with the Śaktis or Energies (e.g. Kirti, Kānti etc., all personified as the female counterparts of the various forms of Viṣṇu) with those 50 spots of his body on which he has just now placed the 50 letters of *Bahirmātīkā*. This is known as *Keśavādi-nyāsa* ('the placement of Keśava etc.) and it purports to turn the worshipper into Viṣṇu Himself in order to fulfil the condition : "One should worship the Deity after becoming the Deity" (*devo bhūtvā devam yajet*).

The last item of this long process of personal purification is known as *Tattvanyāsa* (tattva=elements) in which the 23 Tattvas of Samkhya system of philosophy i.e. the 5 *Tanmātrās* (=subtle principles; sound, touch, form, taste and smell), the 5 *Mahābhutas* (=‘great elements’, i.e. space, air, fire, water and earth), the 10 *Indriyas* (=the organs i.e. the 5 organs of sense and 5 organs of action) as well as *Buddhi* (intellect), *Ahamkāra* (ego, I-consciousness) and *Manas* (mind) plus 12 other faculties connected with different cosmic elements like those of Sun, Moon, Soul and Creator etc. are installed at their proper places in the body in conjunction with different letters of *Mātrikās*.

Thus entitled for worship, the devotee, who has now to receive the divine light in his heart, contemplates that his body is like a seat or pedestal (*pīṭha*) for the

Deity; the left and the right knees as well as the two shoulders are considered to be the four legs of this pedestal; the heart is like an eight-petalled lotus whose roots consist of Bliss (*ānanda*), the stalk is of perfect knowledge, the petals of *Prakṛti* (the primordial material substance) and the stamens of *Vikṛti* (the modifications of prakṛti) etc. He meditates upon Viṣṇu sitting on the pericarp of this lotus together with his nine Śaktis (potencies). He then brings out through his right nostril the 'glow' (*tejas*) of the deity, shining in the void of his heart which becomes manifest in the heart through concentrated meditation on the basic mantra (*mūlamantra*). The worshipper receives the divine glow on his hands and applies it symbolically to the whole body from outside, thus charging his whole person with the energy of his *Iṣṭadevatā* (the Deity). Meditating upon Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in his heart he then places the letters of the mantra (to be used in worship) conjoined with the *Mātrkās* on the different parts of his body in forward and backward order of alphabet and then in the same manner and order on the image of the Deity which has till now been treated as a skeleton (*pañjara*).

Before the deity is finally invoked and worshipped in the image, He/She is worshipped by the devotee in his heart with 'mental' offerings and prayers etc. A 'fire sacrifice' is also arranged in the lowermost nodulus (called *mūlādhāra-cākra* or 'the cakra which constitutes the basic fundament') in which the Deity functions as Fire. The devotee burns all his I-hood (*aham-tā*), untruth (*asatya*), passions (*kāma*) and anger (*krodha*) etc. in Him. The holy water to be used in the *pūjā* is then prepared in a conch by invoking the 'phases' (*kalās*) of Sun, Moon and Fire into it and the offerings are purified by sprinkling a few drops of this holy water (called *arghya*) on them.

The outwardly worship (*bahiryāga*) starts with the worship of the own body of the worshipper since it is still the abode of the Deity who is residing in his heart. He offers flowers to himself and draws 12 marks (*tilakas*) with sandal paste etc. on the different parts of his body uttering in the end the Brahmārpaṇa-mantra (cf. *Bhagavadgītā* IV. 24). He then purifies the 'Basic Mantra' by performing thrice the *prāṇayāma* and uttering the *Viṣṇugāyatrī* and then muttering the Mantra 108 times prefixing it with *praṇava* (Om) while holding his hands in the shape of *Yoni-Mudrā* over his heart. A *Yantra* (i.e. a diagram) is now drawn in the heart of the image in which the deity is to be invoked shortly. This yantra serves as a seat for the deity. The devotee now concentrates upon the Mantra visualising its meaning and deeply meditates upon the form of Kṛṣṇa sitting on a lotus flower with eight petals under the shade of *Kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-fulfilling divine tree) and surrounded with Gopīs etc. When the image becomes steady in his heart, he takes this *tejas* (glow) from his heart through *susumṇā*-nerve to his forehead between the eyebrows. Taking thereafter a handful of flowers and holding his *añjali* (folded hands) upright, he lets the *tejas* of the Deity descend on the flowers, gently places these flowers on the head of the image and lets the deity enter into it through its *Brahm-*

ārāndhra (the opening in the skull through which the soul leaves the body to be united with Brahman). The deity takes seat on the Yantra in the heart of the image.

After showing some *Mudrās* (i. e. gestures, represented usually with the help of fingers) to the deity to bring about his ‘establishment’ (*sthāpānā*), ‘proximity’ (*sannidhāna*) and ‘retention’ (*sannirodhana*) etc., the *Tattvanyāsa* (‘placement of elements’) is now carried out on the person of the deity through which He is believed to obtain a ‘qualified’ or physical (*sagunā*) body. The weapons or the attributes of the Deity are supplied to Him by means of appropriate *Mudrās*. He is now ready to accept the worship of the devotee.

The essence of the worship is to treat the Deity as an honoured guest who has come to the house of the worshipper after a long journey. The devotee offers Him first a seat, greets Him courteously, offers Him water to wash His feet and mouth etc., then gives him some refreshment (*madhuparka*), helps Him taking a bath, offers Him clothes, sacred cord and ornaments, applies fragrance to His body, presents flowers, incense and lights to Him and ultimately offers Him food or *Naivedya*. There are altogether 16 such offerings (*upacāras*) which are presented in an exactly prescribed order. For the sake of brevity on certain occasions some of the *Upacāras* are allowed to be omitted. This shorter version of *pūjā* then consists of five main *Upacāras*; viz. perfume (= sandal paste), flowers, incense, lights and food-offerings. Every time while offering an *Upacāra* to the Deity one or two verses are recited to the effect that the worshipper is conscious of the ultimate absurdity of offering such a worldly article to the Supreme Being of the Universe, but he is doing this for his own satisfaction.

Fruits and sweetmeats are the most commonly offered objects as *Naivedya* to the deity. Jagannātha temple constitutes a great exception in this respect, since here the articles like cooked rice and vegetable currys are the main items of food-offerings to the gods. The *Naivedya* is to undergo a strict ritual purification before it could be offered. The worshipper first looks at it with the basic Mantra, then sprinkles it with the ‘*astra*’ (missile) part of the Mantra (i.e. ‘*svāhā*’), guards it with a *Mudrā* symbolising the discus (of Viṣṇu) and thereupon utters ‘*yam*’, the bijamantra (a monosyllabic sound containing the energy of some element or deity in a ‘seed’ form) of Wind, in order to ‘dry up’ the *Naivedya* places his right hand over it uttering ‘*ram*’, the bija of Fire, in order to ‘burn’ it out places his left hand over it uttering ‘*vam*’, the bija of Varuṇa or *Amṛta*, the beverage of immortality. With the help of this bijamantra he now creates a new *Naivedya* for the Deity which is completely different in substance from the previous one, though looking alike. With *Dhenumudrā* it is then turned into *Amṛta* for the deity. He then takes flowers in his hands, requests the deity to accept

the Naivedya and imagines that the *tejas* (glow) of the mouth of the deity falls on the Naivedya.

Lights (*ārātrikam*) are then offered to the Deity to the accompaniment of the sounding of bells and He is entertained with dance and music. The host utters pleasing words to Him and shows his humility by expressing his inability to treat Him properly (*prasannārcā*). The pūjā of Jagannātha ends with offering Him *Rājopacāras* (articles representing royal authority) like an umbrella and chowrie etc. since Jagannātha is considered to be the overlord of Orissa.

The worshipper now sprinkles the remaining *arghya* (pūjā water) on his head and expresses by means of *Samhāra Mudrā* that the pujā is finished. Now is the time to bring back the divine *tejas* of the deity which is present inside the image, to the heart of the devotee. He meditates upon the Deity consisting of pure consciousness (*cinmaya-vapuh*), takes the *nirmālya* (flowers taken down from the image) in his hands and lets the *tejas* of the Deity come out of image through its right nostril to the *nirmālya*. Placing the flowers under his left nostril he lets the Deity enter into his heart. After uttering the Mūlamantra and visualising its sense for a couple of times, he shows the *Samāpanī Mudrā* and takes the remnants of the food of the deity as his *prasāda* (favour).

It is hoped that the above description of the rite of daily Pūjā will help removing the misconceptions and misgivings of a certain group of intellectual elite in India which still suffers from the prejudice that the Hindu Pūjā is an expression of immature and primitive religious thought.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF TWO SCHOOLS OF INDIAN THOUGHT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KASHMIR

JANKINATH KAUL 'KAMAL'

There are many schools of thought in India besides the six principal systems of Indian Philosophy. But we have to realize that the basis of all these is the same and we call it the Ultimate Reality. These Schools of thought rest their conclusions on several common concepts, which are :

- (i) All accept the eternal cycle of Nature which consists of vast phases of creation, preservation and dissolution.
- (ii) All accept that life and death are but two phases of a single cycle to which the soul is bound because of ignorance of the true nature of things.
- (iii) All accept Dharma as the moral law of the Universe which accounts for these eternal cycles of Nature as well as the destiny of human soul.
- (iv) All agree that knowledge is the path to freedom and that yoga is the method to attain final liberation.

All the schools of thought are, therefore, but the fundamental interpretations of the Ultimate Reality. They are so inter-related that the hypothesis and the method of each depends on those of the other.

The Advaita Vedanta of Shankara and the Kashmir Shaivism of Vasugupta and Somananda have great affinity with one another. The former influenced Kashmir, while the latter developed on her soil. Both advocate monism. Fundamentally, they have a single conception, but each develops it individually to suit particular minds. This we may attribute to the historical background and geographical situation of each.

Vedanta is an enquiry into the nature of the Ultimate Reality while Shaivism discusses the nature of this ultimate and explains the cause of the initial impulse in Nature. The sources of the former are the Vedas and those of the latter are the Tantras. But neither objects to the postulates of either of these. Both seem to have prevailed in this beautiful valley of Kashmir since the very early times, proba-

bly the first century A.D. This is evident from a keen observation of the performances of daily and occasional rites and rituals by Kashmiri Pandits even upto this day. Hymns from the Vedas and recitations from the Tantras are included in all kinds of such performances simultaneously,

People, in this land of Kashyapa, have from early times been very accommodating, perhaps because of the gift of intelligence. They assimilated what came their way. According to Dr. Stein, the Brahmins absorbed the Buddhist faith, and lived in harmony with their brethren who were converted to that faith in the valley. Thus, the old religion here seems to have been polytheistic, of course, with special inclination towards ritualistic Shaivism. Kula system, advocating the highest form of Shiva, had developed here in the 4th century A.D., and Krama system, connected with Raja Yoga and Kundalini Yoga which stress the inter-dependance of vital air and mind, had existed here even earlier.

Then, Shankaracharya (788-820 A. D.) visited this valley in the first quarter of the 9th century. He only re-established true faith in the Upanishads and explained these in his commentary of the Brahmasutra. He gave Vedanta Philosophy the right footing by writing his valuable and famous commentaries on the ten principal Upanishads and the Bhagvad Gita. Through his numerous hymns to different deities, he gave practical instructions that all sorts of different worships lead to the same goal—the Ultimate Reality—on Realization. In his Hymn to Dakshinamurti Shankara's conception of the Ultimate Reality is the same as that of Utpala's Pratyabhijna in Kashmir. Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan remarks in his book, 'The Hymns of Shankara'—"It is to be noted that in this hymn (of Dakshinamurti) Shankara employs some key-terms and concepts of the Pratyabhijna system known popularly as Kashmir Shaivism. The illustration of the mirrored city is found in the Pratyabhijna works".

Earlier, two great Shaiva families of Sangamitra and Atrigupta had migrated to Kashmir, when King Lalitaditya (725-761 A.D.) ruled here. They practised Tantric Shaiva rituals which had also influenced the people. Later Shankara's Tantric Philosophy also influenced the Trika system of Kashmir. This leads us to think that Shankara must have had personal touch with some early writers in Kashmir. Thus the mixed faith that the people of Kashmir had professed so far, developed into a philosophical system when Vasugupta and Somananda gave Spanda (Impulse) and Pratyabhijna (Recognition) thoughts respectively during the middle and the later parts of the 9th century. In one of his lectures on Kashmir Shaivism, Sri Swami Lakshman Joo has said—"Like Vedanta, this system endeavours to remove the innate ignorance that separates the individual from the universal".

As regards their composition, the points of difference between the two philosophies are :

(i) On the basis of Sāṅkhya Philosophy both hold that the Universe comprises of a number of *tattvas* (categories) twenty-three of which are common to both :

- Five Elements (*Panca Bhūtas*)
- Five organs of cognition
- Five organs of Action
- Five subtle elements
- Three internal organs—Mind, Intellect and Ego.

In Vedanta, the twenty-fourth is Prakṛti—the cosmic substance, which may be termed as the primal impulse of nature. Then there is Puruṣa, which we identify with Atman, the Pure Spirit, the instrumental cause of the manifest world. He is the Supreme Being, ever pure and not tainted with the stains of worldly corruption, just as no amount of dirt can ever alter the chemical purity of gold in a gold ring. Therefore, Soul or Self in Vedanta means the Universal Soul—Paramātman, God or Supreme Spirit. It brings all change by its mere presence as the sun brings forth the spring flowers.

Trika adds thirteen more categories :

- Prakṛti—the world of difference which has the quality of being,
- Puruṣa—the limited individual,
- Five sheaths (*kancukas*)—the limiting experiences of the individual, i.e., Time, Space, Desire, Limited Knowledge and Limited Power,
- Māyā—the power of production of Purusha and Prakriti,
- Five Supreme Energies, which are : Action (*Kriyā*), Knowledge (*Jñāna*) will (*Ichhā*), Bliss (*Ananda*) and Consciousness (*Cit*).

This makes thirty-six modifications in order of involution.

Kashmir Shaivism postulates the single Reality with two aspects—one, Transcendental and the other, Immanent. In Vedanta, these are termed ‘Causal Reality’ and ‘Effective Reality’. The first, however, is beyond manifestation and the second, pervades the universe of manifestation. But both are real as the effect cannot be different from the cause.

(ii) Vedanta discusses the relationship of God, Matter and World (*Īśvara, Jīva* and *Jagat*). The central theme of the Vedānta Sūtras is the philosophical teachings of the Upanishads, concerning the nature of these three principles. This includes the relation between the universal soul and the individual soul, clearly explained by Shankara.

The system of Kashmir Shaivism deals with the three-fold principles of God, Soul and Matter (Shiva, Nara and Shakti), which gives it the name Trika. Vasugupta received the *Siva-Sūtras* by inspiration and explained these to preserve for man the principle of monism, which had existed in the Tantras. This revived an understanding of truth in its ultimate form.

(iii) In Vedanta, Māyā is a means of operation. It is not a substance. It is the force which creates the illusion of non-perception in nature. It is the dividing or finitising force which creates form in the formless. The world is known as Māyā because it has no reality. It is only an appearance of fleeting forms. The real is never affected by the unreal, as the ground is never made wet by a mirage. Māyā is ignorance (Avidya) when it operates in the individual mind. It vanishes when the knowledge of reality dawns, just as the morning mist dissipates on the rising of the sun.

In Kashmir Shaivism, Māyā is the power of contraction of the five universal modes of consciousness. Its five evolutes are called 'sheaths', in which :—

- The Eternal Existence contracts into Time,
- All-pervasiveness contracts into Space,
- All-completeness contracts into Desire,
- All-knowledge contracts into limited knowledge, and
- All-powerfulness contracts into limited power.

Māyā, here, produces Purusha and Prakriti, which establish the dual world of mind and matter. Then it is termed *Māyā-Granthi*—the Knot of illusion, which is the cause of bondage. But Māyā, again, is the undivided power of Shiva. So it cannot be separate from the reality. As the gross power of consciousness, it is called Māyā-Shakti, the cause of liberation.

The influence of Māyā is evident in the law of Nature. Every period of action is followed by a period of rest, just as sleep follows waking activity.

(iv) In Vedanta, we have the four-fold discipline : Discrimination, Dispassion, Right Conduct and Desire for liberation. Advancing students are those who :

- (a) act with zeal and faith,
- (b) act for the good of humanity, and
- (c) are immersed in meditation.

That may mean that the intelligent alone can grasp the philosophy, as this is the latest development over many others. But in Kashmir Shaivism, there is no restriction of caste, creed or colour for admission to this order.

(v) Divine Grace is advocated to be unconditional in both the philosophies. In one it is generally called *Anugraha* and in the other *Śaktipāta*.

(vi) Badarayana's viewpoint is the outcome of the various schools of thought of his day, as there existed Āshmarathya, Audulomi, Kāshakritsna and others who held different views of Vedanta previously. But his is the accepted classic of this system today. It was endorsed and explained by Gaudapada and Shankara through Mandukya Karikas and Prasthanatrayee respectively. Vidyaranya held the same view in his Panchadashi.

Likewise, we see that the polytheistic faith with its inclination towards Shaivism developed into Kashmir Shaivism or Trika Philosophy with the advent of Vasugupta and Somananda in Kashmir. This was further strengthened by Utpala and Kallata, and later by Abhinavagupta. Spanda, Ishwara-Pratyabhijñā with Vimarsini and Tantraloka are the works worthy of mention. Tantraloka forms the encyclopaedia of Kashmir Shaivism.

To sum up, both the philosophies lay stress on their practical aspect and enable all to realize the teachings during one's life-time. Their individual developments lead to the common goal, which is realization of the Supreme Reality. The Vedas declare : "Truth is one, and the wise say it in many ways."

Although Kashmir Shaivism can hardly be fully grasped unless the six systems of Indian Philosophy are comprehended, yet no such system will be complete without it. No doubt, Tantras suffered a great criticism from Western and Eastern scholars due to their esoteric character. But thanks are due to Sir John Woodroffe who first defended the Tantras. He made their meaning clear to understand the culture of India. Therefore, it is imperative that this line of traditional literature should be understood properly. Then it will be convincing to note that Kashmir Shaivism gives the most detailed analysis of the Ultimate Reality. Vedanta has also done it in its own way.

Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, with his effective teachings and vast writings influenced the modern mind towards realisation of the original glory of India. Not exclusively, but in a reconciliatory manner he brought home to the open mind the ideas advocated by different philosophies including those of the west. Whoever went to him for guidance and help, was received by him with open and loving heart and he did not hesitate in divulging intricate secrets, may these be concerning Śaiva, Śākta or Vedānta, or any branch of the great philosophies of India. Being a multifarious mine of knowledge, everyone felt awe-struck and satisfied with his scholarly disposition with simplicity in the exposition of facts. Spiritual vitality kept him alert and admirably splendid.

VĀRSAGANYA, THE SĀNKHYA TEACHER

LALLANJI GOPAL

Some modern scholars assign Vārsaganya a high place among ancient Sāṅkhyā authorities and attribute to him important contributions in the history of the formulation of Sāṅkhyā principles. The ancient texts, however, do not confirm such an estimate of Vārsaganya. Īśvarakṛṣṇa, in his brief account of the history of Sāṅkhyā, does not include Vārsaganya in the list of Sāṅkhyā celebrities.¹ But, this can be explained as being casual and dictated by the requirements of the limited space in the verse. It is, however, significant that not many lists of Sāṅkhyā celebrities contain the name of Vārsaganya. In the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*² Viśvāsu, the King of the Gandharvas, after listening from Yājñavalkya the account of the twenty-five principles (*pañcavimśam*), poses his confusion about the true knowledge, as the latter had acquired the knowledge of Sāṅkhyā and the discipline of Yoga. The context of the account in the chapter, the principles enunciated in it, and the names of the sages listed show that here Vārsaganya has been mentioned as one of the Sāṅkhyā authorities.³

The Sāṅkhyā tradition does not preserve a full account of its early history. Taking advantage of the expression *siṣyaparamparā*, occurring in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*⁴, the commentators have supplied lists of Sāṅkhyā teachers to fill up the gap. The name of Vārsaganya does not occur in the lists in the *Māṭharavṛtti* and *Jayamaṅgalā*. Paramārtha also does not mention Vārsaganya in the list of Sāṅkhyā teachers between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.⁵ The *Yuktidīpikā* says that

1. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 69-71.
2. (Gita Press edition) XII. 318.59-61.
3. The adjective used for Vārsaganya is *dhīmataḥ*. It may be just casual to suit the requirements of metre. The respect shown by the adjective does not indicate any thing specific.
4. *Kārikā*, 71.
5. Takakusu, *La Sāṅkhyā Kārikā*, p. 148, f. n. 3 corrects Po-po-li of the Chinese source to be a mistake for Po-li-so, Japanese Bat-li-sha, Sanskrit Vṛṣā. Aoswami, in his Sanskrit restoration of the Chinese translation of Paramārtha, follows Takakusu and enumerates the list of teachers and

the long history of the lineage of teachers (*vāṁśāḥ*) cannot be enumerated.⁶ When referring to the gap, it mentions only the names of Janaka and Vasiṣṭha.⁷ But, later he gives several names of Sāṅkhyā teachers, including that of Vārṣagaṇya.⁸

In the ancient texts we have three names Vṛṣagaṇa, Vārṣagaṇāḥ and Vārṣaganya. But these names do not create any confusion about their identity. From Vṛṣagaṇa we can have the form Vārṣaganya to refer to the son of Vṛṣagaṇa.⁹ Likewise, Vārṣagaṇāḥ is a derivative of Vṛṣagaṇa in the sense of a disciple or follower of Vṛṣagaṇa.¹⁰

The Ārāṇukramanī attributes the authorship of three *rcas* in the *Rgveda*¹¹ to Vṛṣagaṇa. Considering the manner in which the Vedic tradition has been preserved with meticulous care, there is a good case for the historicity of Vṛṣagaṇa, though we may have reservations about the actual period in which he is to be placed. The Ārāṇukramanī indicates that it took him to be a historical person and not a mythological figure; it mentions him as the son of Vasiṣṭha.¹² But, the hymns do not support the suggestion that Vṛṣagaṇa was actually the composer of these hymns. One of the hymns¹³ has *vṛṣagāṇa* in the plural, which suggests that here it could not have been the name of a person.

The *Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra*¹⁴ mentions the views of a Vārṣaganya. The views of Vārṣaganya are referred to at several places in the *Nidānasūtra* attributed to Patañjali.¹⁵ Though Vārṣaganya in these two sources seems to have been the same

disciples between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa as Gārgya, Ulūka and Vārṣaganya (p. 98). U.V. Shastri, *Sāṅkhyā-darśana kā Itihāsa*, 2nd edition, pp. 518-19 restores Po-p'o-li as Kapila, but this creates many more problems than it hopes to solve. All this exercise is unnecessary. Po-p'o-li or Bat'-ba-li in the Japanese version is equated with Baddhali mentioned by the *Yuktidīpikā* as a Sāṅkhyā teacher.

6. On *Kārikā* 70, Page 175—न शस्त्रान्तरवद् वंशः शक्यो शतसहस्रैरप्याख्यातुम् ।
7. *Ibid.*,—बहूभ्यो जनकविशिष्टादिभ्यः समाख्यातम् ।
8. On *Kārikā* 71—हारीतबाद्धलिकैरातपौरिकर्बमेश्वर पंचाधिकारणपतञ्जलिलिवार्षगण्यकौण्डण्यमू-कादिकं ॥
9. Pāṇini IV. 1.105—Gargādigaṇa. Vṛṣagaṇa + *Yañ* (in the sense of *apatyā*).
10. Vṛṣagaṇa+*an* (in the sense of *tadadhita tadveda*)—Pāṇini IV. 2.59.
11. IX. 97. 7-9.
12. वृषगणो वासिष्ठः । It may also imply that there were more than one people with this name, hence the need to distinguish him by mentioning the name of his father.
13. IX. 97.8—प्रहंसासस्तृपलं मन्युमच्छामादस्तं वृषगणा अयासुः ।
14. X. 9.10.
15. (Ed. Kailash Nath Bhatnagar), pp. 33,34,62,76,96,104.

person,¹⁶ he need not have been identical with Vāṛṣagaṇya of the Sāṅkhya tradition because the two texts referred to above do not contain any statement of Vāṛṣagaṇya which may have any connexion with Sāṅkhya.

Pāṇini¹⁷ includes Vṛṣagaṇa in the *Gargādi gāṇa*. This would result in the formation of the name Vāṛṣagaṇya in the sense of a progeny of Vṛṣagaṇa. Thus, it seems that both the names Vṛṣagaṇa and Vāṛṣagaṇya were quite well known in the times of Pāṇini. But, Pāṇini does not give any details to identify Vṛṣagaṇa and Vāṛṣagaṇya. Patañjali¹⁸ also mentions the name of Vāṛṣagaṇya, but without providing any information which may help his identification. There will not be any chronological difficulty in identifying Vāṛṣagaṇya as an ancient scholar of the Sāṅkhya tradition.

No text written by Vāṛṣagaṇya is available. The ancient texts do not make a specific reference to the name of the work composed by him. The quotations from his writings occurring in commentaries do not leave any doubt about his composition being a Sāṅkhya text.¹⁹ Such quotations occur also in works belonging to several philosophical systems other than Sāṅkhya.²⁰ Vācaspatimiśra²¹ is the only writer, who, in introducing one quotation from Vāṛṣagaṇya, refers to him as enunciating *Yogaśāstra*. In view of the undoubted testimony of many texts of diverse traditions, which associate Vāṛṣagaṇya with Sāṅkhya, Vācaspatimiśra seems to be wrong when he describes Vāṛṣagaṇya as propounding *yogaśāstra*.²² But Vācaspatimiśra was possibly not without some reason in his support. Vāṛṣagaṇya seems to have belonged to a period when Sāṅkhya and Yoga were fused to form a single unit. In view of the Yoga portions in the work written by Vāṛṣagaṇya, later writers associated him with Yoga. There could have been another explanation for the refere-

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- 16. U. V. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 610.
 - 17. IV. 1. 105.
 - 18. On I. 1. 51, *Vārttika* 2.
 - 19. Quotations occurring in *Yuktidīpikā*, *Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī*, *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* and *Bhāmatī* on *Vedāntasūtra*. See U. V. Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 611-14.
 - 20. *Vyāsabhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* III. 53; *Bhāmatī* on *Vedāntasūtra*, II. 1. 3; *Nyāyavārttika-tātparyatikā*, I. 1. 4; Padmapāda's commentary on the *Prapañcasāra Tantra* I. 94-7; *Rasavaiśeśikasūtra* III. 2, p. 124; *Abhidharmakośa Bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu. See P. Chakravarti, *Origin and development of the Sāṃkhya System of thought*, p. 136.
 - 21. *Bhāmatī* II. 1. 3—अतएव योगशास्त्रं व्युत्पादयिताह स्म भगवान् वार्षगण्यः।
 - 22. Vijñānabhikṣu on *Brahmasūtra* I. 1. 4 attributes the verse in question to Vyāsadeva. Vyāsa on *Yogasūtra* IV. 13 introduces the verse as *mayeva*.

nce in Vācaspatimīśra's *Bhāmati*. As has been demonstrated by P. Chakravarti,²³ 'the theoretical portions of the Yoga-bhāṣya is (sic) based upon the system of Vāṛṣaganya and his followers'. Thus, there seems to have been a living tradition in the circle of Yoga which gave a high respect to the views of Vāṛṣaganya. This was possibly the basis of the statement made by Vācaspatimīśra about Vāṛṣaganya as an expounder of *Yogaśāstra*.²⁴

The quotations in later writings are attributed either to Vāṛṣaganya or to the Vāṛṣagaṇas (*Vāṛṣagāṇāḥ*, *Vāṛṣagāṇām*). We do not find any opinion or statement of Sāṅkhya principles ascribed to Vṛṣaganya.²⁵ The *Yuktidīpikā*, at one place,²⁶ quotes the authority of a Vṛṣagāṇavira. No other source confirms the name of Vṛṣagāṇavira as a Sāṅkhya writer. U. V. Shastri,²⁷ aptly takes it to signify Vāṛṣaganya, *vīra* meaning 'son'.

The use of the name Vāṛṣaganya in plural shows that here we have a reference to a school or group of students, disciples or followers. But, in the absence of definite evidence about Vṛṣaganya having been a Sāṅkhya teacher, it is difficult to believe that he founded a school of his followers. It is Vāṛṣaganya who was reputed to be a Sāṅkhya authority. Hence, Vāṛṣagaṇas may refer to his followers. There is nothing irregular about the formation of the expression Vāṛṣaganya to denote a follower alike of Vṛṣaganya and Vāṛṣaganya. This is provided for by Pāṇini.²⁸

In the absence of any authentic information about the history of the school associated with the name of Vāṛṣaganya it is not possible to attribute the views recorded under the name of Vāṛṣagaṇas to any specific person and to place them in a chronological sequence. It will not be illogical to suggest that these followers of Vāṛṣaganya were maintaining views originally propounded by Vāṛṣaganya. So, for the purposes of our study of the history of Sāṅkhya, we may attribute to Vāṛṣaganya not only the quotations under his specific name but also those which are recorded as the views of the Vāṛṣagaṇas. It must, however, be emphasised that in the case of views ascribed to Vāṛṣagaṇas the nucleus may be attributed to Vāṛṣaganya, but their enunciation in their available developed form was evidently the work of his followers.

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 138-41.

24. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

25. U. V. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 613 says that some of the statements in the name of Vāṛṣaganya occur in the *Yuktidīpikā* actually under the name of Vṛṣaganya.

26. See *infra*, f. n. 64.

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 613. See also P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

28. IV. 2. III—कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ।

We cannot hazard any guess about the scope and contents of the text written by Vāṛṣaganya, its arrangement and division of topics. From the available quotations it seems that it was characterized by a strange mixture of verses, *sūtras*, longer passages, and sometimes a discussion of other's views and vindication of the Sāṅkhyā position. In the absence of relevant evidence we cannot determine if all this was Vāṛṣaganya's own contribution or some portions containing discussion and elaboration were supplied by his followers.

The important role of Vāṛṣaganya in the history of Sāṅkhyā is based on the testimony of later commentators who quote Vāṛṣaganya as propounding important principles on certain vital points concerning Sāṅkhyā philosophy.²⁹

An important contribution of Vāṛṣaganya was the doctrine of *pañcaparvā avidyā*³⁰ or five-fold ignorance causing the union of soul with physical principles. This principle occurs in the *Buddhacarita*.³¹ On this basis Johnston³² has inferred that the Sāṅkhyā doctrines as recorded in the *Buddhacarita* were enunciated by Vāṛṣaganya. But the argument is not convincing. The *Buddhacarita* is silent about the source from which it derived its account of the Sāṅkhyā principles. The fact that Vāṛṣaganya is said to have been a teacher of the *Pañcaparvā avidyā* does not indicate that all those accounts of Sāṅkhyā in which a reference to *pañcaparvā avidyā* occurs were written by Vāṛṣaganya. The doctrine could as well have been accepted and retained by subsequent writers. But a fundamental objection will be that though Vāṛṣaganya is referred to as a teacher of the *pañcaparvā avidyā*, it has not been claimed that he was the first or the only expounder of the doctrine. It is not unlikely that the doctrine formed a part of the Sāṅkhyā system from an earlier time and Vāṛṣaganya elaborated it or gave further importance to it. Hence, it will not be logical to attribute all the Sāṅkhyā principles as enunciated in the *Buddhacarita* to Vāṛṣaganya. Johnston³³ assigns Vāṛṣaganya and his school an important place in the history of Sāṅkhyā. In his scheme of five phases Vāṛṣaganya represents the second phase which belonged to the interval between the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. In this phase Sāṅkhyā received a more systematic form. Johnston mentions many new principles as being enunciated in this period. But he has not tried to check if these principles occur in the quotations which are attributed to Vāṛṣaganya. Moreover, there is no evidence to indicate

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- 29. *Yuktidīpikā*, pp. 39, 67, 72, 95, 102, 108, 132, 133, 145, 170; Vyāsa on *Yogaśūtra* III, 53; IV. 13; *Nyāyavārtika* I. 1. 5; *Nyāyavārtikatātparyatiikā* (Vijainagar edn.) p. 155; *Sāṅkyatattvakaumudī* on 47; *Bhāmatī* on *Brahmaśūtra* II. 1. 3.
 - 30. *Sāṅkyatattvakaumudī* on 47.
 - 31. XII. 33.
 - 32. *Early Sāṅkhyā*, p. 8.
 - 33. *Early Sāṅkhyā*, pp. 82-84.

that Vārṣaganya appeared in such an early period of the history of Sāṅkhyā, long before the times of Pañcaśikha and even earlier than the theistic phase of Sāṅkhyā recorded in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.

Another notable contribution attributed to Vārṣaganya by Keith³⁴ and Frauwallner³⁵ is the authorship of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. This is based on the fact that Vācaspatimiśra, supported by the commentator Balarāma mentions Vārṣaganya's verse about the nature of *gunas* as occurring in a work called *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. This seems to be opposed to the testimony of other sources which credit either Kapila or more commonly Pañcaśikha with the authorship of *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. We have no definite solution of the tangle. In view of the more likely attribution of *Ṣaṣṭitantra* to an earlier author, it may be suggested that Vācaspatimiśra is wrong in saying that Vārṣaganya's verse about the nature of *gunas* occurs in a text named *Ṣaṣṭitantra*. He, possibly by mistake, used the title of an earlier work for Vārṣaganya's text. P. Chakravarti³⁶ has offered a novel explanation to reconcile the conflicting evidence. According to him, the original *Ṣaṣṭitantra* was the work of an earlier hand Pañcaśikha; Vārṣaganya simply revised it. But, there is no evidence to support this suggestion. If we are not to reject any one of the conflicting traditions, we will have to postulate that *Ṣaṣṭitantra* was no doubt the work of Pañcaśikha, the case of Kapila being uncertain, in view of the mythological elements in the accounts, but Vārṣaganya also chose to name his text as *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, in consideration of the central position of the sixty topics in the system of Sāṅkhyā. It would seem that Sāṅkhyā in earlier times was virtually identified with *ṣaṣṭitantra*. In this connexion it is interesting to note that some of the quotations from Pañcaśikha occurring in Vyāsa's *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* are attributed by the *Yuktidipikā* to Vārṣaganya.³⁷

U. V. Shastri³⁸ challenges the ascription of the original *Ṣaṣṭitantra* to Vārṣaganya. His argument is that Vārṣaganya³⁹ holds that in the *ādisarga* the *pradhāna*, not influenced by *puruṣa*, has the quality of not being conscious, which is totally opposed to a statement on the point, attributed to the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* by the *Mātharavṛtti* and the *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*,⁴⁰ which says that *pradhāna* is influenced by *puruṣa*.

34. *The Sāṅkhyā System*, p. 77.

35. *History of Indian philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 252.

36. *Op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

37. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 613-14.

39. *Yuktidipikā*, p. 102. See *infra* f. n. 47.

40. On *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 17—पुरुषाधिष्ठितं प्रधानं प्रवर्तते ।

U. V. Shastri, *loc. cit.*, points out that this is also the view of *Sāṅkhyā-saṭadhyāyī* (or *Sāṅkhyā-pravacanasūtra*) I. 61.

A passage, containing a criticism of the Vaiśeṣika theory of atoms, is attributed to Vārṣaganya by Vyāsa.⁴¹ But this creates problems. It would imply a late date for Vārṣaganya. We will have to provide margin for the formulation of Vaiśeṣika as a separate system of philosophy and also for the emergence of the tendency for inter-school debates and discussions, when the formulation of one's own principles was not enough, but one was required to criticise the views of other systems and to defend one's own position. This would ill suit the chronological position to be assigned to Vārṣaganya as the author of the *Śaṣṭitantra* and the original propounder of some of the important principles in Sāṅkhya. Īśvarakṛṣṇa⁴² claims that he omitted *paravāda* in his work. This tacitly implies that *paravāda* was a notable feature of some of the Sāṅkhya texts written before his times. Thus, there would be no difficulty in placing Vārṣaganya's text, with a passage criticising Vaiśeṣika theory of atoms, before the times of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But, when we come to determine how much time elapsed between Vārṣaganya and Īśvarakṛṣṇa we cannot be on sure grounds.

Some other quotations in later works also appear to be in the nature of discussions defending the Sāṅkhya position against criticism done by others. Thus, in answering the objection as to how a single entity can contain contradictory characteristics of pleasure, pain and delusion. Vārṣaganya argues that the forms and functions are contradictory only when they are in their intensity; the ordinary ones can coexist with those that are in their intensity.⁴³ Likewise, in one quotation⁴⁴ the Vārṣaganas seem to be arguing against the concept of the immutable eternity of an object. It says that even the entire universe enters into its past stage as it is not absolutely eternal. But it does not lose its existence completely. It lies in its primary cause in a latent stage and hence cannot be perceived. The *vināśa* (destruction) is of two types, that of the *tattvas* at the time of the *pralaya* and that of others as a temporary transformation. It is well known that one point of criticism of the Sāṅkhya system by the Buddhists is that they maintain the existence of a *dharma* (abiding principle) manifesting itself through its *dharma* (properties). The present quotation seems to offer the explanation anticipating this criticism.

We can form some idea of some important principles enunciated by Vārṣaganya. One such view was the refutation of the plurality of *prakṛti*.⁴⁵ This assumes significance, because it marks an important land-mark in the history of Sāṅkhya principles. From Guṇaratnasūri's commentary on the *Saddarśana-*

41. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, III. 53.

42. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 72—परवादविविज्ञताश्चापि ।

43. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 72—तथा च भगवान् वार्षगण्यः—ह्यप्रतिशया वृत्यतिशयाश्च परस्परेण विरुद्ध्यन्ते, सामान्यानि त्वतिशयैः सह प्रवर्त्तन्ते ।

44. See infra f. n. 66.

*samuccaya*⁴⁶ we learn that whereas the ancient teachers of Sāṅkhya subscribed to the principle of plurality of *prakṛtis*, later teachers believed in one eternal *pradhāna*.

Vārsagaṇya seems to have discussed in detail the nature of *pradhāna* (or *prakṛti*) and to have defended the Sāṅkhya position. In the *Yuktidīpikā*⁴⁷ we have two quotations on this point. In one quotation the analogy of the relation between male and female has been referred to. U. V. Shastri⁴⁸ points out that this was an early analogy used in Sāṅkhya circles being mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,⁴⁹ the *Śadadhyāyi*⁵⁰ and the *Māṭharavṛtti*.⁵¹

Vārsagaṇya evidently had discussed the nature of *puruṣa* as well. This is indicated by a quotation in the *Yuktidīpikā*,⁵² but there is no possibility of our being able to determine the points which Vārsagaṇya detailed about *puruṣa*.

It seems that a discussion of the nature of the *guṇas* formed an important feature of the treatment of Sāṅkhya by Vārsagaṇya. He refers to the ultimate nature of the *guṇas* which cannot be directly perceived but can be inferred with the help of their visible manifestation.⁵³

Vārsagaṇya seems to have devoted considerable space to a discussion of the evolution of *tattvas* from *pradhāna*. The first to evolve from *pradhāna* is *mahat*.⁵⁴ Vārsagaṇya brings out the characteristic qualities of *mahat*.⁵⁵ The emphasis given

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- 45. *Yogabhāṣya* III. 53—मूर्तिव्यवधिजातिभेदाभावान्नास्ति मूलपृथक्त्वमिति वार्षगण्यः ।
 - 46. Sāṅkhya section—मौलिकसांख्या ह्यात्मानमात्मानं प्रति पृथक्प्रधानं वदन्ति, उत्तरे तु सांख्याः सवृत्मस्वप्येकं नित्यं प्रधानमिति प्रपन्नाः ।
 - 47. p. 102—तथा च वार्षगण्याः पठन्ति—प्रधानप्रवृत्तिरप्रत्यया पुरुषेणापरिगृह्यमाणाऽदिसर्गे वर्तते—इति । P. 170—वार्षगणानांतु यथा स्त्रीपुंशरीराणामचेतनानामुद्दिश्येतरेतरप्रवृत्तिस्तथा प्रधान स्येत्वयं दृष्टान्तः ।
 - 48. *Op. cit.*, pp. 590-91.
 - 49. XII. 310. 12.
 - 50. II. 9.
 - 51. On *Kārikā* 21.
 - 52. p. 95—तथा च वार्षगणाः पठन्ति—“बुद्धिवृत्त्याविष्टो हि प्रत्ययत्वेनानुवर्तमानामनुयाति पुरुषः” इति ।
 - 53. *Yogabhāṣya* IV. 13—गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति । यत्तु दृष्टिपथं प्राप्तं तन्मायेव सुतुच्छकम् ॥
 - 54. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 108.—वार्षगणानां प्रधानात् महानुपद्यते ।
 - 55. Page 133.—यदि यथा वार्षगणाआहुः—लिङ्गमात्रो महान् संवेद्यः कार्यकारणरूपेणाविशिष्टो विशिष्टलक्षणेन तथा स्यात् तत्वान्तरम् ।
- Page 140—साधारणो हि महान् प्रकृतित्वात् इति वार्षगणानां पक्षः ।

to *ahaṅkāra* by the followers of Vāṛṣaganya is recorded in the *Rasavaiśeṣikasūtra*.⁵⁶

By the time of Vāṛṣaganya the concept of *tanmātras* had come to acquire an important place in the Sāṅkhya system. But it does not seem to have settled down to a fixed position. Whereas some took the *tanmātras* to have a uniform single form, Vāṛṣaganya described them as having more than one form.⁵⁷

Vāṛṣaganya seems to have made significant contributions to the concept of *karaṇas*. He enumerates the number of *karaṇas* to be eleven,⁵⁸ differing from others who mention thirteen *karaṇas*, consisting of five organs of action, five organs of knowledge⁵⁹ and three internal *karaṇas*. He seems to have discussed the nature of the *karaṇas*.⁶⁰

The Vāṛṣaganyas seem to have maintained an independent stand on the question of the *Kṣetrajña* (soul) appearing in a body. According to them it enters the embryonic body through the juice prepared from the food taken by the mother⁶¹.

The text composed by Vāṛṣaganya seems to have contained an account of the sources of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). The nature of the different *pramāṇas* and their justifications were possibly discussed. In one quotation *pratyakṣa* is defined as the activity of ears and other sense-organs.⁶² Another quotation defines *anumāna*.⁶³ The *Yuktidīpikā*⁶⁴ attributes to Vṛṣagāṇavīra the view that the

- 56. III. 2, p. 124—आहङ्कारिकारमीति वार्षगण्याः (णाः), औलूक्याः पुनर्मैलिकानि ।
- 57. Page 108.—एकस्त्राणि तन्मात्राणीत्यन्ये, एकोन्तराणीति वार्षगण्यः ।
- 58. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 133.—करणम्……एकादशविधम् इति वार्षगणा: ।
- 59. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 132, refers to Pañcādhiκarāṇa and others mentioning only ten.
- 60. *Ibid.*, p. 108.—करणानां महती स्वभावातिवृत्तिः प्रधानात् स्वल्पा च स्वतः इति वार्षगण्यः ।
- 61. Padmapāda on *Prapañcasāra—tantra*, I. 94.7—(क्षेत्रज्ञः) मातुराहृतादाहाराद् य रसः पाकजः तद्द्वारेण गर्भशरीरं विशतीति वार्षगणाः ।
- 62. *Ibid.*, p. 39—श्रोत्रादिवृत्तिरिति वार्षगणाः ।
- 63. *Nyāyavārtika*, I.1.5—सम्बन्धादेकस्मात् प्रत्यक्षाच्छेषसिद्धिरनुमानम् ।
- 64. On *Kārikā* 30, p. 130,—तथा च वृषगणवीरेणाप्युक्तं भवति……अनागतव्यवहितविषयज्ञानं तु लिङ्गागमाभ्याम् । आह च—

विषयेन्द्रियं-संयोगात् प्रत्यक्षं ज्ञानमुच्यते ।

तदेवातीन्द्रियं जातं पुनर्भविनया स्मृतिः ॥

तदेव भावनापेक्षज्ञानं कालान्तरे पुनः ।

तत्रैव सेन्द्रियं जातं प्रत्यभिज्ञानमुच्यते ॥

U. V. Shastri, *op. cit.* p. 613, f. n. 1 reproduces only the first verse and expresses doubt about its being attributed to Vṛṣagāṇavīra.

knowledge of an object, which is not immediate and is obstructed, can be acquired through signs and scriptures and quotes two verses defining *pratyakṣa* as the knowledge resulting from the direct contact between senses and objects; the same is known as *smṛti* when it goes beyond senses and is available through *bhāvanā*; the knowledge through *bhāvanā* later reappearing through senses is called *pratyabhijñāna*.

Vasubandhu⁶⁵ attributes to the followers of Vārṣagṇya the theory of Satkārvavāda : “According to them there is neither production of some thing new nor extinction of something existent; what exists is always existent, what does not exist will never become existent”. The *Yuktidīpikā*⁶⁶ in a quotation attributes to the Vārṣagaṇas a discussion in support of the position that the entire universe from its stage of manifestation enters the stage of past; but it does not lose its existence; it lies in its latent stage in its primary cause and hence cannot be perceived. The nature of *vināśa* in the case of *tattvas* differs from that in the case of other objects.

Earlier we have pointed out that the name of Vārṣagṇya does not occur in most of the lists of ancient Sāṅkhya authorities, even though authentic quotations recording his views are found in several works. The omission of his name by Īśvarakṛṣṇa could, no doubt, have been due to the limitation of space. But, there was possibly another reason. The development of Sāṅkhya from Kapila to Pañcaśikha seems to have been in a specific direction. The period after Pañcaśikha seems to have witnessed a rich growth of Sāṅkhya literature and a multiplicity of views on different points. No single list can claim to be exhaustive. The compilers of the lists possibly had their own reasons for including some names and omitting others. We can suggest a possible explanation for Īśvarakṛṣṇa omitting the name of Vārṣagṇya. It has been pointed out that whereas Īśvarakṛṣṇa follows the tradition which began with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha, Vārṣagṇya adopts a different view on some important issues.⁶⁷ It is not unlikely that Īśvarakṛṣṇa did not mention the name of Vārṣagṇya as he considered him to be an outsider to the Sāṅkhya tradition mentioned by him and to which he himself belonged.

The Chinese tradition preserves some interesting information about Vārṣagṇya and his importance in the history of Sāṅkhya. There are two slightly different accounts in Chinese sources. One account is found in Paramārtha’s

65. See Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 89.

66. p. 67—तथा च वार्षगणः पठन्ति ‘तदेतत् त्रैलोक्यं व्यक्तरपैति, न सत्त्वात् । अपेतमञ्यस्ति विनाश-प्रतिषेधात् । संसर्गच्चास्य सौक्ष्म्यं सौक्ष्म्याच्चानुपलब्धिः । तस्माद् व्यक्तापगमो विनाशः । स तु द्विविधः—आसर्गप्रलयात् तत्त्वानां, किञ्चित्कालान्तरावस्थानादितरेषाम्’ इति ।

67. A. P. Mishra, *Tattvakaumudīprabhā*, Introduction p. 22.

*Life of Vasubandhu*⁶⁸. The other account is given by Kuei-chi, the pupil of Hsuan Tsang⁶⁹.

According to Paramārtha, Vāṛṣaganya was a sage of the Sāṅkhya school and was known mythologically as the “King of the Nāgas”. Vindhavāsa, who learned the Sāṅkhya system from Vāṛṣaganya, revised the content of the system and composed some couplets summarizing the revised doctrines. Paramārtha refers to a debate between Vindhavāsa and Buddhamitra, the Buddhist, who was the teacher of Vasubandhu. The account makes Vāṛṣaganya a contemporary not only of Vindhavāsa, Buddhamitra and Vasubandhu but also of Vikramāditya and his crown-prince Bālāditya, who later became a patron of Buddhism.

Kuei-chi refers to the important position of Vāṛṣaganya in the history of Sāṅkhya. “The Sāṅkhya school was formerly split up into eighteen groups, the head of which was ‘Ba-li-sha’, meaning ‘Rain’ (Varṣa). His associates were all called the ‘Rain-host’ (Vāṛṣaganya). The ‘Gold-seventy’ (Hiranyasaptati) is the work of them.”⁷⁰ Kuei-chi further refers to a debate between a Sāṅkhya teacher and a Buddhist for which the Sāṅkhya teacher composed in seventy verses a treatise called the “Gold-seventy”⁷¹. The Chinese tradition identifies the “Gold-seventy” with the *Sāṅkhya-śāstra* or the Chinese version of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*⁷².

The events and persons mentioned in the two accounts are identified. Takakusu⁷³ and, following him, Garbe⁷⁴ and Keith⁷⁵ identify Vindhavāsa with Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

The identification, if accepted, will bring Vāṛṣaganya very close to Īśvara-kṛṣṇa in time and will provide several clues to the date of Vāṛṣaganya. The dates of Vikramāditya (identified with either Candragupta II or Skandagupta), his son Bālāditya, Buddhamitra, Vasubandhu, Vindhavāsa and Īśvarakṛṣṇa, all become relevant to us. The dates for the composition of Paramārtha’s *Life of Vasubandhu* and the Chines translation of *Sāṅkhyakārikā* will have important bearing on the subject. Apparently, there is some case for reading in Paramārtha’s account of the Sāṅkhya writings of Vindhavāsa a reference to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and for

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- 68. J. Takakusu, “Life of Vasubandhu”, *Toung Pao*, July 1904.
 - 69. J. Takakusu, *La Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, Introduction, pp. 38-40.
 - 70. Takakusu, “A study of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu, and the Date of Vasubandhu”, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 49.
 - 71. *Ibid.*
 - 72. Takakusu, *La Sāṅkhyaakārikā* (I), pp. 38-40.
 - 73. *Bulletin de l’ Ecole Frāncaise d’ Extreme Orient*, IV, p. 59; *Toung Rāo*, July, 1904, pp. 47-51.
 - 74. *Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, pp. 77-83,
 - 75. *History of Sāṅkhya Philosophy*, p. 73.

identifying “Gold-seventy” (*Hiraṇyasaptati* or *Suvarnasaptati*) with the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, which contains seventy *kārikās*⁷⁶. But there are serious difficulties in accepting the identification.⁷⁷ The *Yuktidīpikā* clearly distinguishes between Vindhyaवासा and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.⁷⁸ Moreover, the views of Vindhyaवासा, as preserved in other texts,⁷⁹ are totally opposed to what Īśvarakṛṣṇa says on those points.⁸⁰ Larson⁸¹ is justified in opposing the identification on the ground that the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* is not a polemical text and could not have been written for purposes of a debate. His suggestion that the Chinese tradition has identified two separate texts or events is quite plausible. A tradition about a debate between a Buddhist and a Sāṅkhya teacher, who belonged to the school of the followers of Vārṣaganya, and was possibly Vindhyaवासा, became mixed up with the subsequent composition of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* or the *Sāṅkhyasaptati* by Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

All this helps us determine roughly the place of Vārṣaganya in the broad outlines of the history of Sāṅkhya. If the ascription of the same passage to both Pañcaśikha and Vārṣaganya is taken to be factually correct, we may infer that Vārṣaganya possibly adopted passages from Pañcaśikha. Thus, Vārṣaganya will appear to have come after Pañcaśikha and was possibly not much removed in time from him. The value of the Chinese sources lies in establishing that Vārṣaganya belonged to the period before Vindhyaवासा, who is said to have rewritten the book composed earlier by Vārṣaganya. When the Chinese tradition mentions Vindhyaवासा as studying with his teacher Vārṣaganya, it possibly means that he belonged to the school of Vārṣaganya. In case the intention was to mention him as the direct disciple of Vārṣaganya, it would mean that Vārṣaganya was the senior contemporary of Vindhyaवासा.

There is no positive indication of the date to which Vārṣaganya belonged. Later tradition does record the name of a Vedic sage as Vṛṣaganya. If we postulate that Vṛṣaganya and his son Vārṣaganya were known to Pāṇini, they will have to be placed quite some time before Pāṇini; but we cannot determine the precise duration of this gap. In the *Mahābhārata* Viśvāvasu, the Gandharva king, includes the name of Vārṣaganya in the long list of sages and scholars from whom he learnt Sāṅkhya. Clearly the list does not have any pretensions of maintaining a chrono-

76. *Sāṅkhyakārika*, 72 — सप्तसत्यं किल येऽर्थः ।

77. H D. Sharma, “The Sāṅkhya teachers”, *Festschrift Moris Winternitz*, pp. 228-29.

78. p. 4

79. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 108; Kumārla’s *Ślokavārtika*, pp. 293, 704; Bhoja on *Yogasūtra* IV. 22; Medhātithi on Manu I. 45; Guṇaratna on *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*,, pp. 102, 104; *Syādvadamañjarī* (Chowkhamba), p. 117.

80. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Jayamāngala* (Ed. H. Sharma), Introduction, p. 7.

81. *Classical Sāṅkhya*, p. 155.

logical sequence⁸². Hence, we cannot deduce any thing about the date of Vārṣaganya from his position in this list. We can only infer that at the time of the incorporation of this particular chapter in the *Mokṣadharmaparva* of the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* Vārṣaganya enjoyed the reputation of being an ancient Sāṅkhyā authority. Considering the various problems in fixing the date of the *Mahābhārata* in general and of the *Śāntiparva* (and the *Mokṣadharmaparva* section) in particular, we will not be wide off the mark, if we place Vārṣaganya, the Sāṅkhyā authority mentioned in it, as being not later than the fifth-fourth centuries⁸³. The dates generally suggested for Pāṇini will also not go against this date. A respectable antiquity for Vārṣaganya is indicated when authors, not only of Sāṅkhyā works⁸⁴ but also of other philosophical systems,⁸⁵ venerate him with the most honourable appellation of *bhagavān*.

The recorded facts about the history of the Sāṅkhyā are not helpful in fixing the date of Vārṣaganya. Among the commentators the author of the *Yuktidīpikā* alone includes him in the list of Sāṅkhyā teachers who preceded Īśvarakṛṣṇa. We cannot be sure that the names are listed in the correct historical sequence. It may, however, be noted that the name of Vārṣaganya appears after Hārīta, Baddhali, Kairata, Paurika, Rṣabheśvara, Pañcādhrikaraṇa and Patañjali but before Kauṇḍinya and Muka. This will give him a late date, specially when Patañjali, apparently associated more closely with Yoga, is placed in the second century B. C. on the basis of his identification with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

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- 82. Hare Viśvāsu claims that late¹ (*tadanantaram*) he acquired the knowledge not only from the sages and scholars named by him but also from Rudra, Viśvarūpa, gods, *pitṛs* and the demons—*Mbh.*, XII. 318. 62-63. In the names enumerated by Viśvāsu Jaigīṣavya appears first and his own father Kaśyapa is mentioned last. The name of Kapila, occurring in the middle and after Jaigīṣavya, Asita, Devala, Parāśara, Vārṣaganya, Bhṛgu and Pañcaśikha, shows the disturbed chronological sequence of names in the list.
 - 83. U. V. Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 609-611, f. n. 2, on the basis of the *Mahābhārata* reference, places Vārṣaganya before the *Mahābhārata* war. We need not discuss this view, because it involves a confusion between the *Mahābhārata* war and the composition of the *Mahābhārata* text. Shastri places Vārṣaganya before Pāṇini and Buddha. It may be conceded that Vārṣaganya came before Pāṇini, but Shastri's argument for placing him before Buddha is not convincing.
 - 84. *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 72; *Sāṅkhyatattva Kaumudi* on *Kārikā* 47.
 - 85. *Bhāmatī* on *Vedāntasūtra* II. 1. 3.

Modern scholars have failed to notice the important information which the Jaina tradition records about Vārṣagaṇya. In the *Isibhāsiyāim*⁸⁶, section (*ajjhayaṇa-adhyayna*) 18 deals with the views of Varisava (*Varisava-kaṇheṇa arhatā iśinā buitam*). In the body of the section the name of the ṛṣi is mentioned as Varisavakaṇha. He is easily identified with Varisavakaṇha referred to in the *Thāraṇīga*.⁸⁷ Walther Schubring⁸⁸ takes Varisavakaṇha and Varisavakaṇha to be based on Vārṣagaṇya. In the Sanskrit *ṭikā* on the *Isibhāsiyāim*⁸⁹ the name of the ṛṣi is restored as Vārṣayaṇya. The presentation of the views of the ṛṣi in the present case, as also in other cases, has been conditioned by the uniform pattern of the structure of the section, the style of repeating set phrases and sentences, particularly in the introductory part and the conclusion, and the retention of peculiar Jaina concepts of eighteen *pāpakarmas* with related terms *pāṇatibāc*, *pariggaha*, *arati* and *micchādāmsaṇa*. The attempt on the part of the author to weave the different sections of the text into a unified whole and not to leave it to assume the character of a mere collection of diverse views is indicated in the present section by a reference to the created beings bearing the consequences of their evil deeds and remaining in the cycle of worldly existence as mentioned in the ninth section (*navamuddeṣagamanaṇom*). Even with this limitation we can get a rough idea of some of the characteristic views of the ṛṣi and the terminology used by him. The opening sentence of the section says that the soul (*jīva*), which does not have self-control (*ayate*) uses strong means or violence (*vajjam*).⁹⁰ By not resorting to sinful acts, beginning with killing living beings and going upto false philosophy, and by controlling the five sense-organs, including ears, he gives up violence and overcomes the punishment of cutting of hands and feet and attains eternally the auspicious abode (*sivamacala-jāva ciṭṭhanti*).⁹¹ To illustrate the statement that in ordinary circumstances strong means are used a verse is reproduced saying that the bird uses the blows of its beak and the water-carrier uses thong and ropes.⁹²

As no text written by Vārṣagaṇya is available, we cannot check the correctness of the views and passages ascribed to him in the *Isibhāsiyāim*. The available quotations from his work are very few and hence we cannot draw any conclusion

86. L. D. Series 45, Ed. Walther Schubring, pp. 34-37.

87. 390 a.

88. *Isibhāsiyāim*, Introduction, p. 4.

89. Page 140.

90. अयते खलु भो जीवे वज्जं समादियति ।

91. पाणाइवातवेरमणेसां जाव मिच्छादंसणसल्लवेरमणेणं तो इन्द्रिय
5-णिग्गहेणं णो वज्जुं समजिज्ञिता हृत्थच्छेवणाइं पायच्छेयणाइं
जाव दोमणस्साइं वीतिवतित्ता सिवमचल-जाव चिटुन्ति ।

92. सकुणी सङ्कृष्टपघातं च वरतं रज्जुं तहा ।
वारिपत्तधरो च्चेव विभागम्मि विहावए ॥

on the basis of the absence of any quotation parallel to the passages in the *Isibhāsiyāim*. We have seen that the views ascribed to different *r̄sis* appear to be genuine and authentic, though their presentation is affected by the fixed pattern of structure and style and the attempt to accommodate them within the framework of Jaina principles.⁹³ The expressions *ayate*,⁹⁴ *jive*, *soindiya* 5-*niggahenām* and *sivamaca* could very well have been taken from Vārṣaganya's work. We find that some texts and passages recording an early phase of Sāṅkhya, when it was closely connected with Yoga, have parallel concepts and terms. On the basis of the analysis of other sections⁹⁵ we can take the verse to have been based on the original writing of Vārṣaganya.

The historical identity of most of the *r̄sis* whose views are collected in the *Isibhāsiyāim* is clear. Some of them are no doubt taken from the Brahmanical tradition about semi-historical sages.

The *Isibhāsiyāim*, though not included in the list of Jaina Āgama texts, enjoys a high respect being classed as a *Kāliya* text which is approved for the study hours in the daily time-table. It seems to be an early text to be placed in the category of the *Āyāra*, *Suyagada*, *Uttarajjhāyā* and *Dasaveyāliya*. It breathes an atmosphere free from sectarian orthodoxy which developed in later phases of the history of Jainism. It has to be placed long before the times of the *Viyāhapannatti*. It seems to be more under the influence of Pārvanātha.⁹⁶ Thus, the *r̄sis*, whose views are recorded in the text, appear to have been either earlier than Mahāvīra or were his close contemporaries. They could not have belonged to a period long after the times of Mahāvīra. Thus, if Vārṣaganya is to be identified with Varisvakaṇha of the *Isibhāsiyāim*, he is not to be placed after the fifth-fourth centuries B. C. A date earlier than this cannot be ruled out by the evidence of the *Isibhāsiyāim*.

In the history of Sāṅkhya Vārṣaganya belongs to the gap between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. He seems to have expressed significant views on some important points, some times taking a stand different from that of the main stream, represented by Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha, which was supported and strengthened later by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. He is to be placed in the phase before Īśvarakṛṣṇa which was characterised by the writing *ākhyāyikās* and *paravāda*. We can be sure that Vārṣaganya also wrote much which belonged to this category, challenging the views of other systems and defending the Sāṅkhya position against the criticism of

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- 93. Our article "Asita-Devala in the *Isibhāsiyāim*" is to be published in the *Bechardas Volume*.
 - 94. It is derived from the root *Yam* and reminds us to the term *Yama*.
 - 95. Our article "Asita-Devala in the *Isibhāsiyāim*," loc. cit.
 - 96. *Ibid.*

THE EPICAL WORLD OF ASVAGHOSHA AND KALIDASA : A COMPARATIVE STUDY

INDRA NATH CHOUDHURI

I would not go into the controversy—if there is a controversy at all—in regard to the age of Asvaghosha and Kalidasa. For me both are Sanskrit poets of classical Indian tradition and that Asvaghosha definitely preceded Kalidasa. Asvaghosha wrote and lived in the age of Kanishka and Kalidasa was the poet in the court of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. The difference between the age of these two poets can be roughly determined as 280 years (Kanishka 78-128 A. D., Chandragupta Vikramaditya 380-415 A. D.). This difference of age conveys two different cultural patterns (Buddhist and Hindu) under which these two poets lived and wrote and created their own literary worlds. Needless to say that these two cultural patterns are part of a bigger pattern which can be termed as Indian culture which grew out of various myths governing our racial unconscious. Delving in different cultures both Asvaghosha and Kalidasa made use of separate thematic concepts but within the same classical literary traditions. But the nature of different thematic concepts characterizes adequately the essential truths about men and the society in which they lived. But that is not all. These thematic concepts are revealed in a literary structure—a pattern, and its ultimate aim is to offer to the reader an aesthetic reward. Asvaghosha and Kalidasa both expressed their literary talent within the same classical literary frame-work. Asvaghosha wrote two epics—*Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda*. In the same way Kalidasa produced *Kumara-sambhava* and *Raghuvamsa*. In this paper I propose to examine first, the structural framework of the two epics—*Saundarananda* and *Kumarasambhava*. Secondly, I shall deal with the conceptual framework of the two epics and lastly I shall like to understand the aesthetic framework on which depends the literary appreciation of an artefact.

Both Asvaghosha and Kalidasa in their epics represent the hopes and aspirations of Indian people growing in two different cultures. Their approach to reality is marked by certain distinctive attitudes. Kalidasa accepted life in its totality, the temporal and the eternal, the physical and the metaphysical, and

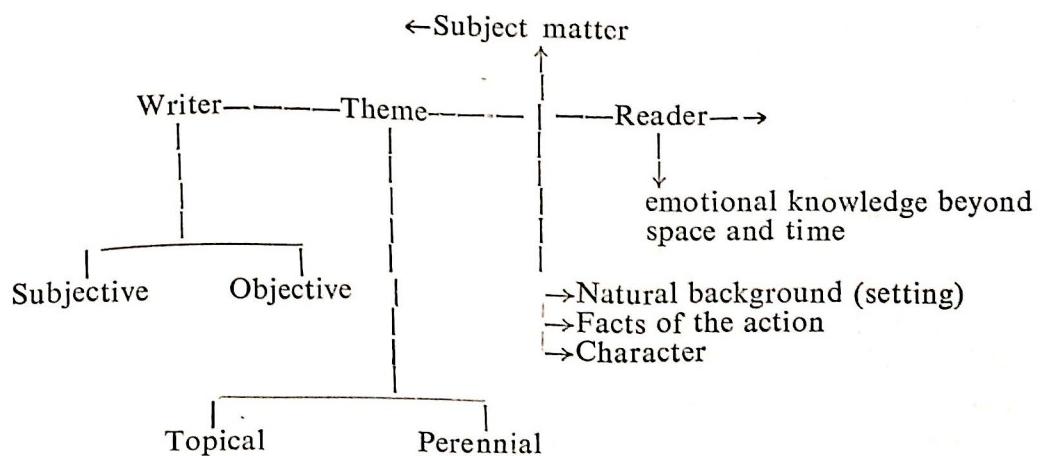
sought to include them in a luminous and harmonious synthesis. This, at least, is what we call the Vedic tradition. This is the Indian approach to life. Kalidasa's imagination dwells on love in *Kumarasambhava* which seems at first to be of the earth, but which leads imperceptibly into heavenly vistas. Gross sensuality is soon transformed into divine ecstasy. Kalidasa utilizes the ancient myth of Siva and Parvati to stress the significance of self-discipline (tapas) as the secret of highest love. His mythopoeic imagination was responsible for the use of myth like the love of Siva and Parvati. Asvaghosha also gives evidence of his encyclopaedic knowledge of India's mythological traditions and pre-Buddhistic philosophical systems. In his works we see the great reverence which the poet had for the Vedic literature and Vedic culture. There is nothing in *Saundarananda* that can be taken as an indication of the poet's dissatisfaction of the Vedic religion and Vedic rituals and Vedic practices and Vedic customs. It is usually said that Buddhism is a revolt against the Vedic rituals and Vedic customs and Vedic practices; there can be no doubt about the fact that the poet is a true representative of the ideals of Buddha's teachings. This epic narrates the ordination by the Buddha of Nanda, his half brother. Yet no follower of the Vedic path can detect in his poem anything that goes against the Vedic beliefs and the Vedic practices. In *Saundarananda*, Asvaghosha's main interest is to give a religious edification to further the attainment of tranquility and with the intention of capturing the hearers devoted to other things. But nowhere the preaching is coupled with criticism against other religious practices. In Nanda's statement tolerance for other religions is amply demonstrated.¹

Both Asvaghosha and Kalidasa picked up the epic tradition set in by Valmiki in creating *Saundarananda* and *Kumarasambhava*. *Saundarananda* has a historical perspective. It reconstructs ideas, forms and styles that characterise the literature of his age. Kalidasa has an imaginative perspective. His *Kumārasambhava* is an act of his mythopoeic vision which helps in selecting, ordering and interpreting life experience with one goal before him—divine ecstasy. It causes us to recognise truths about human existence through the direct presentation of selected experiences. Instead of telling us like Asvaghosha about the way people should act and feel, it involves us in these actions and directs our responses to them. In spite of the imaginative perspective Kalidasa is more objective. Asvaghosha has a historical perspective but he is more subjective.

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1. Indifferent to gain or loss, to pleasure or suffering etc., free from yearnings and with senses stilled, he entered the city to ask for alms at the due time and attracted the gaze of the folk, and there in due course he told the tale of salvation to the folk who had need of it, neither condemning others, still wandering far from the true path, nor exalting himself.—*Saundarananda*, xviii, 62.

In epic the manner of the 'telling' is of great importance to the total effect of the work. The story-teller is the centre of consciousness in the tale. In *Saundarananda*, Asvaghosha magnifies his theme and teaches his readers about the greatness of Lord Buddha and his teaching whom they must emulate and, on the other hand, Kalidasa creates human symbols with godly figures inducing noble aspiration and effort in his readers to realize true love and experience it.

A graph of the epical structure of these two epics can be drawn in the following way :



The particular actions, characters and settings which the author chooses constitute the subject matter of the work. The subject matter of these two epics celebrate different cultures against a natural background and also idealised heroes who exemplify the virtues and values of that society. Nature for Kalidasa, provides the primary resource to literature. It contains the intimations of an occult correlation between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Here nature does not act as a background, not only as *natura naturata*, but as *natura naturans*,² because Man as a microcosmic organism is an exact counterpart of the macrocosm—Nature. This is the way Kalidasa appropriates the external world to the mind—brain. He enhances, expands, intensifies and deepens his sensory awareness of *prakriti* until it is transformed into a part of his own consciousness. He touches the mysterious life in a landscape and reconciles the individual self with nature. Nature as a setting does not remain dormant but acts as symbols of the divine principles or the archetypes to ultimately indicate the *oneness* between it and man. The third act of *Kumara-sambhava* demonstrates this relationship in detail. Prakriti becomes an important part in the divine scheme to crush down the evil in the battle with virtue. Asvaghosha makes use of nature as a stimulant to an emotive experience. The descriptions, of

2. Cobridge, *Biographia Literaria*, pp. 162-7.

course, entrails the reader by its sheer beauty but then the thematic purposefulness of changing the mind of Nanda from a worldly man to a mendicant becomes so apparent that nature recedes in the background. The description of nature in Kalidasa is natural and in Asvaghosha it is presented with erudition. Nature in his hand has lost its life though the beauty of nature is retained.

Kalidasa is seen as a worshipper of beauty, whether in God, man or nature. The various forms of action used in developing the plot create interest in the mind of the reader and also add to the structural beauty of the plot, such as the incident of the youthful Brahman pupil accosting Parvati to break away from Shiva, Parvati's escape from the arms of the god without surrendering and insisting on traditional courtship and marriage, the pompous picture of a godly wedding or the efforts of Shiva in teaching his wife the art of love. Similarly the facts of action in *Saundarananda* also create interest in the readers in their understanding of the slow transformation of a man's position from materialism to spiritualism. The episode of the mirror, vision of paradise, Sundari's despair, Nanda's predicament are intricately interwoven in the plot to arouse interest of the reader in the epic structure. Similarities between the dirge of *Rati* and *Sundari* in the respective epics are very striking but *Rati* is assured by the gods that Shiva will again bring her husband back to life. For *Sundari* there is nobody to console her like this. The grief of *Sundari* and her apprehension that Nanda would not return came out true. The whole description is much more tragic and dramatic than the *Rati-vilapa* of Kalidasa. It develops realistically and reaches its pathetic climax in a slow motion. It is *Sundari* who first says :—

It is not proper for me to hinder you in the performance of your duty to go and see the Guru. Go, my lord, but return quickly before this paint is dry (iv, 34). But then she gives him a warning :—

सचेद्भवेस्त्वं खलु दीर्घसूत्रो दण्डं महान्तं त्वयिपातयेयम् ।
मुहुँमुहुस्त्वां शयितं कुचाम्यां विबोधयेयं च न चालपेयम् ॥

But if you return to me quickly before the paint is dry, I shall hug you with my unadorned arms with the ointment still wet on them (4/36).

But ultimately her apprehension came true. Nanda did not return. He could not fulfil his promise : एवं करिष्यामि । And *Sundari* resigns to live a condemned life without her husband. The prophecy about *Sundari* by Thathagata in the last chapter⁴, does in no way, console the readers and the sad image of a beautiful

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3. Should you however delay longer, I shall inflict a grievous punishment on you; as you lay asleep, I shall repeatedly waken you by beating you with my breasts and shall refuse to speak to you. (*Saundarananda*, iv, 35.)
 4. Ibid, xviii, 59.

lady in her lonely house remains imprinted in the mind of the reader in spite of all the discussion about asceticism and salvation.

In fact both Kalidasa and Asvaghosha have different attitude towards women. Asvaghosha denounces the life of man on earth and glorifies Beautitude as the true god and also ascribes the reason of man's unhappiness to his attachment to women. Asvaghosha's attitude towards woman is that she is the origin of all sins (viii. 32), fickle minded (viii, 38) and never bear love whole-heartedly (viii, 42) and so one should desist from yearning for a woman. Kalidasa on the other side has a total view of life. Woman is an unseparable part of man. Her beauty is a thing to be enjoyed. Heroines are paragons of virtues. Suffering is because of their unwilling transgression of the moral order. Parvati is Prakriti and her marriage with Shiva is a union of Purusha with Prakriti.⁵ Parvati is also Sati, the spirit of reality. Through humiliation, suffering and penance, she wins the heart of Shiva, the spirit of goodness.⁶ In fact Asvaghosha is interested in the propagation of the Buddhist ideal of asceticism and he thinks woman is an impediment in reaching this goal. Kalidasa, on the contrary thinks that both matter and spirit are to be taken into consideration for the ultimate emancipation from life.

There is a controversy about the hero in *Saundarananda*. In Dr. B. Bhattacharya's opinion⁷ Buddha is decidedly the hero who acts throughout the epic as a guiding potential force which moulds by degrees the loving husband in Nanda into a humane mendicant. But the whole plot revolves around Nanda and informs us about his divided mind :

तं गौरवं बुद्धगतं चकर्ष भार्यनुरागः पुनराचकर्ष ।
सोऽनिश्चयान्तापि ययौ न तस्यौ तरंस्तरङ्गेष्विव राजहसः⁸॥

Nanda ultimately is able to win over the conflict and turn into a spiritual leader so that he may teach the doctrines of Buddha and seek *salvation* (Moksha) for himself. Buddha acts like a catalyst in the transformation of Nanda from a worldly being to an *Arhat*. Shiva is the hero of *Kumarasambhava*. Both aspects, the ascetic and the erotic, are united in him. Born as Ardhanarisvara, he follows Brahman's command and divides himself, allowing the great goddess to proceed from and return into his self.⁹ This is done to fulfil his cosmic task so that his son Kumara may kill the demon Tāraka. His steadfast asceticism, deadly wrath and flaming passion are presented with great artistry by Kalidasa. In fact, the

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5. Shri Aurobindo; Kalidasa, p. 23.
 6. Tagore, Creative Unity, p. 54.
 7. B. Bhattacharya, Asvaghosha—A Critical Study, p. 26.
 8. Saundarananda, iv, 42.
 9. Stella Kramrisch, The Presence of Shiva, p. 432-33.

Buddhist wheel of law is opposed to the wheel of samsara attached to the mythical time, *Mahakala*, a mode of 'eternal now' and as a result Nanda or his catalytic agent Buddha could not achieve that cosmic grandeur which Kalidasa could attach even to the love game between Shiva and Parvati where one night of union is termed as thousand years and thereby transporting the reader from a worldly to a cosmic level of consciousness.

The theme of a work—that is, the abstract idea that the subject-matter exemplifies-defines the philosophy of life of the writer. Kalidasa's epic in its theme is antigenre to Asvaghosha's *Saundarananda*. If *Kumarasambhava* is celebratory in its theme the *Saundarananda* is religious. Its religiousism is diametrically opposed to the celebratory theme. The central theme of *Saundaranand* of Asvaghosa is *Moksha*—the fourth *purushartha*. The other three are kept at a low key to magnify the ultimate goal of life. Asvaghosha clearly states his purpose at the end of his epic : Thus, this work has been undertaken, containing within it the goal called Beatitude, keeping in view serenity and not pleasure, in order that the hearers may grasp it. 'Whatever things I have introduced here other than what serves Beatitude, it has been done as a factor in poetry in order that like a bitter medicine mixed with honey, it may be agreeable to the heart in drinking.¹⁰ There is no such philosophical didacticism to be found in Kalidasa. In Kalidasa the goal is never spoken of as a bitter medicine and the pleasures of the world as a sugar-coating. The world is sweet and its enjoyment is the goal.¹¹ Spiritual and sensuous are not opposite forces but are part of life complimenting each other. While the Buddhist ideal of asceticism is admitted by him, its excess at the cost of healthy pleasure is deprecated.¹² Asvaghosha deals with *topical thematic concepts* connected with problems and issues of interest to a group of people having a certain religious faith. When, however, the situation changes, the problems disappear and interest in them vanishes. Asvaghosha as the chairman of the 4th Buddha Congregation (*sangati*) held in Kashmir propounds in his epic the Yogachara system of the Mahayana sect.¹³ He mentions of self-control, faith, discipline and good behaviour as instructions of law (xii). Freedom from passion leads to salvation. This is possible by measure in eating, control of breathing, avoidance of sleep, solitary meditation etc. There are four truths and eightfold path for achieving salvation. Any literary artefact having this kind of topical thematic concept has a limited interest which betrays the artistic weakness in a work. Kalidasa, on the other hand, deals in his epic with *perennial thematic concepts*. Perennial thematic concepts deal with mortal life : how to understand it and how to live it.¹⁴ The concept

10. *Saundarananda*, xviii, 63.
11. C. Kunchan Raja, Survey of Sanskrit Literature, p. 134.
12. K. Krishnamurty, *Kalidasa*, p. 75.
13. *Saundarananda*, xv, 68.
14. Thomas Nagel, *Mortal Questions*, ix.

which define these mortal questions are the finger prints of the culture. They identify the culture and they are permanent. In *Kumarasambhava*, Kalidasa shows that while infatuation leads to failure, beneficence achieves complete fruition, that beauty is constant only when upheld by virtue, that the highest form of love is the tranquil, controlled and beneficent form,—that in regulation lies the true charm and in lawless excess the speedy corruption of beauty.¹⁵ The poetic motif of human development is presented by Asvaghosha by using the motif of conversion but it does not have a universal appeal. On the contrary, Kalidasa presents the motif of human development by working out the victory of love over asceticism.¹⁶ This has definitely an appeal which goes beyond time in its perenniarity. This only proves that literature does not deal in same way with the same issues as philosophy or religious belief does. Good poem with a philosophical sermon alluding to topical thematic concepts cannot find its way into the heart of the readers. After all literature is attached to thematic concepts only indirectly. It is the job of the reader to bring out the implicit philosophy in a work of literature. But if a literary work like *Saundarananda* is reduced to a religious treatise it cancels out its very existence as literature. On the contrary, Kalidasa creates a literary composition which expresses his perception of life's complexities focussing our attention on a larger and more universal truth that asceticism and worldly pleasure can meet in harmony and become one at the highest level of realization. Here the literature and philosophy meet in thematic concepts, but the relationship is a more distant one : they are parts of a bigger whole i.e. Indian Culture.

Literary appreciation is an effort to recognise the qualities making a literary work a worthwhile object of aesthetic appreciation. The theme of *Saundarananda* is spiritual progress or *trisna-kṣaya* and the light and liberation that follow it. In Buddhistic analogy if you can sow the seed of faith and if penance in the form of rain can water it and if the yoke of insight can be used then the harvest that follow is *Nibbana*. *Saundarananda* is connected with the spiritual life of man. It aims at releasing man from suffering and give him illumination—moksha. The emotional experience of this kind of a theme is termed as *Shanta Rasa*—the aesthetics of tranquility. This is not peace of the grave. It is a value of the living rather than of the dead. Its centrality in Indian culture and aesthetics is striking. “Shantarasa is to be known as characterized by the absence of mental perturbation, as arising from the composure of the mind divested of all passion and as marked by tranquility.” In the union of Shiva and Parvati a feeling of cosmic peace is established. Kalidasa is conscious of *moksha* as the highest value. Yet, as a true poet, he depicts it only with reference to the supreme God, Shiva; none of his other characters are motivated

15. Tagore, Creative Unity, p. 54-55.

16. See W. Ruben, Kalidasa, p. 38.

in their youthful lives by this quest after perfection.¹⁷ The Vedic tradition, which Kalidasa follows, is to seek for *self-knowledge*. The *Sringara* of the divine beings (Shiva and Parvati) leads us to exercise the intellect rather than the emotions and ultimately we realise the inherent truth behind it—it is not the *sensuous beauty* but *sense control* which leads man to sublime tranquility beyond space and time. A man who is torn between joy and suffering, this can be the only option left to seek for self-knowledge.¹⁸ Buddha's parting advice is also the same : *Attadipa bhava*, be a light or an island to yourself but in *Saundarananda* Nanda's quest for self-knowledge and his ultimate realisation of truth leads him to sublime tranquility—but it is a make-shift tranquility. The fact is what Abhinavagupta suggested in reference to Shanta rasa : The one thing that Shanta rasa does that no other rasa can is that it disturbs us. Rasa is not only an emotional experience but knowledge too. It also makes us think and interpret life. Both these epics deal with Sringara-Shanta rasa synthesis but whereas in the *Saundarananda* the triumph of Shanta rasa is mechanically established without disturbing the reader to make him think, Kalidasa establishes it implicitly by magnifying sense-control against sensuous beauty and a feeling of cosmic peace entrals us.

17. K. Krishnamurty, *Kalidasa*, p. 121.

18. In *Shakuntalam* Kalidasa says, on one side the moon sets behind the Western mount, and on the other the Sun comes to view in all his red glory. By the simultaneous downfall and rise of the two luminaries the people are counselled, as it were, in their vicissitudes of fortune, iv, 2.

MEANS TO LIBERATION

JADUNATH SINHA

Works : Duties and Virtues

The students and the householders should do their prescribed duties. "A teacher instructs his pupils after teaching them the Vedas. Speak the truth. Perform your duties and cultivate virtues. Do not neglect your studies of the scriptures. Beg alms for the teacher. Be not negligent in the study of the Vedas. Be not negligent in speaking the truth. Be not negligent in the cultivation of virtues. Be not negligent in the practice of good or well-being. Be not negligent in the performance of works conducive to earthly good. Be not negligent in studying the Vedas and in teaching them."¹

"Be not negligent in performing your duties to the gods and the manes or spirits of dead forefathers. Respect your mother as a god. Respect your father as a god. Respect your teacher as god. Entertain your guests as gods. Perform actions which are not denounced, and not wrong and prohibited actions. Perform good actions, which are performed by righteous persons."² "Do not discontinue the line of your family."³ "Procreate sons by marrying a wife, so that they may perform sraddha ceremony of their fathers. A house-holder has debts to the sages, the gods, men, and beasts and other animals. He should discharge his duties to the sages by studying the Vedas and muttering mantras. He should discharge his duties to the gods by offering oblations to sacrificial fires and address them to the gods. He should discharge his debts to men by offering residence and food temporarily to guests. He should discharge his debts to beasts and birds by offering particles of foods to birds and insects. Charity should be given to the poor with reverence. It should not be given with disrespect. You should make gifts according to your wealth. Charity should be given in conformity with moral reason. It should be given out of fear of moral authority. It should be given out of compas-

1. Tait. Up., i, 11, 1.

2. Ibid., i, 11, 2.

3. Ibid., i, 11, 1.

sion.”⁴ Works are perishable. Those who perform right works go to heaven. Those who commit wrong works go to hell. They who resort to works as the best way to the achievement of the good pass from birth to death.⁵ Those who do works for public good, enjoy lasting happiness in heaven and exhaust their merits, and then enter into lower worlds to wear off their demerits. When merits are worn off, the bound souls in heaven fall to lower worlds. Misery is the fruit of demerits.⁶ Works are avidyā or primal ignorance. Intuition of the Ātman or Brahman is vidyā or higher knowledge. Avidyā is destroyed by vidyā. It is not destroyed by works or duties and virtues.⁷ Works are due to desires (kāma). Desires are due to avidyā or primal nescience. Until all desires are destroyed, a soul cannot enjoy the Brahman. So Divine Spirit cannot be attained by works.⁸ The Brahman transcends virtues (dharma) and vices (adharma), merits and demerits. Hence, a soul should rise above virtues and vices, which hold good of the empirical society of relativity, and achieve absolute purity in order to attain the Divine Spirit.⁹

Dedication of Works to God

When an embodied soul performs actions being prompted by sattva, it should dedicate them to God. When they are dedicated to Him, they do not produce merits. Resignation of all actions to God destroys all merits and demerits. When they are destroyed, the soul becomes absolutely pure. It is not tainted by sins. Demerits are sins. Resignation of all actions to God is accompanied with renunciation of attachment to actions. Detachment and renunciation, and dedication of all works to God are conducive to liberation and transcendence of empirical life.¹⁰ One should perform one’s duties, enjoy one’s wealth and property with renunciation. One should not covet another’s wealth and property. One should desire to live in this world for a hundred years, doing one’s duties. The world, all things in it, are pervaded by God. A soul should intuit the world to be permeated by God.¹¹

Knowledge and Intuition

A soul becomes immortal by knowing the Infinite Person of golden bright colour like the rising sun beyond the darkness of māyā. It becomes immortal by intuiting Him. There is no other way to attain Him. He is the Highest Good (śiva) transcending sattva, rajas and tamas, imperishable, adorable Person. Intui-

4. Ibid, i, 11, 3.

5. Muṇḍ. Up. i, 2, 7.

6. Ibid., i, 2; 9-10.

7. Īś. Up.; 11.

8. Kaṭh. Up., ii, 3, 14.

9. Ibid., i, 2, 14; Chānd. Up., viii, 1, 6.

10. Śvet. Up., vi, 4.

11. Īś. Up., 1-2.

tion, the highest wisdom (prajñā), emanates from Him. He rules over both vidyā and avidyā. The perishable (kṣara) is avidya. The Imperishale Person (akṣara puruṣa) is vidyā. The Brahman transcends avidyā and vidyā, and rules over them. A soul becomes immortal by knowing the abode of the universe and indwelling in the self, and maintainer of virtues and destroyer of sins. A soul becomes immortal by knowing Him, who indwells in all hearts, and who destroys all sins, as a fire is hidden in water.¹² A soul crosses death by avidyā, and enjoys immortality by vidyā. Vidyā is intuition of one Ātman or Brahman. Avidyā is sensory perception and intellectual knowledge of plurality and duality.¹³ Pleasure is agreeable and due to primal ignorance (avidyā). Spiritual vision of the one Ātman is the Highest Good (śreyas) and vidyā or intuition.¹⁴ Works are non-eternal, but knowledge or intuition is eternal.¹⁵ The eternal Brahman is attainable by eternal intuition. The Ātman or Brahman is attainable by spiritual intuition(prajñāna).¹⁶ A soul is reborn and entangled in bondage until it acquires tranquillity, purity, and higher knowledge. A pure, calm, and intuitive mind can know the Divine Spirit.¹⁷ The hidden Ātman, Supreme Self is not revealed to persons of unregenerate intellect. He is intuitible by concentrated intellect rendered subtle by the seers.¹⁸ Divine Spirit is the Inner Self imperceptible by the senses which are directed to external objects.¹⁹ A soul which sees many objects without relating them to the one Divine Spirit passes from death to death. Perception of plurality is bondage. Intuition of one Ātman is release. There is no plurality here in the world. So he who perceives plurality transmigrates from birth to death. To a sage all become one Ātman.²⁰ Divine Spirit, the Supreme Self, Ātman, is the bridge to immortality. Know the one Ātman alone; give up all other words about not-self. The knowledge of the Ātman is the bridge to immortality.²¹ Intuition is the highest knowledge. It is supersensuous, superintellectual, supermental, immediate experience. It immediately apprehends the Divine Spirit. Ātman is Supreme Self, Paramātman in the Upaniṣads. Both idealistic monism and theism, personal God and impersonal Divine Spirit are found in the Upaniṣads. Saṅkara and Śamkarites stress monism (advaitavāda). Rāmānuja Nimbārka, Madha, and Jiva Gosvāmī emphasize theism.

12. Śvet. Up., iii, 8, iv, 18; v, 1, vi, 15.

13. Īś. Up., 11.

14. Kaṭh. Up. i, 2, 2.

15. Ibid., i, 2, 10.

16. Ibid., i, 2, 24.

17. Ibid., i, 3, 7.

18. Ibid., i, 3, 12.

19. Ibid., ii, 1, 1.

20. Ibid., ii, 1, 10-11 and 15.

21. Muṇḍ. Up., ii, 2, 5.

Asceticism

The Brāhmaṇas, after returning from a householder's life and knowing the Ātman, Supreme Self, by meditation, should give up the primal desire for sex or desire for sons, the primal desire for wealth, and the primal desire for earthly happiness and heavenly happiness, and earn their livelihood by begging. They should acquire erudition in the Vedas, give up erudition, and acquire simplicity of childhood, give up childlike simplicity, and cultivate silence. Silence is due to being established in consciousness of the Brahman.²² The Brahmana monks should live by begging food. Asceticism is the duty of the monks in the last stage of life. The monks cultivate pure sattva, purity of mind, know the truths of things propounded by the Vedanta or Upaniṣads, by the practice of asceticism (samnyāsa) achieve immortality and desirelessness in the higher worlds, Brahmaloka.²³ The sages are gratified with higher knowledge, are detached, become calm and self-realized, and released from bondage. Desireless sages worship and meditate on the Supreme Person hidden in the universe and shed the body produced by semen. Meditation on the pure Brahman immanent in the universe with perfect equanimity and without any desire for empirical objects is a prerequisite for disembodied immortality.²⁴ When a soul gives up all desires for empirical objects, it enjoys the Brahman, and becomes immortal (amṛta).²⁵ So long as it runs after worldly and heavenly happiness, it cannot transcend its bodily state. A soul which becomes desireless, which desires the Ātman, Supreme Self alone, and which has fulfilled all desires in the Ātman, becomes the Brahman, Absolute, even when its vital forces do not depart from its body. It is released in embodied life. This is the state of embodied release (jīvanmukti).²⁶ God cannot be attained by works, by procreation of sons, or by acquisition of wealth, but by renunciation alone.²⁷ The Brahmanas desire to know the Ātman, Supreme Self, by teaching the Vedas, by performing sacrifices, or by offering oblations to sacrificial fires, by practising charity, and by undergoing penances such as fasting.²⁸ The performance of penances generates a desire to know the Brahman or Ātman. Sins are destroyed by performing austerities (tapas), and then immortality is achieved by intuition (vidyā). Death is transcended by penance, which is nescience (avidyā), and immortality is enjoyed by intuition.²⁹ Intuition (vidyā) is the highest knowledge. It is the knowledge of the Ātman, Supreme Self. Teaching the Vedas, performance of sacrifices, celibacy, sense-restraint, faith, pe-

22. Br. Up., iii, 5, 1.
23. Mund. Up., iii, 2, 6.
24. Ibid., iii, 5 and 1.
25. Kaṭh. Up., ii, 3, 14.
26. Br. Up., iv, 4, 5.
27. Kaivalya Up., 3.
28. Br. Up., iv, 4, 22.
29. Īś. Up., 11.

nance, fasting, and freedom are the causes of the knowledge of the Supreme Self. Hence, penance and intuition both are conducive to the highest good of the Brahmanas. The intuition of the Ātman depends on the performance of austerities.³⁰ Asceticism is the dominant note in later Upaniṣads.

Yoga

Meditate on the Supreme Person (para puruṣa) as *Om*. Meditate on the Atman as *Om*. Unite with the Supreme Self as *Om*.³¹ *Om* is the Atman, Brahman, Supreme Person. Meditate on the form of *Om*, or on the mystic sound *Om* in the heart. The Ātman or Brahman is hidden in the heart-cavity of every embodied soul. A soul should intuit the Brahman by the repeated practice of meditation on *Om* in the heart-cavity.³² The Inner Self of the size of a thumb is hidden in the hearts of all persons. Those become immortal, who intuit the Ruler of all hearts by meditation.³³ He is hidden in all creatures, the Ruler of the universe, Maintainer of the worlds, immanent in all creatures and gods. The sages tear the fetters of death by intuiting Him by meditation.³⁴ He is the Supreme Soul among the minute eternal souls and fulfils the desires of many souls. He can be intuited by meditation.³⁵ The Divine Person is intuited by spiritual illumination due to meditation (adhyātmayoga) by a person, who is calm through equanimity, and who has given up joy and grief. The hidden Divine Person is imperceptible.³⁶ Yoga is fixation of the eternal sense-organs and non-negligence of duties by the mind or focussing of the mind.³⁷ A spiritual teacher who has intuited the Eternal Person should instruct a disciple whose mind is controlled and calmed in the knowledge of the Brahman.³⁸ A yogin visions the Ātman in his self after practising sense-restraint, mind-control, withdrawal of the sense-organs from their objects, trance or absorption of the mind in the Ātman, Supreme Self.³⁹ These are the stages of the Yogic discipline. When the mind becomes pure and free from rajas and sins, the monks vision the Ātman in their pure minds. When all sins are destroyed in thousands of births, they vision the Ātman, and destroy bondage.⁴⁰ The Ātman, Supreme Self, should be heard, reflected on,

30. Yajña Yati, 189-90; Śb. Śvet. Up., Intro. Śvet. Up., i, 16.

31. Praś. Up., v, 5; Muṇḍ. Up., ii, 2; 4-6.

32. Śvet. Up., i, 14.

33. Ibid., iii, 13.

34. Ibid., iv, 15.

35. Ibid., vi, 13.

36. Kaṭh. Up., i, 2, 12.

37. Ibid., ii, 3, 11.

38. Muṇḍ. Up., i, 2, 13.

39. Br. Up., iv, 5, 23.

40. Yś. Up., i, 78-79. ŚB., Śvet. Up., Intro.

meditated upon, and visioned.⁴¹ Listen to the Upaniṣadic text about the nature of the Ātman. In Sanskrit *Ātman* is masculine. He should be reflected on. The nature of Him should be reflected on. Mere hearing will not yield the knowledge of Him. He should be meditated upon. The Upaniṣads regarded meditation as the supreme method of knowing Him. Meditation yields spiritual vision or intuition of Him. He is visioned, intuited, ‘seen’ through meditation. Hearing gives verbal knowledge. Reflection gives intellectual knowledge. Meditation leads to higher intuition. Intuition is suprarational immediate knowledge. It is higher immediacy. One who intuits the Brahman becomes It.⁴² In Sanskrit *brahman* is neuter. It is impersonal Infinite Spirit. Intuition is becoming Brahman. Knowing Brahman is realizing Brahman. One who abides in Brahman becomes immortal.⁴³

Devotion to God

The truths are revealed to him who cherishes devotion to his spiritual teacher, and who cherishes devotion to God. The truths are revealed to the devotees.⁴⁴ The word devotion (*bhakti*) occurs once only in the later *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which clearly advocates theistic concept of God. It propounds the dedication of all works to God. Duties and sins, dedicated to God, lose their power of generating merits and demerits. When a soul destroys both its merits and demerits, it acquires the absolute purity of the Brahman, and intuits It. This Upaniṣad also, propounds the doctrine of God’s grace through which a soul attains liberation.⁴⁵ Dedication of all actions to God and belief in the grace of God are allied to the way of devotion. It preaches the way of taking refuge with God, which also is allied to the way of devotion.⁴⁶ Like some other Upaniṣads, it looks upon meditation on the Brahman or *Om* as the best method of knowing It.⁴⁷

Grace of God

The Ātman, Supreme Self, cannot be attained by the instruction of the Vedas, or by vast learning in the scriptures, or by memory of them. He alone can attain the Ātman to whom He reveals His body or nature, whom He elects by His grace.⁴⁷ God resides in the heart-cavity of every individual embodied soul. He is minuter than an atom and greater than the great. A soul intuits God and His glory through His grace, when it becomes desireless and griefless.⁴⁸ The sage *Śvetāśvatara* intui-

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41. Br. Up., vii, 5, 6.
 42. Muṇḍ. Up., ii', 2, 9.
 43. Śvet. Up., vi, 23.
 44. Ibid., vi, 4, 21
 45. Ibid., vi, 18.
 46. Ibid., i, 14.
 47. Kath. Up., i, 2, 23.
 48. Śvet. Up., iii, 20.

ted God through His grace and by the power of his penances, and instructed the most holy sages in this truth.⁴⁹ Thus the ancient Upaniṣads regarded the grace of God also as a means to liberation.

Taking Refuge with God

An embodied soul, desirous of liberation should take refuge in God, who created Hiranyagarbha (Brahmā) before creating the world, and who revealed the Vedas, and who reveals the knowledge of Brahman to a soul.⁵⁰ God is the Master of all, Ruler of all, and the infinite Refuge of all.⁵¹

Kuṇḍalinīyoga

The worshippers of Śakti, Divine Mother, and the Śaivas of the Pratyabhijñā school of Kasmir, and Gorakṣanatha (1200 A. D.), Buddhist Siddha, followed and practised Kuṇḍalinīyoga. The germs of the cult are found in the early Upaniṣads. The Śāktas borrowed the concept of the heart-centre from of early Upaniṣads. The Supreme Self, Ātman, coexists with individual self (jivātman) in the heart-cavity of every person. The Divine is hidden in the hearts of all.⁵² In the heart there are hundred and one nerves. One of them issue out of the centre of the cerebrum. A good person's soul departs out of the opening (brahmaṇḍra) of this nerve (suṣumnā) and becomes immortal. The other souls depart through the other hundred nerves.⁵³ One who intuits the Supreme Self becomes free from avidyā, emotions, and desires and passions, and is released in embodied life. Suṣumnā and brahmaṇḍra are not distinctly mentioned in the verse, but they are meant, The soul knows the Brahman, and becomes the Brahman. In Kuṇḍalinīyoga the coiled or dormant Divine Power, Śakti, is roused from Her sleep by the practice of breath-control (prāṇāyāma), made to ascend through the abdominal centre (svādhiṣṭhāna) and the navel centre (manipuraka) to the heart-centre (anāhata). *Om* is meditated on at the heart-centre as luminous light or as unstruck sound or music). Then the Divine Power (śakti) is made to ascend to the throat-centre (viśuddha) then to the eye-brow centre (ajnā), and then to the centre of the cerebrum called brahmaṇḍra or sahasrāra. This highest centre is referred to in the above verse. Meditation on the Divine at the mystic centres is the essence of Kuṇḍalinīyoga. Divine Power (śakti) is united with Śiva, God, at

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49. Ibid., vi, 21.
 50. Ibid., vi, 18.
 51. Ibid., iii, 17.
 52. Kaṭh. Up., i, 2, 1; i, 3, 12; i, 2, 20; Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 1, 1-2; Śvet. Up., vi, 6, 7, 17.
 53. Kaṭh. Up., ii, 3, 16; SB.
 54. Tait. Up., i, 6; 1.2.

the highest centre. Again, there is the verse : "There is ākāsa or Brahman in the heart-ether. This Divine Person is made of manas. He is the luminous Person of the nature of immortality. In the middle of the plates there is a piece of flesh like the breast hanging. The suṣumṇa passes by the side of it. This is the way to be united with the Brahman. It pierces the head and the forehead into two parts. A soul meditating on the Divine Person at the highest centre is enriched with peace, becomes fulfilled and realized and blissful and attains autonomy of a spiritual kingdom." In this verse there is a clear assertion that the internal heart-ether spreads from the heart- cavity through the spinal cord and the eye-brow centre to the centre of the cerebrum. The śāktas believe that human body is a microcosm of macrocosm. The above verse mentions that the different worlds, earth (bhu), the sky (bhuvah) heaven (svar), mahaḥ and the like exist in the human body. By meditation a soul can rise to the different worlds and bring out the Divine Spirit from within the body and vision It by spiritual illumination.⁵⁵ The soul sleeps in purītā nerve near the heart. Seventy two thousand nerves issue out of the heart and pervade the body.⁵⁶

God is a Doer and Non-Doer

God and an individual self reside in the heart-ether. God is omniscient while the soul is ignorant or of limited knowledge. God is the omnipotent Lord while the soul is non-Lord of limited power. God is the Ruler of the universe. The soul, non-Lord, is fettered to bondage. After knowing the Lord it is released from all fetters. It is an experiencer of the world, which is experienced. The souls or experiencers and the world of objects or the experienced and their Ruler constitute the Brahman. When the Infinite Self experiences Himself as threefold, He is a non-Doer (akartṛ).⁵⁷ But when He creates, maintains and rules over the world with His ruling powers, He is not a non-Doer. When He creates the world with His power of māyā, or when He creates various things and beings with His manifold powers, He is not a non-Doer.⁵⁸ He is the ruler binder and liberator of souls and whirls the cosmic cycle, and not a non-Doer.⁵⁹

Divine Power (Śakti)

God's powers are supreme and various. He has power of volition or strength, and power of knowledge.⁶⁰ The Śaivas recognize these powers of God. The *Svetāśvatara* is the earliest Śaiva Upaniṣad. These are evidently spiritual

55. Kath. Up., ii, 3, 17.

56. Br. Up., ii, 1, 19.

57. Svet. Up., i, 8-9 and 12.

58. Ibid., iv, 1 and 9-10; iii, 1.

59. Ibid., v; 1, 7, 11; vi; 1, 11, 13 and 16.

60. Svet. Up., vi, 8.

and conscious powers. They are intrinsic to His nature. It is the glory of God that the whole cosmic cycle (brahmacakra) is whirled and ruled by Him.⁶¹ He rules all worlds by His powers of ruling. He is one but is endowed with a net of powers.⁶² These powers of ruling are conscious and spiritual powers. He is the controller (vaśi) of moving and unmoving things and worlds.⁶³ He can control them by His conscious powers alone. He is one and colourless and formless, but creates many colours and forms and invests them with meanings by means of His various powers.⁶⁴ God creates the world with the power of māyā. He is the māyin. Māyā is His power. The world is pervaded by his power.⁶⁵ Prakṛti is one and unborn, and has red, white, and black colour. It produces many similar effects. Sattva is white. Rajas is red. Tamas is black. Prakṛti is made of sattva, rajas, and tamas.⁶⁶ God is devoid of sattva, rajas, and tamas. He is transcendental (kevala), conscious, and witness (sākṣin) of the world and individual selves.⁶⁷ He is a knower; consciousness (constitutes His nature). There is no trace of the guṇas—sattva, rajas, and tamas in Him. An individual self living in the same body with God, the Supreme Self, in the heart-cavity, does not know Him, and grieves because of its limited power and knowledge and sleeps. But when it knows Him, the Lord, and sees His glory, being free from grief, it becomes self-realized.⁶⁸ It leaves prakṛti, and ceases to be attracted towards its guṇas, and liberates itself from its bondage.⁶⁹ It is not clearly asserted whether prakṛti is a conscious power of God. It is a conscious power because His powers are conscious.

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- 61. Ibid., vi, 1.
 - 62. Ibid., iii, 1.
 - 63. Ibid., iii, 8.
 - 64. Ibid., iv, 1.
 - 65. Ibid., iv, 9-10.
 - 66. Ibid., iv, 5.
 - 67. Ibid., vi, 11.
 - 68. Ibid., iv, 7.
 - 69. Ibid., iv, 5.

AKHANDA MAHAYOGA AND SUPRAMENTAL YOGA : A STUDY

E. NILAKANTA SINGH

"O Strong forerunner, I have heard thy cry
One shall descend and break the iron law,
Change Nature's doom by the lone spirit's power
A limitless Mind that can contain the world,
A sweet and violent heart of ardent calms
Moved by the passions of the gods shall come
All mighty and greatnesses shall join in her
Beauty shall walk celestial on the earth,
Delight shall sleep in the cloud-net of her hair
And in her body as on his homing tree
Immortal love shall beat his glorious wings."

(Sri Aurobindo's Savitri : Bk III Canto IV)

This was an assurance given by the Divine Mother to King Ashwapati at his persistent prayer to the Mother.

I was introduced to Pandit Gopinathji by D. K. Roy through his memoir, and picking up another book entitled *Shri Krishna Prasanga* added to my adoration of the master whom I have started discovering through some of his books.

Gopinath Kaviraj is a Savant, a profound Indologist and a Rishi and his works give me the impression that he came very close to the vision of Sri Aurobindo. He once wrote to D. K. Roy that he had been waiting for the great moment (*Mahākshaner Pratikshā*) which can come any moment. Sri Aurobindo and the Mother also embarked on the great adventure of consciousness and were waiting for the supramental descent on earth. Gopinath Kaviraj also emphasised, in his talks with Dilipkumar that the efforts of Sri Aurobindo (and also of Buddha) would never go in vain and the day would come when this Earth shall become vibrant with immortal rhythms with a sort of 'aggressive grace.' He accepted Sri Aurobindo, and both shared the vision of the vedic rishis : "May we speak the beauty of thee, O Earth, that is in thy villages and forests and assemblies and wars and battles" (Atharva Veda XII 44.56). This is a "third

position" (an expression of SatPrem) which is neither that of the materialists nor that of the spiritualists, but representing the complete truth of the two poles. As Sri Aurobindo says, "The ascent of man into heaven is not the key, but rather his ascent here into the spirit and the descent also of the spirit into his normal humanity and the transformation of this earthly nature. For that and not some post-mortem salvation is the real new birth for which humanity waits as the crowning movement of its long obscure and painful course" (The Hour of God).

The approaches are, of course, different, for obvious reasons. Sri Aurobindo is a Yogi and passing through the stage of *Nirvāṇa* he journeyed through layers of consciousness and planes of existence and discovered the supermind. It is a case of direct confrontation with the Truth in the style of Vedic rishis without the fetter of the Śāstras and religions, moving from peak to peak of human consciousness. In the case of Gopinathji, he had to undertake an arduous journey through the systems of Indian philosophy, going to the depths of Purāṇa-Tantric faiths, more particularly of the Tantras, in the tradition of the *rishis*, sitting at the feet of his revered guru, Visuddhānanda Mahārāj and ultimately offering his all to the feet of Ma Ānandamayee in his last days. It was an intellectual journey, so to say, which was crowned at last with mystic intuitions and supreme grace of the Mother. Being deeply versed in tantric lore, Kavirajji had to express his sādhanā (Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga) through technical terms and symbolic expressions. As Dr. Chandra Shekhara Swamī puts it : "We can compare this yoga with a temple. The main six systems of Indian Philosophy are its foundation. Śaktism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism are like its walls. Kavirajji's supreme philosophy is here just like a *Kalasa* or Śikhara and Akhaṇḍa Mahāyoga is the deity installed in the temple" (*Archā Smṛtiḥ* : Page 9).

Sri Aurobindo discovered the secret of the Veda and found that the emergence of the spirit in a supramental consciousness and a new body, a new race is an inevitable phenomenon. If a spiritual unfolding on earth is the hidden truth of our birth into matter, fundamentally an evolution of consciousness in Nature, man cannot be the last term of that evolution. He must be surpassed and supermind and superman must manifest. We have reached, according to Sri Aurobindo, a new crisis of transformation, which also appeared when Life emerged in matter and when Mind appeared in Life. Humanity has now been given the chance to be "conscious collaborations of our own evolution." Sri Aurobindo came to announce the manifestation of the Supramental Will which he partially incarnated. As he puts it emphatically, "The supramental change is a thing decreed and inevitable in the evolution of the earth-consciousness; for its upward ascent is not ended and mind is not its last summit" (The Mother). After the supramental descent on earth, the body could become a revealing vessel of a supreme beauty and bliss. The supramentalised matter shall be capable of answering corresponding vibrations of the supramental consciousness. What is more, one shall attain immortality.

This concept of immortality needs a little more examination. It does not mean that one would never die. The conquest of death means that one can leave the body at will. Secondly, it includes the power to change or renew the body. To keep the same body for years would be a terrible bondage. The precise implications of this idea of immortality after supramental descent have not yet been worked out at this stage. It is full of possibilities. Even the Sage Ramana Maharshi had to admit, when pressed much, that "it (immortality) is possible by Divine Grace." But the negative aspect of this state has been beautifully put by the Mother thus : "We must get out of this mire, this stupidity, this unconsciousness, this disgusting defeatism that crushes because we allow ourselves to be crushed" (Mother's Agenda: Vol. XIII).

Kavirajji was also assured that the time of Transformation was near "the eternal unity of *samaṣṭijīva* or total humanity with God in time and space of the existing world." This union represents the illumination of *Mahāprakāśa*. This is also the descent of *Mahāśakti*—divine illumination in this physical world. *Mahāśakti* is in the triangle of *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda* representing aspiration, urge and faith. This downward triangle becomes upward at the touch of *Mahāśakti*. The meeting point of the two triangles represents the divine descent. This action shall take place in the central point of the circle, *gurumāṇḍala* lotus where the whole universe will be transformed. Kavirajji would say that when *Mahāprakāśa* touches human being (supramental descent in the language of Sri Aurobindo) it becomes permanent. This light has transformed already collective life-force and collective Mind but it has to transform human body (salvation is physical—says the Mother) and this transformed man would be called the Divine being or superman upon the earth. The object of human life is to attain this *Brahmabodh*, which is beyond Time and which is neither truth nor untruth, by penetrating the inner world (*Antarjagat*) in this very life. There the yogi becomes identified with Brahman, with *Mahamāya* taking shelter in him and the Bhakta becomes Bhagavan Himself.

Apart from the final stage of spiritual realisation spoken of by both in slightly different languages, there is a meeting point in the journey itself. This is the role of the Mother and everything is decided by the grace of the Mother—*Mahāśakti*, a term which is accepted by both Sri Aurobindo and Kavirajji. Human labour is not enough. "An unfailing aspiration that calls from below and a supreme grace from above"—both are necessary. Transformation is possible only when one puts oneself in the hands of the Mother and her powers. Sri Aurobindo talks about *Mahāśakti* with her four powers or personalities, viz. *Maheśwari*, *Mahākālī*, *Mahālakṣmī* and *Mahāśaraswati* that have stood in front in her guidance of this universe. The power that mediates between the sanction and the call is the presence and power of the Divine Mother. Sri Aurobindo states it

clearly : "The Mother's power, and not any human endeavour and *tapasyā*, can alone rend the lid and tear the covering and shape the vessel and bring down into this world of obscurity and falsehood and death and suffering Truth and Light and Life Divine and the immortal "Ananda" (The Mother—page 78). All the sādhakas of Sri Aurobindo have to offer themselves to the Mother of the Ashram. In the case of Kavirajji also, the worship (*Sevā*) of the Mother—the embodiment of *Mahāśakti* who works through the Yogi is essential. Yogi Gopinath found such a Mother in the person of Anandamayee Ma and offered his last moments to her. It is just a call to the Mother for her love from a hungry child, "What if I don't understand the *swarūpa* of my mother who is beyond understanding!" exclaims Gopinathji. In one of his letters of the last days Kavirajji wrote to his Divine Mother : "Mother, please don't forget, a love-lorn Gopi (*Virahīṇī Gopī*) in a corner of the earth is waiting for you". Naturally Ma Anandamayee was moved by this childlike simplicity and remarkable surrender.

With the passing of Sri Aurobindo in 1950, the Mother was entrusted to carry out his work for more than 20 years, and it was left to Satprem (a French disciple) to record the experiment in 13 volumes and watch "the poignant drama of this lone and indomitable woman, struggling in the midst of an all-too-human humanity in her attempt to open man's golden future." It is not possible to indicate the fairy tale at length—"the Yoga of the cells" or "the Mind of the cells." It would be enough to indicate a few cries of the Mother. "I am in the midst of hewing a path through the virgin forest" (1961) "Death is an illusion, illness is an illusion. Life and death are one and the same thing. It is merely a shifting of consciousness, why, it is fantastic!" (1962). "The body is everywhere (1963). "Humanity is not the last rung of terrestrial creation. Evolution continues and man will be surpassed" (1966). "Salvation is physical" (1969), And finally, "There is no difference between life and death. It is neither life nor death, it is something" (1972). And the last cry "Let me do the work!" And Satprem concludes : "On November 17, 1973, she passed away—Why?" (Mother's Agenda—Vol. XIII).

It is not perhaps given to man to exactly understand this process. But Sri Aurobindo and the Mother were waiting and Kavirajji was also waiting for the great moment, which is yet to come. "There was a Moment", says the Mother, "There was a moment when the mental being was able to manifest on earth. There will be a Moment when human consciousness will reach a state that will enable the supramental consciousness to enter the human consciousness and manifest" (The mind of the cells—page 216). And I remember the emphatic utterance of Yogi Gopinath Kaviraj : "The great penance (*mahātapasyā*) of Buddha and Sri Aurobindo cannot fail, cannot fail". The life of Kavirajji gives indeed, solace to suffering humanity.

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CARVED STONE-DISCS DEDICATED TO THE CULT OF GODDESS ŚRĪ

P. K. AGRAWALA

Besides terracottas, the most important archaeological material throwing significant light on the ancient cult aspects of the Mother-goddess worship in India is constituted by a group of annular stone-discs of a distinctive type, usually known by the name "ring-stone". They have been discovered from many an early historic site almost throughout northern India, including such distant centres as Taxila, Rupar, Sankisa, Mathura, Kosam, Rajghat, Patna, Vaisali, Ujjain. Most of these pieces show a regular shape and similar details carved on them including various figures and decorative motifs which shed a veritable light on the widespread cult of the Mother-goddess. While referring to one or more such ring-stones several eminent authorities have already suggested their usage as cultic objects and identified the female figure appearing in their carving as that of the Great Mother-goddess whose worship is known to have prevailed in popular beliefs of India from the chalcolithic antiquity.¹

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1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 20; J. Marshall, in *ASIAR.*, 1927-28, p. 66; same, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, London 1931, vol. I. pp. 62-3; same, *Taxila*, London 1951, vol. II, pp. 503-4; J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1941, pp. 185-89, 2nd edition, Calcutta 1956, pp. 168 ff, V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, pp. 80 ff.; Krishna Deva and V.K. Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations* 1950, Vaisali 1961, pp. 63-64; Y.D. Sharma, "Past Patterns in Living as unfolded by Excavations at Rupar," *Lalit Kala*, 1-2, 1955-56, p. 125; B.Ch. Chhabra, "Antiquities from Jhusi and other Sites," *ibid.*, 9, 1961, p. 15; H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien*, Stuttgart 1959, p. 127; same, *The Harappa Culture and the West*, Calcutta 1961; Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poon 1970, pp. 16 ff.; 36 ff.; same, "The Cult of Śrī-Lakṣmī and Four Carved Discs in the Bharat Kala Bhavan," *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume of Bharat Kala Bhavan*, Varanasi 1971, pp. 139-48; Moti Chandra, "Studies in the Cult of the Mother Goddess in Ancient India,"

Broadly speaking, these objects are pre-Christian in date. Scholars like Marshall, Jayaswal, Coomaraswamy, Benerjee, John Irwin, Agrawala, Moti Chandra have ascribed them on stylistic grounds to the Maurya and Śunga periods, roughly 3rd-1st century B. C. or even earlier. However, the first account of one of the stone-discs discovered by Cunningham at Sankisa appeared as early as 1880 in his *ASR.*, vol. XI, p. 28, with the following remark on their significance : "Their use is still a mystery. It is possible that they may have served some purpose for a lady's toilet, or perhaps as receptacles for quicklime, which is used in small quantities with the betel-nut and *pān* leaf." In fact, he had failed to recognise the representation of the goddess figure on the disc which he described in a general way as "figures of men standing". Evidently, he was not aware of any perforated kind of disc specimens and hence considered them as mere dishes to contain something of practical daily use. However, John Irwin makes an interesting observation (needing no further comments) on Cunningham's above view : "It is difficult to know whether he meant something in the nature of a cosmetic dish—of doubtful use when perforated—or whether he was employing Victorian phraseology for an article more precisely described as contraceptive." (*JRAS.*, 1951, London, p. 2)

However, Coomaraswamy, writing in 1927, was still unable to recognise their independent religious use and believed them to "be large earrings", although he remarked that the unperforated centre in the case of the Sankisa disc, is "a fact apparently fatal to the earring interpretation suggested above". Anyway, he was able to realise, particularly in the light of the material discovered by Marshall in 1920-21 at the Bhir Mound site, Taxila, the outstanding importance of the stone-disc finds for the study of early art during Mauryan and pre-Mauryan times. (*HIA.*, p. 20.) But a proper appreciation of this material was put forth for the first time by Marshall (in *ASI., AR* for 1927-28, p. 66) and then in his *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (vol. I, 1931, pp. 62-63). About the purpose of the ring-stones he remarked that "It could hardly have been utilitarian nor are they suited for personal ornaments. The nude figures engraved on them appear to represent a goddess of fertility, perhaps the earth goddess Pṛithvī, and they point to the discs having served as votive offerings." (*ASI, AR.*, 1927-28, p. 66.) With a view to comprehend the real significance of numerous uncarved ring-stones of cruder type exhumed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, he interpreted them on the basis of their formal comparison with the historical ring-stones, mainly the annular *yoni* as he believed were the phalli and baetylic stones of this protohistoric culture connected presumably with the cult of the *linga*. He further indicated a possible

Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 12, 1973, pp. 38 ff.; P. K. Agrawala, "The Early Indian Mother-goddess Votive Discs," *East and West*, N. S., vol. 29, Nos. 1-4, Dec. 1979, pp. 75 ff.; S. P. Gupta, *The Roots of Indian Art*, Delhi 1980, pp. 53 ff.

comparison of the historical stone discs, on the other hand, with the Śri-cakras of later day Hinduism, with the following comments on the symbolism of the latter : "In the Śri-chakras or holy circle—a yantra of the Śāktas—which represents the orb of the Earth, the centre is occupied by the drawing of a mouth or *yoni*, supposed to typify the female energy (*sakti*) presiding over the circle." (MIC., p. 63, fn. 1)

Following Marshall several scholars have contributed to the study of the stone discs in their true religious perspective and confirmed in general the observations of Marshall on their cult background and artistic merit. But there are still a few others who wish to see merely a utilitarian purpose other than that of religion which these objects might have served. Thus, K. P. Jayaswal described a stone disc from Patna as a toy wheel (JISOA., 1935, p. 1). S. A. Shere, who published a detailed study of an outstanding hoard of twenty one stone discs found in 1951 at Murtaziganj, Patna city, has to observe as follows : "Their use is still a mystery. It is just possible that they may have served the purpose of decorating walls of rooms or doors. It must be remembered that the diameter of the bottom surface of each disc is slightly bigger than that of the upper surface. It therefore seems most likely that each of these pieces was an inset of a door or wall as suggested above." (JBRS., vol. XXXVII, pts. 3-4, 1951, p. 189.)

It is not possible now to maintain in any way such partial estimates of the stone-discs, whether of the perforated type or of the unperforated variety, which all are so finely worked in low relief with a composition divided into several concentric bands around a centre, consisting of the figures of a nude goddess in most of the specimens, and invariably animal and decorative design and symbols. In fact, the identical character of the carved composition seen in various specimens hailing from areas separated by great distance from each other goes to undoubtedly testify to their common cultic background and definite religious purpose beyond mere decorative utility. Their particular annular shape too with uniform kinds of engraved details is further remarkable and is of an exclusive character for we do not have any of them or for that matter any other contemporary stone plaques of similar small sizes in square or rectangular shapes and carved with similar symbolic composition. If the objects in question were intended as decorative pieces for the walls or doors, or merely as toys, any other regular shapes would have also been employed in a general manner. In case of the perforated discs particularly, the most tedious engraving around inside the sunken opening in the centre—so that the lower portion of the goddess figures should be coinciding with the hole itself is proof of an unmistakable intention of the designer and reveals that the discs were made for specific symbolical objectives. Moreover, the uniform representation of the nude goddess figures and not of any other variable human shape in that position goes to prove that the stone-discs were primarily manufactured to serve the religious purpose presumably as cult objects or symbols dedicated to the

Mother-goddess appearing as part of their carving. From a comparative analysis and allied designing of the composition, many other disc specimens which even though do not portray the goddess figures can also be reasonably assigned to the very same group of objects and it is not in any way strange that in certain cases the details of composition had come to be minimised in a natural course of the popularity of their symbolical understanding.

While discussing the significance of these votive stone-discs in the first edition of his *Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1941, pp. 185-89), J.N. Banerjee not only supported strongly the views of Marshall but also augmented the list of stone discs by treating three new specimens from Rajghat and Kosam. He further recognised several traits in the iconography of later Brahmanical goddesses that could be traced back to the depictions on the discs, particularly the association of the *godhā* (iguana) or *makara*, diverse other animals, birds and vegetal symbols with the goddesses of Purānic religion. This was elaborated further by him in the second edition of his book (Calcutta, 1956, pp. 169-73) by analysing together the evidence offered by unique Murtaziganj Hoard found and described by S. A. Shere in 1951. He has summarised his fully cogent opinion in the following manner, "They must have been used as cult objects, and did not merely 'serve the purpose of decorating walls or doors' as suggested by Shere, and they fall in line with the other stone discs and rings recovered from various sites of India, Indus Valley onwards." (*DHI.*, 2nd ed., p. 173).

In his *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965, pp. 77-82), Prof. V. S. Agrawala treated the ring-stone material in a comprehensive manner discussing about forty or forty-five such pieces then known to him from Mathura, Kosam, Rajghat, Vaisali, Patna and Murtaziganj, Sankisa, Taxila and other sites. His close analysis of the carved figures and motifs on the discs made it possible for him to assert a fuller interpretation of their wider symbolical merit and the identity of the goddess appearing on them as that of Śrī-Lakṣmī in the light of the apocryphal *Śrī-sūkta* of the Rgveda. As he remarks, "These are fortunately in perfect preservation and richly documented with the idea underlying this class of antiquities. They illustrate the figures of the Mother-goddess, standing with splayed feet, stiff erect posture, nudity and a close resemblance with the figure on the gold plaque from Lauria Nandangarh and with the clay-figurines from Taxila and other places, which are associated with the traditional form of the Great Goddess. The other features on these discs are figures of the palm tree, alternating with the Goddess, figures of animals of wide variety, e. g. lion, elephant, bull, horse (the four great animals of the Sārnāth Capital, depicted together on disc No. 7), dog, bear, stag, deer, ram. Amongst birds we find the goose, peacock, crane, heron, etc. The palm tree is oft-repeated with the Goddess and emphasises its intimate relation with the cult. We also find certain patterns of the central lotus or rayed solar orb, honey-suckle, triangles, taurines, crescents, etc. The figures or symbols on the Patna discs are essentially

the same, found on the ring-stones or discs from Taxila, Mathura, Kosam, Sankisa, Basarh, etc. The cult character based on an underlying unity of the deity is undoubted." (p. 80). As to the identity of the goddess and her cult tradition, he further concludes, "The name for them is 'Śrī-Chakra' (also called Śrī-Yantra in the later tradition), being aniconic representations of the Mother-goddess worshipped both in human and symbolical form, which are in force up to this day. A commentary on the nature of the cult is available in the Śrī-Sūkta, an apocryphal hymn (Khila-Sūkta) at the end of the fifth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda. All the different characteristics found on the discs are included in the description, which certainly formed part of folk-lore poetry." (pp. 80-81.) Many points in the description of Śrī-sūkta are shown by this authority to have their symbolical illustration in the stone discs, particularly her association with the Lotus, with animals such as elephant, bull, horse, makara and above all with the Cakra or *maṇḍala* which is represented by the discs themselves being her symbol *par excellence* are characterised in the text by such expressions as *padma-nemi* (i. e. having lotus as its centre), *padma-mālinī*, *puṣkarinī* (i. e. having lotus as its encircling garland), *hiranya-prākārā* (i.e. being encircled by a rampart of gold) etc.

In his *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum* (Poona, 1970), Pramod Chandra described a dozen discs, mostly fragments, coming from the site of Kosam near Allahabad. His paper in the *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume* of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Banaras Hindū University, 1971, pp. 139-48) further treated in detail four most important stone discs in this museum in view of their presumable association with the cult of Śrī-Lakṣmī as demonstrated by V. S. Agrawala. Pramod Chandra has made some welcome suggestions regarding the parallelism of certain motifs such as palm tree, honeysuckle, kilt-like skirt of the goddess worshippers/priests etc. between the religious traditions of India and West Asia.

Bringing to light some new archaeological material, particularly from Kosam, and sifting a rich mass of ancient literary data, Moti Chandra in his lengthly article, "Studies in the Cult of the Mother Goddess in Ancient India", (*PWMB.*, No. 12, 1973, pp. 1-47) has tried to explore the origins and development of various elements and beliefs connected with the early Indian goddess cult and discussed the evidence of carved stone-discs in a wider perspective. A new disc published by him in fact is of a distinctive type showing the goddess with shoulder-wings, and several other new features in the carved composition.

In our paper, "The early Indian Mother-goddess Votive Discs," *East and West*, vol. 29, 1979, pp. 75-111) we have attempted a comprehensive classification of some seventyfive stone-discs then known to us and their detailed description as to the identity and character of designs and figures occurring on them. On the basis of various considerations these specimens at hand are found to represent several series with reference to their distinctive types which broadly conform to the stylistic chronology or successive phases of their currency.

Among the earlier discoveries three disc specimens were recovered during Marshall's Taxila excavations at the Bhir Mound from levels which were dated by the excavator to the Pre-Maurya and Maurya periods. Of the recent finds two disc specimens from Rupar and Vaisali are of the utmost significance and can be dated with a fair degree of certainty as they were brought to light during the course of systematic archaeological excavations at these sites. The broadly proposed stylistic dating of the ring-stones by several earlier authorities to the Maurya-Śunga period now stands fully supported from the stratigraphic testimony, and a close scrutiny of the entire disc collection goes, however, to reveal the following four series of their manufacture with respect to a broad chronology that can be safely adopted at present in this context.

300 B.C. and before : An initial series of the perforated disc type, belonging to a distinct art phase of its own, characterised by the figures of the Lotus Goddess² standing on the Lotus creeper—the type that attested to so much enormously precise artistic work for the engraving of figures and forms inside the curved surface of the central hole. The hole standing for the *yoni*-symbol, encircled by the lotus creeper-circle (or *padma-mandala*, as it is seen in late *Śri-cakras*), is occupied by the Goddess figures also in a manner that her lower body inside the hole coincides with it. Its characteristic examples come from Taxila, Mathura, Patna, Kosam, Rupar and Rajghat (?).

300 B.C.—200 B.C. : Subsequent to the above, but overlapping with the following, there are certain specimens that show a change and expansion in the earlier iconography and symbolical composition. Its characteristic specimens coming from Kosam, Taxila and Rajghat, show a marked deviation from the standard composition within the same series.

2. But see the contending theory forwarded by Dr. S. P. Gupta, who appears to have evolved a new methodology for the purpose of enquiring into the true meaning and concepts underlying this unique group of antiquities (see his *Roots*, pp. 69-72). As he thinks, "To our mind, the ringstones present a striking example of this category. The nude goddess is, therefore, neither Sri nor Lakshmi, nor Sri-Lakshmi, nor Maya, nor Shakti." According to his viewpoint, the ringstone objects must be considered and interpreted in complete disassociation of any such cultural traditions and bearings, which the modern scholars can attempt to understand by conjuring up the material at hand in the extant corpus of pre-modern literature, which should not reflect, however partially, many obscure and lost aspects of Indian religions—the ring-stone problem being, in his view, one of such aspects utterly obscure and lost to early Indian literary traditions. However, he thinks that the goddess occurring on some of the stone-rings and discs is posed in *Savamudrā* of some yogic exercise, and presided over the cycle of death and rebirth.

The above two time-brackets together can be said to cover the general stylistic epochs called pre-Mauryan and Mauryan in Indian art history and all of the perforated stone-disc specimens, i. e. the "ring-stones", of earlier scholars, appear to constitute the SERIES ONE belonging to this period. They show a sunken opening in the centre executed with geometrical, floral and human forms, including the Goddess. Of the Series One we have classified types or *Classes A to P* according to significant variation in carved compositions, consisting invariably of several concentric bands of designs figures. Classes A to C may be regarded to represent the general type of this series. The composition is easily divisible into two sections, outer and inner,

Class A

Carved composition with the designs of three concentric bands of cable-moulding enclosing two strings quatrefoil bead-pattern occupying the outer section or surface; three Goddess figures alternating with three blue-lotus (*nilotpala*) blossoms on an underlying lotus-creeper in the sunken hole.

Class B

As above; but four Goddess figures alternated with four blue-lotus blossoms.

Class C

As Class A, but a simplified and smaller version, having only two bands of cable-moulding and one quatrefoil bead-pattern circle.

Class D

Outer section, as in Class A; but the Goddess figures alternated with palm-tree motifs in the inner section.

Class E

Outer section, as in Class A; four Goddess figures alternated by four tree-like tripartite floral-motifs.

Class F

Outer section, as above; but in the inner circle : the underlying lotus-creeper, supporting the Goddess figure, who holds the stem of the creeper on either side.

Class G

Outer section, as above; in the inner section : the Goddess figure, nimbate, with shoulder-wings, holding with either hand the rising stalk of the underlying creeper her other flanking symbols being palm fronds.

Class H

Inner section, as in Class A.

Outer section : enclosed between two bands of cable-moulding, scenes from the cult worship of the Goddess.

Class I

Inner section ? Outer surface : five concentric bands, three with cable-moulding, one with quatrefoil bead-string pattern and one with a file of elephants.

Class J

Inner section, as in Class A. Outer section : enclosed within two bands of cable-moulding, a prominent one occupied by a series of reptiles.

Class K

Inner section, as in Class E. Outer section, as in Class J.

Class L

Inner section, as in Class D. Outer section, as in Class K.

Class M

Inner section : the Goddess figures alternated by rosettes. Outer section : two bands of cable-moulding enclosing a zone occupied by reptilian figures and creeping human forms.

Class N

Inner section, ? Outer section : Bands of cable-moulding, and two intervening zones, one showing a series of *makaras* and the other of (mythical) lions.

Class O

Carved composition consisting of floral and linear designs only.

Class P

Having a very large opening in the centre with carved designs on the inside of this hole only (the outer decoration being omitted).

3rd—2nd century B. C. : When the essential, rudimentary yoni-symbolism of these votive discs (*mātr-cakras*) had come to be well-established and widely understood so as to be conveyed or revealed even without the “hole”, the artist was allowed to minimise his labour in manufacturing a subsequent type of the discs, which, although with no hole pierced through the centre, were yet to have a similar carving effect imitating the earlier vogue by working the disc surface as receding in level towards its centre. The earlier lotus-creeper-circle has now usually taken the form of lotus-medallion (a stylised form of which subsisted throughout in later *Śrī-cakra* concept). Side by side with the lotus, further aniconical symbols employed include the crescent, taurine, “*liṅga*” and also animal and bird forms, mostly making a *parikramā*-circle. There are 32 specimens which can be assigned

to this SERIES TWO consisting of unholed pieces only, and studied under *Classes A to S* of its own varieties.

Although the manufacture of perforated stone-rings might have, in certain cases, overlapped in time with that of the unholed discs, the two series appear broadly separated from each other both in art style and typology. The unholed discs show ornamental composition carved on a concavely cut surface sloping towards the centre with fine geometrical, floral and human forms including the Goddess figure. While on the perforated discs the ornaments are divided into two convenient circles, one on the top surface and the other on the inner edge sloping into the central hole, on the unholed discs the emphasis now gradually came to be on one single grouping of the ornamental designs.

Classes A to G of this series appear to form its Group I as they include image-like Goddess figures in their carved composition. *Classes H to N* of its Group II show only geometrical, floral and animal forms while *Classes O to S* making Group III have even animal forms dispensed with in their carving. We may remark that in the iconography of the Lotus Goddess seen on the discs, the blossoming lotus creeper was her arch symbol supporting her epiphany inside the hole or centre. In Series Two, the lotus attribute of the Goddess appears to assume a full-blown flower design now occupying the main decorative composition being conceived as symbolically assimilated with the circular disc form, her votive symbol. Thus, the most significant element of disc decoration is in the later series its centrally placed lotus medallion, encircled by a zone of other carvings.

SERIES THREE is represented by four unperforated specimens of a distinctive type, that shows carved composition against a granulated background on a convex surface. Except for the Vaisali find, which shows four figures of two Goddesses and two winged lions alternated by four stylised tree-motifs, other three pieces show a net-work of either floral or geometrical symbols. SERIES FOUR, represented presently by nine specimens, is constituted by unholed discs also with ornamental composition carved on a rather flat ground executed with geometrical, symbolical, floral and human forms.

2nd—1st century B. C. : Carved composition executed either on a convex disc-surface or a rather flat stone-ground, having no illusion to the former vogue of the sunken opening. But the creeper form with blossoms and buds reappears. Specimens so far known with representations of the Goddess are only three, one each from Rajghat, Kosam and Vaisali.

1st century A. D. : Closely allied with the preceding, but with iconographic elaborations. Mainly there are two Mathura specimens showing deity-figures amidst floral composition.

From a typological and stylistic analysis of the material at hand it is evident that the discs having a convex surface are to be dated roughly before certain flat

discs coming under *Series Four*. This also tends to show that the stratigraphic dating available in the case of Vaisali disc (from Period II, c. 150 B.C. to 100 A.D.) needs no modification by way of considering it a survival from an earlier level. All of the Murtaziganj Hoard specimens—with the exception of two discs, one having a convex ground of carving while the other has a flat surface—commonly show the treatment of carving on a concave stone surface that apparently was in imitation of the visual effect characterising the earlier perforated disc type. This indicates that the bulk of the Murtaziganj collection followed an earlier vogue of carving, but a variant treatment of the disc surface either as convex or flat was also introduced by the artist. Of the “convex” type, the only disc known so far with the depiction of the Goddess is the Vaisali find, stratigraphically datable to 150 B.C.—100 A.D. But while the Goddess figures seen on this piece are, on the one hand, far removed in iconography from the “archaic” type of the Goddess figure, they are closely akin, on the other, to these occurring in certain flat disc compositions, ascribable on stylistic grounds to the Śuṅga or early Kuṣāṇa period.

It is, however, interesting here to note that on one of the latest specimens not datable stylistically before the first century A.D., we have three iconographically much evolved figures to be identified as representing a form of goddess Pārvati, holding a bowl or cooking pot in her right hand, Śiva with a trident and a bolt and Kāmadeva carrying a bow and a sheaf of three arrows.

JAIDEVA SINGH—IN MEMORIAM

1893—1986

*In the end Life wins when it resolves into the
luminous death of Immortality.*

—**Sri Anirvan**

The passing away of Thakur Jaideva Singh on 27th May, 1986 is a great loss for India's intellectual, artistic and spiritual life. He was still in the middle of the work of editing the Commemoration Volume of his guru M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj, and he could not finish four books on which he had been working for the last few years. His death has created a great void for many of his friends, students and admirers, even those who had not known him personally. As a publisher friend once put it : "Thakur Sahab is an institution in himself." His greatness is not to be measured solely by his scholarly achievements, but by his personality which embraced so many facets in a harmonious way. Some may remember him as a musicologist and a connoisseur of classical music, others as a teacher, others as a Sanskrit scholar or a philosopher, still others as an exponent of Kashmir Saivism and so on, but his uniqueness lay in the way in which he combined all those fields in his own person, integrating them with his sādhanā. He belonged to a generation for whom truthfulness, integrity and sincerity were undisputable values, combined with a strict personal discipline which was the secret of his long life. As a born teacher he was always ready to give sincere advice, and at the same time he never ceased to be a learner. In his humility he often described himself as a student, even at the ripe age of 90, and in fact he had started learning German and French when he was above 75 years. Though he had received a number of high awards, the highest being Padma Bhushan in 1974, and held many important posts, such as Chairman of the Sangit Natak Akademi of U. P., he never showed any pride or self-conceit. His kindness knew no bounds and he devoted much of his precious time to people wanting some favour or help from him.

Born on 19th September 1893 in Shoratgarh in a family of Thakurs, attached to the local Raja, Jaideva Singh pursued a brilliant educational career. He became

Jaideva Singh—In Memoriam

449

a lecturer in English and Philosophy at D.A.V. College, Lakhimpur Kheri, where he stayed upto 1956. He was then appointed as Chief Producer in All India Radio, which post he held till 1962, contributing a great deal to the uplift of classical music. After that he settled down in Varanasi, mainly because he wanted to be near his guru Gopinath Kaviraj with whom he remained closely associated till the latter's death. His close contacts with the great personalities of his time in all fields were an essential and fascinating part of his life.

His years in Varanasi were most productive in that he wrote many books and papers and took part in many seminars, delivering lectures at various institutions even till the advanced age of 93. The last Seminar which he attended and where he gave an excellent contribution was on M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj in Jaipur in March 1986, only about two months before his death. He was an impressive speaker who had the clarity of thought and the pedagogical gift of making the most complicated ideas easily understandable. In the last 15 to 20 years he often went to Kashmir to sit at the feet of his guru in Kashmir Śaivism, Swami Lakshman joo. The product of this exchange were his translations of important Kashmir Śaiva texts : *Pratyabhijñahṛdaya*, *Śiva Sūtra*, *Vijñāna Bhairava*, *Spanda Kārikā* and (yet unfinished) *Parītrisikā Vivarana* by Abhinavagupta. An exhaustive evaluation of his genius and personality is not possible in a short obituary, but I am convinced that he is guiding us even now with his ever-alive spirit and perceptiveness. When I met him the day before he was admitted to hospital, he said, as if summing up his insight : "Kashmir Śaivism is the culmination of Indian philosophy and sādhanā." He also said that he was not afraid to "leave", only it was his ardent desire to complete his unfinished books (a task that will now be taken over by competent scholars who knew him well).

It seems that during his short, but severe illness, while he always preserved his clarity of mind and memory, he experienced the inner light (*jyoti*) and the subtle sound (*nāda*), to which his long sādhanā had made him attuned. He has now merged in that *jyoti* and *nāda*.

—Bettina Baümer

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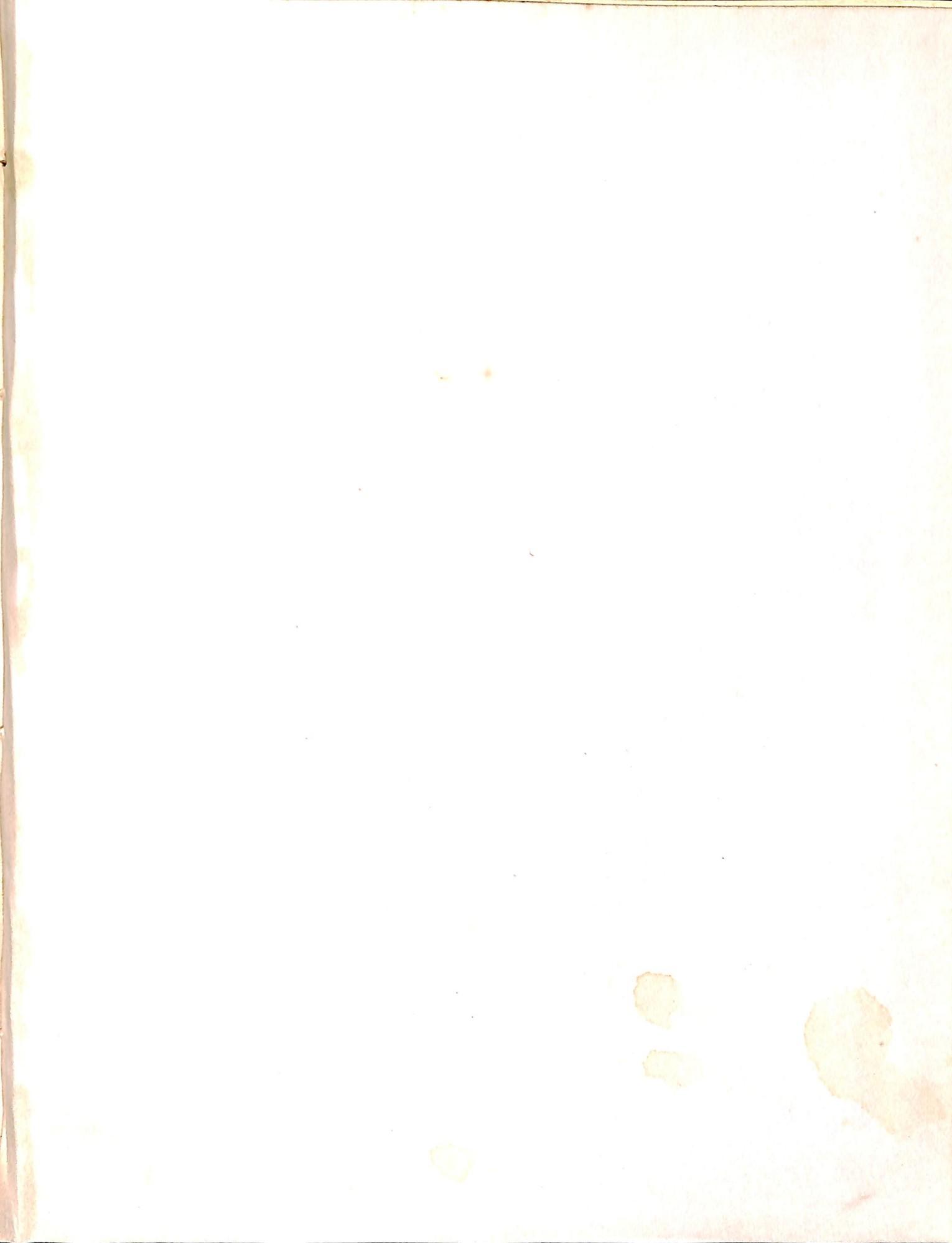
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 - * Ex-Chancellor, J. and K. University and also Benares Hindu University and associated with various cultural and academic organisations.
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 - * Recipient of various scholarships, medals etc.
 - * Author of dozens of books on Indian Philosophy and Religion.
 - * Since deceased.

- Srivastava, Vinod Chandra
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 - * Author of a few important publications and of more than 60 research papers.
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- * Retd, Prof. of Sanskrit, Poona University.
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- * Prof. & Head, Deprt. of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya.
 - * Recipient of Gold medal for outstanding contribution to numismatic studies. Participated in many International Conferences and Seminars.
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म.म. गोपीनाथ कविराज
स्मृति गद्ध

ମୁଦ୍ରଣ
୨୨୧୯୧୯୪

ପାଦମୁଖରେ
ଆଜି କାହାର, କେବଳ ପ୍ରେ-ମିତ୍ର ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟର ବୀର
ଏଇ-ଧରଣେ କଥା କହି କିମ୍ବା କାହାରଙ୍କୁ-କାହାର-
କ୍ଷମତା ଦେବାରୁ, କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କାହାର ? କେବଳ-
ଏଇ- ଶୁଣନ୍ତିରୁ-କାହାରୁ ଏହି-ଶ୍ରୀକୃତ ଶ୍ରୀକୃତ କାହାର-
କୁଠା କାହାରେଇଁ. କିମ୍ବା ଆଖି-ଏକମ କଥିଲା ଏହି- କା ?
ଏକମ କଥିଲା କଥାରୁ ଏହି- ~~କଥାରୁ~~ କଥାରୁ
କଥା- - ଏହି କଥା, ଏହାରୁ କଥାରୁ ଏହି- ଏହାରୁ
ଏହାରୁ ଏହି- ଏହା ଏହା ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ
କଥିଲା ଏହି- , କଥାରୁ ଏହି- ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ
ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ- କଥାରୁ ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ
ଏହାରୁ- , ଏହା ଏହାରୁ ଏହା- ଏହା ଏହାରୁ
ଏହା- ଏହାରୁ ଏହା- ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ
ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ-
ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ-
ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ-
ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ- ଏହାରୁ-